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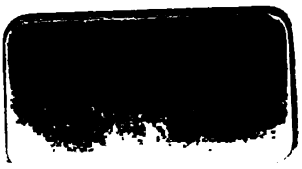

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THE

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OR

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FOR

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

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No. CCLVII.

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2. *Memoirs of the Life and Reign of George III.* By J. HENEAGE JESSE. Three Volumes. London: 1867.

THE present age has one signal advantage over preceding generations. The political records of the last century are gradually becoming at once more clear, more distinct, more luminous, and more interesting than the history of any previous century in English annals. Memoir after memoir, correspondence after correspondence, testimony after testimony, are successively throwing light on the obscure, and giving precision to the doubtful, portions of the Georgian era. The Waldegrave and Walpole papers, the correspondence of Pitt, of Fox, of Eldon, and of Addington, the Buckingham papers, and the Grenville papers, have familiarised the student of our recent history with the secret motives, sentiments, and aspirations of all the great actors in the political drama from the time of George II. to the time of William IV. To these sources of knowledge is now added another of great value and importance, viz. the correspondence of George III. with Lord North during the memorable years in which that much-abused and much-enduring statesman was at the head of the English Ministry. To any future historian who undertakes to travel over the ground already explored by Mahon, Massey, and Adolphus, it will at least not be competent to complain that he is precluded by a lack of materials from the composition of a work which shall supply all the deficiencies of its predecessors, and earn for itself the title to be quoted as *the* authoritative

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history of England during the most important epoch of its settled Constitution.

The reign of George III. before the premiership of the younger Pitt, may be divided into three distinct periods. The first period embraces the temporary ascendancy of Lord Bute and the King's partial liberation from the yoke of the Duke of Newcastle and the elder Pitt; the second, his reluctant toleration of George Grenville, his impatience of Lord Rockingham, and his helpless conflict with the humours of Lord Chatham and the levity of the Duke of Grafton; the third, his contented acquiescence in the virtues of a Minister who did not belong to any of the great Whig families which regarded the administration of the English Government as their heritage, and whose unfailing good-nature made him equally attentive to the wishes of his sovereign and regardless of the bitterest denunciations of his foes. Of these three periods it is needless to say that the third was the happiest for the King, whatever it may have been for the country or for the Minister himself. Lord North's equanimity may have made him indifferent to the invectives of Barré, of Conway, of Fox, and of Burke. Still, it required all the consolation that large majorities in the House of Commons or kindly smiles in the royal closet could afford, to neutralise the consciousness of growing unpopularity at home and accumulated disgrace abroad. Eventful as was the life of George III., the events by which the twelve years of Lord North's administration were clouded, were less chequered even by fitful gleams of national prosperity than any other twelve years of his reign. The King had already witnessed—before he came to the throne—the honour and the fortunes of the country exalted to a height as yet unprecedented. But he so dreaded or disliked the wayward temper of the Minister by whose genius the glory of England had been widely extended, that he was happier without his aid than with it. He was destined to witness, at a later period of his reign, the strength which England could put forth in a gigantic struggle where great triumphs alternated with severe disasters. But this was to be under the auspices of another Minister, who, although less supercilious and less fantastical than his father, yet sometimes roused the King's anger, and not unfrequently defied his prejudices. Neither with Chatham nor with Chatham's son was the King uniformly at ease. Neither the glory which the one reflected on the country, nor the courage with which the other faced the changing fortunes of a terrible epoch, ingratiated them so much in his favour as the unsentimental but sympathising devotion of Lord North. To find a

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parallel to the estimation in which North was held by his sovereign, we must come down to the times of Addington and Eldon. The King's letters to Addington and Eldon resemble nothing so much as his letters to Lord North. The King's personal regard for Addington or Scott was perhaps stronger than his regard for North. At least there are more instances of unbending familiarity in his letters to his 'dear Chan-'cellor' and his 'own Chancellor of the Exchequer,' than in his letters to Lord North. But His Majesty's letters to each of these three contrast signally with his letters to Chatham and Rockingham. Here, however, the parallel ends. The King was a shrewd man and could not fail to measure the distance which separated the ability of Addington from the ability of North. He might like to confer with Addington better than to confer with Pitt; but he felt that in the hands of Pitt a policy might flourish which could only fail in the hands of Addington. On the other hand, not only did he prefer taking counsel with North to taking counsel with Lord Rockingham or Mr. Fox, but he felt that in defending any political measure favoured by the Court, Lord North could do infinitely better than Lord Rockingham, and not so much worse than Mr. Fox. Lord North brought to the service of his sovereign not only personal devotion, but sympathy or at least submission of opinion, and a considerable influence over the House of Commons. Those who only judge of him by the bitter declamation with which he was assailed during the angry debates of the American War should correct their opinion by reperusing the panegyric which Burke pronounced. According to the universal report of his contemporaries, he had a ready eloquence, a pleasing wit, and invincible good humour. A Minister who was all this, and also sympathetic with the King, was a Minister after the King's own heart, even although, to quote Burke's qualification, 'he may have 'wanted something of the vigilance and spirit of command 'that the time required.'

The correspondence which Mr. Donne has ably edited and abundantly illustrated will bring into strong relief the more pliable and submissive traits in Lord North's character, with the King's friendly and affectionate sentiments to his first favourite Minister. Before examining this correspondence, which extends from the beginning of the end of 1768 to the middle of 1783, it may not be superfluous to recapitulate some of the more important changes which preceded Lord North's assumption of the Government. When George II. died England was in the full blaze of that glory with which the energetic counsels of the

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elder Pitt had surrounded her. Victorious in the extreme East and the extreme West, she was both feared and courted on the continent of Europe. France regarded her with awe, Prussia with hope and confidence. Had Pitt long continued to retain both office and influence, it is possible that he would have consummated the humiliation of the House of Bourbon, which faction had prevented the Whig statesmen of Queen Anne's time from effecting. But the first speech delivered by the young monarch dispelled the hopes of those who longed for that consummation as completely as Queen Anne's speech in 1711 had dispelled the hopes of Marlborough and his partisans. The plan for striking a final blow at the power of France received its fatal check when the capricious Queen informed her Parliament that 'notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war, 'both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a 'general peace.' These words could not have startled the ears of Marlborough more than the reference to the 'bloody and ex-'pensive war' which Mr. Pitt had conducted must have startled Mr. Pitt himself and the two other Ministers whom George III. had summoned, not to compose or to correct, but to listen to, the first speech which he was about to address to Parliament. Great as was the slight thus shown to the whole Ministry, and especially to its most conspicuous ornament, the slight was further embittered by the knowledge that the obnoxious speech was the composition of the Earl of Bute. The impression made so early in the King's reign remained for many years firmly engraven on the minds not only of the vulgar but of statesmen and Ministers. Bute's influence over the young King was supposed to be as potent as his intimacy with the young King's mother was supposed to be criminal. In the course of this Correspondence and the review which it suggests of the various political changes in George III.'s reign, we shall see the consequences, sometimes ludicrous, sometimes baneful, which sprung from a belief as lasting and as obstinate as it was unfounded. But it is hardly possible to explain its origin or weigh its consequences without an examination of the King's previous history and education.

Of his father, Frederic, Prince of Wales, the most that is known amounts to this. He was popular with the country because he was obnoxious to the King and Queen, and reciprocated the aversion which they felt towards him. He was probably weak and unstable; but can hardly have been so utterly false in heart and false in tongue as his mother described him to be. His popularity made Leicester House the head-quarters of the Opposition, whose leaders looked forward with high hope to the

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day when their idol should sit on the throne of England. His sudden death which disappointed these hopes, committed the young Heir Presumptive to the exclusive tutelage of the Princess Dowager and her Court. The education which Prince George received under these conditions was more favourable to the development of his moral than of his intellectual faculties. It inculcated religious sentiments and religious observances; but it gave him no knowledge of the history or constitution of European governments, and a very imperfect knowledge of the constitution under which he was himself to reign. George III. was brought up in all but entire ignorance of the conditions on which his family had been called to the throne of England, and the principles by which their sway was to be guided. But this was not all. He was most superficially instructed in those points which in our days the pupils of our national schools are expected to master. Although he made it his boast that he had been born and bred a Briton, his progress in the English language was so defective that not only did he never write it idiomatically, but, to his latest day, he made marvellous blunders in spelling. Of these two defects, the latter, of which we shall see curious instances, was a defect which he shared with many contemporaries of rank and talent, whose correspondence, often sprightly, clever, picturesque and entertaining, is disfigured by barbarisms of which nowadays only housemaids and footmen would be guilty. For instance, in the Royal letters we shall come across such words as 'seperate,' 'conferr,' 'owne,' 'aleviate,' 'oppulence,' 'enumerable' (for 'innumerable'), 'cirround' (for 'surround'), and many others equally strange. The style is even more peculiar than the spelling: uncouth, blunt, confused both in the use and the arrangement of words; but never so uncouth or so confused as to conceal the meaning or mar the shrewdness of the writer. However, it was not only in the articles of spelling and composition that George III.'s early education failed. It erred both as much in what it taught as in that which it did not teach. While his preceptor, the Bishop of Norwich, forbore to instruct him in the principles of the Constitution, his sub-preceptor, Mr. Stone, equally forbore out of deference to his ecclesiastical superior. Accordingly the young Prince was left very much to the persons in his mother's Court, from whom he imbibed high notions of monarchical prerogative. Lord Bute has hitherto been held responsible for the bias thus early given to the King's mind. But it is at least probable that other persons beside Lord Bute may have impressed upon his young intelligence the

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necessity of liberating himself from the dominion of Ministers. George II. had been in the habit of saying, 'Ministers are 'King in this country.' And he was not far wrong. Any one who reads the pamphlets and the novels of the first half of the eighteenth century cannot fail to remark what a great personage a leading Peer was in those days. The Peerage comprised the bulk of the landed property, and nearly all the historical traditions of the kingdom. If a Noble Lord took an interest in any candidate for employment, that candidate's fortune was made. If a Noble Lord expressed his resentment or disappointment to any Minister whom he had supported, his forgiveness was to be solicited by entreaties and his support conciliated by concessions. Mr. Massey says, 'When George III. came to the throne, the English 'Government was, in practice, assuming the form of an ex-'clusive oligarchy. . . . The King, though his prerogative 'still existed in theory unimpaired, had no more real power 'than a Doge of Venice or a Merovingian King in the 'hands of the Mayor of the Palace.' It is no wonder, then, that when the two first Sovereigns of the House of Hanover had died with the consciousness that they had enjoyed little more authority than was wielded by the *Podestà* of an Italian city, the first resolution of their successor should be not to chafe as they 'had chafed with impotent rage under the cold re-'lentless thraldom to which they had been subjected.' This correspondence, like many other memoirs of the time, shows that the King ill brooked the dictation of powerful Ministers; but we do not think that, by itself, it shows any secret or underhand measures to get rid of them. We know that it is a theory of certain political writers that in his relations to some of his Ministers, notably to Lord Chatham, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Rockingham, George III. habitually availed himself of a system of intrigue, untruthfulness, and evasion. The origin of this belief is to be found in the character given of the young monarch, of which the following portions should be read together for their mutual verification or correction:—

'He is strictly honest, but wants that frank and open behaviour which makes honesty appear amiable. . . . He has spirit, but not of the active kind, and does not want resolution, but it is mixed with too much obstinacy. . . . He has great command of his passions and will seldom do wrong, except when he mistakes wrong for right; but as often as this shall happen, it will be difficult to undeceive him, because he is unusually indolent and has strong prejudices. . . . Whenever he is displeased his anger does not break out with heat and violence, but he becomes sullen and silent and retires to his

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closet, not to compose his mind by study or contemplation, but merely to indulge the melancholy enjoyment of his own ill-humour.'

This description may have been mainly true of the young Prince, but it does not follow that it was equally true of the King. Indeed, what character given of a young man at the age of twenty holds equally good of him in the fortieth or the fiftieth year of his life? No disposition remains unchanged by the manifold incidents of life and long association with mankind. The reserve of the recluse pupil is broken down by contact with different men and different minds: the diffidence of conscious ignorance vanishes before a daily increasing knowledge of events, opinions, and characters; personal prejudice melts beneath the warmth of friendship or acquaintance, indolence gives way to the exactions of duty and occupation; and a moody sullenness is dispelled by the growing interests of an active life. Take the character which we have just quoted. Assume that it was true of the young son of Frederic Prince of Wales. Yet it is illogical to infer that it was wholly true of King George III. Lord Waldegrave portrays him as indolent. We know—and, if we did not know from other sources, this correspondence alone would teach us —that in his years of sovereignty the King was the least indolent man in his dominions. May not other traits, such as his sullenness, his secretiveness and his duplicity, have been modified by advancing years and enlarged experience of life? Mr. Massey accuses the King of a secret and tortuous policy; of fomenting the jealousies among the great Whig houses, and organising select bands of favourites to thwart and obstruct his Ministers. We shall see in the review of these letters the unconstitutional views which he held of the Royal prerogative, and the indulgence which he required for the predilections of the Royal Will. But starting from these premises, it is unnecessary to import into the King's conduct the elements of intrigue, duplicity, or falsehood. He had been taught to believe that a king ought to govern as well as reign, and that the kings of England since the Revolution had been puppets in the hands of their Ministers. Entertaining this belief he found himself, on his accession, brought into daily contact with a Minister whose consciousness of power, popularity, and success, combined with a dramatic faculty of expressing pride or resentment or disdain beyond the ability of any actor except Garrick, gave to his presence all the attributes of a despotic Mayor of the Palace. Is it strange that the King felt the thraldom of this presence irksome, burdensome, and oppressive? Or is it strange that he shrunk from interviews with a

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Minister like George Grenville, who read him lectures on policy, or a Minister like the Duke of Bedford, who read him lectures on probity? Any person in a middle station of life whom his duties compel to come into daily conference with a superior who browbeats him, questions his statements, and meets his assertions with insolent inuendoes, can appreciate the worry and the annoyance that the King underwent in his interviews with some of his own Ministers. There are few trials in life more difficult to bear than constant intercourse with persons with whom one has no sympathy of feeling. One trial still more unbearable is that of associating with persons of stronger intellects, sterner tempers, and antagonistic tastes. Let any man who has known what it is daily to confront another, with whom he has no common feeling, but who ostentatiously exhibits a conscious superiority either of power, or of intellect or of will, imagine what it must have been for a young King, brought up in entire ignorance of the constitutional obligations of an English Sovereign, to be holding daily conferences with men whom genius had made arrogant like Pitt, or connexion had made arrogant like the Bedfords and the Grenvilles. Of course, the natural feeling in the Royal mind would be dislike of such men, and its natural bent would be to remove them out of sight. That the King endeavoured to rid himself of them is plain; but that he used the duplicity, intrigue, and subterfuges with which he has been so often charged, is not, we think, borne out by the accumulated evidence which the publication of successive contemporaneous memoirs has brought to light. Nor, indeed, was duplicity necessary on the King's part. The humours, the jealousies, and the antipathies of the rival statesmen did more for the ultimate ascendancy of the King than duplicity or astuteness of the King himself could do. In an age when Temple quarrelled with Chatham, and Chatham rated his colleagues and rebuffed his idolaters, and the Duke of Newcastle intrigued against them, a sovereign with a narrow concentration of purpose and energy of will was sure to have his own way in the end. George III. had certain well-known notions and objects; he adhered to them steadily and resolutely. He stood out for them on all occasions so long as their maintenance had a prospect of being successful. In process of time, the opinions of public men approximated to those of the King. A party grew up in and out of Parliament which shared and abetted them. The divisions and enmities of leading statesmen completed what the King's firmness had begun. Estranged from each other and distrusting each other, these naturally, each in

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turn, gravitated to the central sun of Royalty. Habits of self-will, long indulged, and the exercise of traditionary power, long enjoyed, may have rendered the great chiefs of political parties as impatient of a young monarch's control as they were of mutual concession. But it is only by a splenetic and angry criticism that George III. can be accused of having used a dexterous 'kingcraft' to 'supplant' or 'get rid of' his different Ministers. It was their inability either to hold together among themselves or to keep a hold on the country that ousted the Ministries of George Grenville, Lord Rockingham, and the Duke of Grafton. The impracticability of one great man—the dissensions of many common-place men—the blunders of all—are quite sufficient to account for the rise and fall of three successive Administrations without seeking for singular adroitness or Machiavellian kingcraft. The facts were these. The circle from which Ministers could be selected was a particularly narrow one. The candidates for the highest office were self-willed and incongruous. Out of London there could hardly be said to exist such a thing as public opinion. In London there was great discontent against all statesmen except Chatham. The King had defined and consistent views on politics, with which the vulgar sense of the nation was gradually coming into agreement. He was every day gaining fresh knowledge of public business and public policy; he loved the study of details; and he knew how to attach to himself friends and adherents. In any contest between two such parties, on which side was the victory sure to be?

The inclination for peace which the King had so strongly shown in his first address to the Council was shared by many of his subjects in the middle and upper stations of life. But it was not shared by the lower classes. In fact, there is no more striking contrast between the popular sentiments of that day and of this, than that which is elicited by questions of peace or war. In our day a keen sense of national honour and a patriotic jealousy of foreign insult or encroachment are most keenly felt by the educated classes. The teaching of men, some honest and some very dishonest, the studied misrepresentation of the objects of every war, the religious or the economical denunciations of all war, the fictitious accounts of the emoluments earned by the military profession, the queer belief of the working classes that their share of contribution to the military establishments of the country is disproportionately large:—all these things have rendered the lower ranks of Englishmen in our days lukewarm in the vindication of national honour and indifferent to the blazon of military triumphs. In the days of

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the two first Georges it was different. The lower classes had followed with huzzas and acclamations the French standards which were carried through the city by the men who had conquered by the side of Wolfe on the heights of Abraham or had braved by the side of Hawke the dark and angry tempest of Quiberon Bay. The mobs of London and of other cities felt that by the wars which the elder Pitt had planned and conducted their country had recovered its ancient position in Europe and the world. They were proud both of him and of it. The upper classes viewed war in a different light; and it was by the upper classes that the House of Commons was elected. The old feeling of the Shippens and the Windhams against a standing army under a foreign prince animated some. Dread of taxes and debt and fundholders animated others. Others again felt a vague and obscure apprehension that a glorious war involved the dangerous ascendancy of some too powerful subject. To the majority of the educated classes of the day the King's reprobation of a bloody and expensive war was as acceptable as to Pitt it was unwelcome. The knowledge of this fact, no less than of the authority which had inspired the speech, led to Pitt's resignation not long afterwards, and thus laid the foundation of many of the troubles by which the King's reign was destined to be harassed. When Pitt proposed to avert the consequences of the family compact by declaring war against Spain, Lord Temple alone of his colleagues was ready to support him. Lord Bute and the Duke of Newcastle had no suspicion of the projects of France and no dread of the power of Spain. Pitt and Temple then withdrew from the Cabinet, and with them vanished the terror of a name and a policy which had won respect for England in every Court of Europe.

George III. was left with Bute and Newcastle: Bute, under whose eye he had been brought up, from whose lips he had learned all the political knowledge which he had mastered, and whose sentiments were identical with his own; Newcastle, who had fawned on Pitt at one time, had deserted him at another, and was equally ready to fawn on him or to desert him again, whenever an opportunity should offer. Newcastle, who regarded the retention of office simply as dependent on a proper tact in bribing members of Parliament, went about chuckling at the loss of a colleague who inspired him with awe, and wholly free from any apprehension of his own loss of royal favour. Yet he himself was shortly to feel the overshadowing influence of a rival colleague. As Walpole informs us, 'all kinds of disgusts had been given to convince him how 'unwelcome his company was.' The 'disinterested young

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'creature,' as the same authority styles him, had no alternative but to resign, and in the summer of 1762 he made Bute's refusal to continue subsidies to the King of Prussia a pretext for quitting the Administration. Before he actually resigned he threatened to do so several times; but to his great disgust found that the threat made no impression on his colleague, who had a stronger and more certain support than the Pelham connexion. He himself told Lord Hardwicke that, in reply to this threat, Bute 'answered drily that, if I resigned, the 'peace might be retarded, but he never requested me to keep 'in office, nor said a civil thing to me afterwards, while we 'remained together.' As Mr. Massey has well observed, nothing in the Duke's official life became him like the leaving it. Office had to him and to Pitt alone of contemporary statesmen not been a source of profit. On the contrary, so far from increasing his fortune he had impaired it by the prodigal expenditure which he had incurred in the service of the Crown. He had spared his own purse as little as he had spared the public purse in buying boroughs, and perhaps members also, to support the Government. An estate of 25,000*l.* a year had thus fallen to the value of 6,000*l.* a year. Yet when, on delivering up the seals of office, the King offered him a pension, it was proudly though courteously declined. Contemporaries who cannot easily comprehend the whole character of a public man and who estimate rival statesmen by the standard of their own ephemeral caprices, contrasted the dignified refusal of the Duke with Pitt's obsequious acceptance of the royal bounty, To us, regarding the two men after the lapse of a century, nothing seems so absurd as to institute any comparison between their characters in this sense. When the Duke was gone, Bute became in name, as he had been for some time in reality, the head of the Administration. He was gazetted First Commissioner of the Treasury and was made a Knight of the Garter. This elevation was destined to cost both him and his Sovereign dear. Bute became the most unpopular of men, and his unpopularity proceeded from causes the most different. He was a Scotchman, and in those days Scotch nationality, when it was not associated with Jacobitism, was associated with the most squalid forms of penury and the most loathsome forms of dirt. Every Scotchman who came to seek his fortune in London was regarded by the vulgar as an adventurer whom indigence had driven from the bleakest of mountains or the most barren of moors to prey on the unsuspecting industry of civilised men. 'The great cry against Lord Bute,' writes Chesterfield, 'was on account of his being a Scotchman, the

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'only fault which he could not possibly correct.' His patronage of his countrymen naturally exposed him to much obloquy and them to much ridicule. Among the myriads of verses printed at that time on the rapacity of Scotch adventurers, Lord Stanhope has recorded these four on the brothers Adam, architects who succeeded in obtaining contracts in London, and one of whom planned the Adelphi Buildings:—

'Four Scotchmen by the name of Adam,
Who kept their coaches and their Madam,
Quoth John in sulky mood to Thomas,
Have stole the very river from us.'

At a later time than this, we find Boswell going into fits of gratitude that Johnson's prejudices had not prevented him from selecting a Scotchman for his friend. If Johnson retained such a prejudice, how was Churchill and how was Wilkes likely to give expression to it? A pen that dipped itself in gall and a pen that dipped itself in filth, found equally in Bute an object to bespatter and befoul. Bute was not only a native of a bleak and poverty-stricken country, but he was a favourite, was believed to be a favourite of a kind that had not been seen in England since the times of Charles I. His influence over the King was popularly supposed to be derived from his influence over the King's mother; and his influence over the Princess Dowager was supposed to arise from the most tender of intimacies. Grub Street pamphleteers, and coffee-house politicians, and men like Wilkes and Churchill, at once more gifted and more scandalous than either, talked and wrote in terms that none could misunderstand, of the modern Mortimer and the mother of Edward III. As often as the daily or half-weekly sheet appeared, there was sure to be a scurrilous jest about a Jack Boot and a petticoat, or a royal minion and Scotch beggary. The unpopularity of the Minister increased daily, and not without reason. He punished opposition on the part of powerful peers by depriving them of distinguished but honorary offices which we have long been accustomed to consider tenable by men opposed to the Administration of the day. Nor was the manner of proceeding less offensive than the proceeding itself. A harsh thing was done in the rudest and harshest way. It was perhaps natural that the Duke of Devonshire should be dismissed from his post in the King's Household after the distinct intimation of his disagreement with the policy of the King's Government. But the manner of his dismissal was gratuitously churlish. And there was no plea but that of spite for dismissing the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Rockingham, and the Duke of Devonshire

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from their respective lord-lieutenancies of counties. Still less excuse was there for punishing, as Bute's Ministry did punish, humble connexions or dependents of these families, by depriving them of the pensions which they had earned by faithful service in the civil or military departments of the State. The personal odium already heaped upon Bute and intensified by these acts of vindictiveness is sufficient to account for a step by which he surprised the King and the country. In the spring of 1763 he resigned. Yet Bute had been taking a prominent part in a policy which was really of graver moment to the country than any petulant outburst of spite against obsequious peers or any undue appropriation of influence at Court. It is curious to us who read the pamphlets and letters of that day to see how the greater interest was made subordinate to the less in the contemporary writings and speeches of that age. While highborn peers felt and Grub Street pamphleteers pretended to feel indignation at the ascendancy of a Scotch minion, the object of their invectives was busying himself with negotiating the preliminaries and recommending to Parliament the conditions of a peace which was just as disadvantageous and inglorious as any that could well have been devised. Yet not only was it not an unpopular peace, but it was even an acceptable one. Pitt, who went down to the House swathed in flannel and writhing with gout to declaim with solemn earnestness against the tame conclusion of a war which he had commenced with vigour and success unequalled since the days of Marlborough, could only induce sixty-five members of the House of Commons to vote with him. Three hundred and nineteen voted with the Ministry. The nation generally agreed with the House of Commons and the Ministry. On reading this portion of the national history, it seems to us that the popular ignorance of that time must have prevented the due appreciation of the successes achieved by English arms during the war. It is one of the highest tributes to the genius of Pitt that the influence of his spirit animated our forces even after he had ceased to direct them as Minister. To many people of the present day it is not known, and to many people of that day the knowledge may have conveyed no specific meaning, that in the war which languished on from the time of Pitt's retirement to the Treaty of Paris, the English navy took possession of Havana and the Philippine Islands. The present century can better than the last appreciate the acquisition of dependencies which the statesmen of modern Spain have regarded as equally essential to the glory and the prosperity of their country. England is often taunted with her greed of

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territorial conquest. Yet it has been her lot in the prosecution of various wars successively to acquire Cuba, Manilla, and Java. All these dependencies, each in itself a rich and gorgeous and valuable principality, she has successively restored to its own government. She restored Cuba and Manilla to the Spaniards at a Peace of Paris, as she restored Java to the Dutch at another Peace of Paris. Cuba is far more fertile than Jamaica. The Philippine Islands are worth all our West India possessions put together. Java is, area for area, more productive than India. All these rich possessions have once been ours. They have been given up by us, not under the pressure of superior force nor at the dictation of triumphant enemies, but deliberately and spontaneously in the hour of victory and conscious strength, when we held high vantage ground and might have dictated conditions to others, instead of imposing them upon ourselves. Whether the cession was consistent with our own commercial interests, or with the happiness of the Malay and Negro populations who live under the sway of Spain and Holland—whether the restless philanthropy of England would have tolerated a rule such as Spanish officials and Dutch planters think best adapted to the coloured races of distant dependencies—or whether a premature passion for parliamentary interference might not have upset the machinery of government and destroyed the mutual confidence of heterogeneous races in those distant dependencies, it is now bootless to inquire. One thing is clear. After making all due allowance for the popular ignorance or indifference of the day, it is impossible not to see that even in the generation which first saw the plutocracy of Bengal nabobs, there was so little greed of territorial conquest that the uncompensated cession of the most opulent colonies raised not a whisper of reproach against a Minister whose enemies were many, adroit, powerful, and unscrupulous.

Within a month after the peace was signed, Bute retired. But as Pitt had left behind him an influence which the country recognised in the brilliant achievements of its arms, so Bute left behind the memory and suspicion of an influence which were doomed to be as baneful to the King's peace of mind as they were to the harmony of political combination. Not only in this correspondence, but in all other correspondence having reference to this epoch, we see innumerable proofs of the belief which was entertained not more by the vulgar and the illiterate than by men of high station and high attainments, that Bute was still throwing the inauspicious shadow of his counsels and his prejudices over the King's mind, and was, in fact, a power behind the throne, greater than the throne. We see the sus-

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picion promulgated in pamphlets and speeches, repeated in Parliament by Lord Chatham, repeated to the King himself by the Duke of Bedford, repeated in spite of renewed denials on the part of the indignant Sovereign; still forming the point of every oblique inuendo, and poisoning the shaft of every malignant invective. We may anticipate the analysis of events during the next ten years by at once expressing our opinion that not only did Lord Bute not exercise this imputed influence over the King's mind, but that after his resignation of office he saw less of the King than was generally supposed, had few communications with him on political matters, and that, as time went on, the communications became extremely rare, and the interviews rarer still. We find, indeed, Bute's successor, George Grenville, accusing the King of treason to his Ministers for having given private interviews to Lord Bute within a few months after Bute had made way for Grenville. But the only political affair in which Bute was about this time employed by the King, was in forwarding a negotiation with Pitt, whom one of the great Whig chiefs, the Duke of Bedford, had persuaded the King to invite to take part in the Administration, and this negotiation seems to have been as open as it could be. Pitt received an open and unsealed note from the King requesting his attendance at the Queen's Palace on a certain day, and thither Pitt accordingly went in his gouty sedan, the appearance of which in the streets was tantamount to a publication of his visit.

But it was not on one but on every occasion when there was a hitch in the Cabinet or a talk of Ministerial changes that Bute was supposed to be pulling the wires. Mr. Jesse in his very entertaining Memoirs of George III. quotes extracts from a private diary which show that great men like Lord Temple were not above keeping spies to dodge the ex-premier in his coming in and his going out. The extracts are curious as indicating the visits paid by Bute to the Princess Dowager at Carlton House. They are as follows:—

'*Tuesday, June* 24, 1766.—From Audley Street the Favourite set out about one o'clock in a post-coach and four for Lord Lichfield's at Hampton Court, and came home again at ten at night; went out directly after in a chair to Miss Vansittart's, maid of honour to P. D. of W. in Sackville Street; staid there a very little while, and then went to Carlton House, and returned home about twelve o'clock.'

'*Saturday, July* 5.—The Favourite to Audley Street from Luton this day to dinner; at half-past six went to Sackville Street, staid there as usual till about ten, then to Carlton House, and afterwards came home about twelve.' . . . N.B. The curtains of the chair from Audley to Sackville Street were constantly drawn and the chair taken into the house.'

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The Rockingham papers contain journals of other great men which bear testimony to the same sort of intimacy between the Princess and Bute; but nothing to prove a strong intimacy between the King and his ex-Minister, or a secret influence of the latter over the former. For instance, the Duke of Richmond is told 'that on the 7th of July the Earl was seen 'stealing from his own garden at Kew to that of the Princess 'Dowager.' Bute himself always denied not only having any influence over the King's counsels but even any private knowledge of the King's plans. He wrote in 1786 to Lord Hardwicke thus:—

'I know as little, save from newspapers, of the present busy scenes as I do of transactions in Paris, and yet am destined for ever to a double uneasiness; that of incapacity to serve those I love, and yet to be continually censured for every public transaction, though totally retired from Court and public business.'

The King, as we have already intimated, always denied—indignantly denied—not only that he was under the influence of Bute, but even that he was on terms of familiar intercourse with him. Indeed we know from Lord Brougham that the King quarrelled with his aunt the Princess Amelia for having tried to entrap him into an interview with his old Minister at Gunnersbury, and it has always appeared to us that there were strong *primâ facie* grounds for assuming that the King would be disposed rather to break off than to continue his intimacy with Lord Bute. A man so sensitive as George III. was both on matters relating to the royal dignity and on those relating to private morals must have been painfully wounded by the scandalous rumours which coupled his mother's name with that of the favourite. If the rumours were true, then every fresh appearance of Bute in the royal presence was a fresh insult. If they were not true, still their notoriety would throw an air of embarrassment over every interview. This theory, so reasonable in itself, derives confirmation from the evidence of the late King of Hanover. Mr. Jesse quotes a letter of his Majesty to Mr. Wilson Croker, which contains these passages:—

'While walking with my late revered father at Kew . . . he often talked of the different difficulties he had been placed in from various changes of Ministries. With respect to Lord Bute there seemed to me always something which denoted a reluctance on his part to speak out on the subject. . . . And I believe it was on account of Lord Bute's having been invited to Gunnersbury unknown to the King that he seldom or ever (*qu.* never) saw the Princess Amelia afterwards.'

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If further confirmation be needed, it is supplied by the following extract, with which we have been favoured from the papers of the late Mr. Charles Greville:—

'The Duke of York told me that the late King was walking with him one day at Kew, and he said, "The world tells many lies, and here is one instance. I am said to have held frequent communications with Lord Bute, and the last time I ever saw or spoke to him was in that Pavilion in the year 1764." The King went over to breakfast with his mother the Princess Dowager; and she took him aside and said, "There is somebody here who wishes very much to speak to you." "Who is it?" "Lord Bute." "Good God! mamma, how could you bring him here? It is impossible for me to hold any communication with Lord Bute in this manner." However he did see him, when Lord Bute made a violent attack upon him, for having abandoned and neglected him. The King replied that he could not in justice to his Ministers hold any communication with him unknown to them, when Lord Bute said he would never see the King again. The King became angry in his turn and said, "Then, my Lord, be it so; and remember from henceforth we never meet again;" and from that day he never beheld Lord Bute or had any communication with him. After they had parted, the former favourite lost every atom of influence he had once possessed over the King's mind.'

Mr. Jesse quotes a letter addressed by him to his friend Horne in 1773, in which these lamentations occur:—

'"Think, my friend, of my son Charles being refused everything I asked for him. I have not had interest to get him a company, while every alderman of a petty corporation meets with certain success." Degrees of interest are comparative.'

Lord Bute probably thought it hard that his son should not command a company at twenty, when other young gentlemen had attained that dignity before they left school. But the son whose slow promotion he thus deplored, died a Lieutenant-General and a Knight of the Bath at the age of forty-eight. The complaint and the circumstances on which it was founded illustrate not only Lord Bute's loss of influence, but also the advantages which its possession in those days was able to confer.

On the whole it seems probable from the nature of things that Bute's long relations with the Court did give him access to the King after he had quitted office, but that as the scandal of Bute's connexion with the Princess Dowager became more general, and the importance of his influence over the King more credited, the King himself became anxious to break off an intimacy which certainly was detrimental to his interests and his peace of mind, and might also be inconsistent with his honour.

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We have treated this episodical matter somewhat at length, because it forms an important element in the history of the first twenty-five years of George III.'s reign, and because the allusions to it in all the speeches of the time are not only frequent, but violent and acrimonious. We now resume our summary of the history of the period which preceded the formation of Lord North's Ministry. Of Grenville's Administration it has been said that it was 'on the whole, the worst 'which has governed England since the Revolution.' It was signalised by 'outrages on the liberty of the people and out-'rages on the dignity of the Crown.' To us it appears the severest trial to which the King, whose life was full of trials, was subjected. Later in his reign the King had to contend with many misfortunes; with unsuccessful and costly wars; with national distress and national discontent; with the gigantic resources of powerful enemies and the half-hearted friendship of crippled and desponding allies. But in those days he had sympathies and consolations which now were wanting to him. He had in succession two Ministers on whose personal friendship and devotion he could implicitly rely; he had the regard and esteem of the middle classes of the country; he had the advantage of a character at last well known and understood. But during the Grenville Administration he had none of those consolations. His chief Minister was not cordial, or sympathetic, or devoted; but cold, formal, stern, and dictatorial. His people were as yet strangers to his own character and believed the worst of him. Every ministerial act that was obnoxious and unpopular was vulgarly attributed to the despotic schemes of the King; and the King was believed to be held in leading strings by his mother and Lord Bute. The first outburst of the protracted storm commenced with the publication of what Burke called that 'spiritless, though 'virulent, performance, at once vapid and sour,' No. 45 of the 'North Briton,' and the agitation about General Warrants. The war between Wilkes and the Government was destined to last seven years; seven years of successive humiliation for the Government, and of triumph to the most impudent and scurrilous of demagogues. This was the first fruits of Grenville's indiscretion, and was near being his last. A sense of the feelings of the Cabinet induced the King to consider the expediency of dismissing his Ministers. Bute suggested an application to Pitt, and, as we have before remarked, the Duke of Bedford came up to London to make the same suggestion at the same time. Pitt was sent for. He had three interviews with the King; but they were fruitless. Pitt insisted on

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bringing in certain colleagues, who were intolerable to the King. The King said his honour was concerned; Pitt withdrew, and the negotiation was at an end. Grenville, of course, remained in office, and began his new reign by lecturing the King on the ascendancy of Bute. He was not long before he embarked on a fresh sea of troubles. The House of Lords addressed the Crown with a view to prosecute the author of the scandalous 'Essay on Woman.' The House of Commons was equally vigorous against the author of the scurrilous 'North Briton.' The Grenville Ministry pitted Parliament and Government against John Wilkes. The moral effect of such strategy it should not have been difficult to prognosticate. Well did Chesterfield write, after the duel into which Wilkes had been hurried by his personalities against Martin:—

'It is a great mercy that Mr. Wilkes, the intrepid defender of our rights and liberties, may live to fight and write again in defence of them; and it is no less a mercy that God has raised up the Earl of Sandwich to vindicate and promote true religion and morality! These two blessings will justly make an epoch in the annals of this country.'

It was indeed an epoch in the annals of the country. But its interest is tame and transitory compared with that other epoch which is eternally associated with Grenville's name; the epoch at which he proposed his too famous Resolutions to tax the American Colonies. While he was thus raising the popular spirit of England against the Government, and the popular spirit of the Colonists against England, he was disobliging the Sovereign by stinting him in matters most intimately affecting his dignity and comfort. On the spot where Buckingham Palace now stands, the Queen's House then stood. The ground which is covered by Grosvenor Place and the palatial squares of Belgravia was marsh and swamp where sportsmen shot wild ducks. It was considered necessary for the privacy of the Palace to include some acres of this ground in the Royal demesnes. 20,000*l.* was the price demanded. But Grenville's uncourtly parsimony forbade him to ask this small sum for the purpose; a parsimony which has condemned every succeeding Sovereign to the discomfort of inhabiting, and London to the discredit of possessing, a palace which can be overlooked from the attics of a row of adjacent houses. It was not, we believe, any deliberate intention to cause discomfort to the Royal Family which induced Grenville to decline asking Parliament for the requisite grant. Rather it was a desire to exalt the House of Commons, to show its constitutional control over the public purse, in fact to exemplify its power over the Court

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in the same way as he wished to exemplify its power over the Colonies by taxing America. On the constitutional right of the House of Commons to refuse a grant for buying grounds to improve the King's palace there could be as little doubt as there was on its constitutional right to tax the dependencies of the kingdom. But if Grenville could only have persuaded himself that the highest political wisdom often consists in not pushing a constitutional right to its extreme point, how different would have been the present aspect of London and the present relations of England to America! On a subsequent occasion a severer wound was inflicted on the King's feelings by the studied omission of his mother's name from the Regency Bill. The omission was ultimately repaired, and Grenville assumed credit to himself for having repaired it; but the King can hardly have been ignorant or forgetful of the part which he had played during the passage of the Bill through Parliament. The impression made on the King's mind by the transaction—an impression the more profound in consequence of one of those mental attacks which he had lately suffered—no doubt led him to seek again to change his Ministry. The openness of his intention brought upon him one of those insulting reprimands from the Duke of Bedford, which, however they may have been justified at the time by the supposed influence of Lord Bute, would require some far greater reason to justify them in our time. As a comment on this suspicion, it is as well to add that the attack on Bedford House by a mob of Spitalfield weavers, who were irritated by a sensible speech of the Duke's against protective duties, was devoutly believed by the great Whig leaders to have been instigated by Lord Bute! The negotiation, however, which the King had entrusted to the Duke of Cumberland broke down, through a misunderstanding or coolness between those two strange personages, Pitt and his brother-in-law Lord Temple; whose wayward caprices and inconsistencies seem to typify the relations of other and inferior statesmen of that day, and to supersede, in no small degree, the necessity of explaining the dislocation of parties and administration by any systematic intrigues or adroit manœuvres of the King himself. But a Ministry at once unpopular with the country and with the Court could not last, and eventually the Marquis of Rockingham undertook the task which Pitt had declined. About a year was sufficient to overthrow a Cabinet which was tottering in its very commencement, but which deserves well of history for having succeeded in repealing the Stamp Act. Application was again made to Pitt, who this time condescended to afford his aid, though unaccompanied by the co-operation of Lord Temple.

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Pitt himself declined to take the ostensible post of First Minister, to which the Duke of Grafton was appointed; but in lieu of that became Privy Seal, and shortly after, Earl of Chatham. In this Ministry it was that Lord North first took office, and first brought himself under the favourable notice of the King.

The history of the Duke of Grafton's Administration is the history of the Duke of Grafton's distresses and anxieties, caused by the discontent in America, the contests with Wilkes, the savage onslaughts of Junius, and, not least, the illnesses, caprices, and finally the opposition of Chatham. With clouds gathering in every part of the political horizon, with London in a state of half-sedition, with his own Chancellor and his late colleague speaking against him in the House of Lords, it is not surprising that a man of the Duke of Grafton's luxurious and indolent habits should have preferred obscurity to power. He had doubtless long desired to resign office; and this desire received its final impulse when Charles Yorke, his new Chancellor, met with his mysterious and awful end. The Duke's Administration broke up; but not before it had, by Charles Townsend's scheme of tea duties, undone all the good which the Rockingham Government had effected by repealing the Stamp Act.

Lord North assumed the post of Prime Minister in January 1770. His was the seventh Ministry which the first ten years of the King's reign saw. It was the stormiest and the gloomiest of the seven. When he became Premier the exasperation of the American Colonies had just been raised beyond its former height by the ill-judged resolution of Parliament, on the motion of the Duke of Bedford, to revive against the colonists an obsolete statute of Henry VIII., and to bring over American prisoners for trial by the English courts. On the very day when he brought before Parliament the ministerial proposal for a duty on the importation of tea into America, occurred the first affray in which blood was shed, between American subjects and English soldiers at Boston. The lull that succeeded in America was accompanied by commotions in England. The popularity and persecution of Wilkes were successfully arrayed against the Court and the Ministry. For the first time in recent history, a Lord Mayor of London, at the head of a City deputation, answered his sovereign on the throne in terms of resentful remonstrance. When the storm lulled in England, it broke out afresh in America. First came the dismissal of Franklin from office, and the devotion of that keen and angry spirit to the revolutionary cause—then the Boston Tea Riots —then the fatal conflict at Lexington—then the battle of

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Bunker's Hill—then ineffectual attempts at reconciliation on either side—and then the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Next followed the alliance between France and America, the capitulation of Burgoyne, and an alternation of successes on either side, until the surrender of Cornwallis rendered the prolongation of the struggle hopeless and odious. The vicissitudes of failure and success which intervened between the capitulation of Burgoyne and the capitulation of Cornwallis were not relieved by any brilliant events in the domestic administration of the country. During the greater part of Lord North's Ministry, the Opposition in Parliament was angry, vehement, and eloquent, while out of Parliament many parts of the country, and especially the city of London, resounded with murmurs, remonstrances, and complaints. The spirit which had been kindled by Beckford and fanned by Chatham was not extinguished. Public meetings were held in Westminster, in Yorkshire, and other places, to denounce the conduct of the Government. At last, when the news of Cornwallis's surrender had been received, and the Opposition continued to repeat motion after motion condemnatory of the prosecution of the war, Lord North succeeded in persuading the King to accept his resignation, and startled the House on the evening on which Lord Surrey was to bring forward a motion more stringent than any which preceded it, by the announcement that his Administration was at an end.

The character of the man who held the helm of the State during this troublous period is worthy of contemplation. There were many conditions which it was bound to fulfil, and in Lord North they were fulfilled. It was necessary that the Minister should command the respect of the House of Commons, while he conciliated the confidence of the King. The King had struggled against the domination of the Grenvilles and the Bedfords. He longed for a Minister who would at least show deference to his rank and consideration for his feelings. Such a Minister he found in Lord North, who had been brought up with him in childhood, and acted with him in boyish theatricals. Mr. Massey says, 'The difficulty was to find any public man of 'character who would accept office on the King's terms; the 'first condition upon which every Minister had hitherto insisted 'being the expulsion of the King's friends.' It is likely enough that North put the influence of the King's friends at its proper value, and knew that no personal relations between the sovereign and any number of private individuals could outweigh the influence of a Minister who was powerful in the House of Commons. And this second qualification North

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possessed amply. Perhaps no Minister has ever retained such large majorities in the face of so many and increasing failures. Mr. Massey goes on to say:—

'No creeping ambition actuated his conduct. When he enumerated his unpopular votes as a proof that he was not ambitious, I have no doubt that he spoke with perfect sincerity; although it so happened that the very course which seemed to him to lead in an opposite direction was the one which conducted him to power.... He supported the King against the aristocracy; the Parliament against the people; and the nation against the Colonies. Had Lord North shrunk from the post of danger, it is not likely that any other man could have been found to occupy it. The King must have given way.'

Assuming this portrait to be true, it only proves that Lord North must have possessed in an eminent degree the qualities which are required in a leader of the House of Commons. In a House, in which Burke and Barré, Conway and Sir George Savile, were distinguished speakers, the Minister who could hold his own against so formidable a phalanx could have been no common debater. And all the accounts which we have received of that era represent him as powerful in debate, and a master of financial details. With an easy and playful wit he combined a clear and forcible expression; and he recommended both by a singular sweetness and placidity of temper. Often assailed in language which would not be tolerated in Parliament now-a-days, he always replied without bitterness, and generally with good-humoured banter. A personal allusion of Burke serves at the same time to show the reckless license in which even the great parliamentary speakers of those days indulged, and the physical disadvantages under which Lord North laboured. 'The noble lord who spoke last, after extending his 'right leg a full yard before his left, rolling his flaming eyes, 'and moving his ponderous frame, has at length opened his 'mouth.' But the same great orator, in his letter to a 'Noble 'Lord,' describes him in these terms: 'He was a man of 'admirable parts, of general knowledge, of a versatile under-'standing, fitted for every kind of business, of infinite wit and 'pleasantry, of a delightful temper, and with a mind most per-'fectly disinterested. His great defect was a want of firmness 'which made him unable to resist the influence of those he 'loved;' though in defending their opinions he often encountered greater difficulties than he would have done in following his own. We shall see, in the course of this correspondence, how often he would cheerfully have resigned office, had his feelings of friendship to the King permitted him. At the same

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time it is difficult to see that a policy essentially different from that which he pursued in respect to America would have been followed by any contemporary Minister, except Lord Rockingham; and Lord Rockingham's views on this subject were not the views generally entertained by the nation. We may further add that Lord North was an elegant scholar of the Eton type; and, emphatically a gentleman. And, as the King, painfully impressed by his former experience, remarked, 'It was no 'slight thing having to do business with a gentleman.'

Those who like to see a dramatic unity preserved throughout the relations of life, and those who love to see warm friendships perpetuated to the close of life, will be equally pained at the change which finally came over the mutual sentiments of the King and Lord North. While we read this correspondence, it seems impossible to believe that the time should ever come when the King and his Minister would be no longer friends. Yet that time did come, and came much sooner than either of the correspondents dreamed of. The Minister who had played the part of buffer between the Court and the Opposition, who had won majorities over to the side of the Court, and stood by the Court when they had dwindled to minorities, was himself to become a leader of Opposition, and a colleague both in Opposition and office with the man whose political principles and personal character were peculiarly odious to the King. His name was to be associated with a coalition which even the lax morality of those days deemed flagrantly dishonest, and with tactics which public opinion, then and since, has pronounced to be wholly unworthy of him as a man and a statesman. He was destined at a later period to act with men who abetted the Heir-Apparent's unconstitutional projects on the throne, and encouraged the unseemly jests of his parasites at its helpless occupant. It is not strange that the King should have felt deeply this bitter return for friendly intercourse and continued kindnesses; or that he should have spoken of Lord North as 'that 'ungrateful man.' Chatham, indeed, had been treated with great consideration, and had not returned it with the gratitude which the King thought due. But Chatham's nature was arrogant, dictatorial, and ungracious. Besides, Chatham did not ever, like North—

> '... bear the key of all his counsels,
> And know the very bottom of his soul;
> And almost might have coined him into gold.'

In the ingratitude of Lord North the King experienced the ingratitude of an old and familiar friend; one who knew his every thought and wish. And to us this ingratitude seems

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inexplicable by any other assumption than that Lord North, with all his cleverness and good-nature, was wholly without sensibility. This is not an uncommon occurrence. Many of the people who pass through life with the character of being 'genial' and 'good-tempered,' owe their reputation entirely to the fact that they are not sensitive and thin-skinned. A man who has a good digestion, strong nerves, a smiling face, and a constitutional insensibility to ridicule or invective, may be a man without tenderness, without scruples, and without gratitude; but, in the estimation of the world, he will pass for being a far 'better fellow' than the man whose kindliness or scrupulousness is marred by a thin-skinned susceptibility to blame or reproof. Lord North's nature was devoid of all profound emotion; probably, of all profound convictions. It was this want of depth which made him equally forgetful of former slights and former kindnesses; of old friends and old enemies; equally ready to help the King against Fox, and to coalesce with Fox against the King; to tolerate for years a servant who was perpetually giving him offence, and to ally himself with a faction which had for years been reviling and deriding him. This is not a great character, but it is an eminently popular one; and, as in the case of Lord North, there are seasons when it may be very useful.

We will now proceed to examine some of the letters which show in the strongest light the King's personal qualities, political opinions, and estimate of his Minister.

We will begin with those letters in which the King gives expression to his affection for and confidence in his Minister. The first letter we shall quote relates to a matter of domestic interest which had caused the King great pain. His third brother the Duke of Cumberland, a Prince of handsome features but low stature, mean talents, and small acquirements, had crowned many amours by an intrigue with the Countess Grosvenor. An action was brought by her husband against her seducer, and the jury assessed the damages at 10,000*l.* The sequel of the Duke's history was not calculated to reconcile him to the King. After a notorious intrigue with the young wife of a citizen who seems to have been rather gratified at the scandal, His Royal Highness married the widow of Mr. Christopher Horton, a woman whose attractions, according to Walpole, consisted in her being 'extremely pretty, 'well made, with the most amorous eyes in the world, and 'eyelashes a yard long.' The other brother spoken of in the letter is the Duke of Gloucester, the second and once the best-loved brother of George III.

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'Richmond Lodge, Nov. 5th, 1770.

'LORD NORTH,—A subject of a most private and delicate kind obliges me to lose no time in acquainting you that my two brothers have this day applied to me on the difficulty which the folly of the youngest has drawn him into; the affair is too publick for you to doubt but that it regards the lawsuit; the time will expire this day sevennight, when he must pay the damages and the other expenses attending it. He has taken no one step to raise the money, and now has applied to me as the only means by which he can obtain it, promising to repay it in a year and half; I therefore promised to write to you, though I saw great difficulty in your finding so large a sum as thirteen thousand pounds in so short a time; but their pointing out to me that the prosecutor would certainly force the House, which would at this licentious time occasion disagreeable reflections on the rest of his family as well as on him. I shall speak more fully to you on this subject on Wednesday, but the time is so short that I did [not] choose to delay opening this affair till then; besides, I am not fond of taking persons on delicate affairs unprepared; whatever can be done ought to be done; and I ought as little as possible to appear in so very improper a business. GEORGE R.'*

The King's personal solicitude for his Minister's health appears in this:—

'Queen's House, Feb. 24th, 1777.
'50 min. pt. 5 p.m.

'LORD NORTH,—I am sorry to find your cold is encreased, and I strongly recommend ABSTINENCE and WATER as the ablest and safest physicians.' (Vol. ii. p. 55.)

The anxiety of the King depicted in the following letter points to the wish to resign office, which Lord North had some time entertained and avowed to the King, in consequence of the success of the American arms and the conclusion of a treaty between the United States and France:—

'Kew, May 26th, 1778.

'LORD NORTH,—You cannot be surprised that the degree to which you have pressed to resign during the space of the last three months has given me much uneasiness, but it never made me harbour any thought to the disadvantage of your worth. Now you are allarmed least you have offended me, when there is not the least reason for it. As you have declared a resolution of continuing if I cannot make an arrangement to my satisfaction, this declaration of yours has thoroughly satisfied me, and I trust to be in a few days able to decide whether I can make a proper arrangement, or whether, agreable to your present request, I shall think it best to continue you in your present office: in either case you shall by deeds, not words, see that I have a real regard for you.' (Vol. ii. pp. 197, 198.)

* Donne, Correspondence of George III., vol. i. p. 33.

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As the year went on, the parliamentary contest became more hot and violent, recriminations between the adherents of the Ministry and the Opposition became more and more virulent. Lord North had to fight almost single-handed against Burke, Barré, and Savile. Burke's motion on Economical Reform enlisted the support of many partisans of the Government. Dunning's celebrated motion directed against the growth of the Crown's influence had been affirmed by a majority of eighteen in a House of four hundred and forty-eight. A general resolution to press vigorously for reform and retrenchment was displayed both within and without the House. But through want of unanimity or of honesty these majorities at last began to dwindle, and the Ministry regained temporary ascendancy. It was after one of these favourable divisions that the King wrote the following letter:—

'Queen's House, May 19th, 1780.
'15 min. pt. 8 a.m.

'Lord North cannot doubt that I received with pleasure his account of Mr. Burke's Bill having been defeated in the several clauses that were before the Committee yesterday.

'But he cannot be surprised at the real sorrow occasioned by seeing he persists in the idea that his health will not long permit him to remain in his present situation. If I had the powers of oratory of Demosthenes, or the pen of an Addison, I could not say more on the subject than what I can convey in the following few lines: that I am conscious, if Lord North will resolve with spirit to continue in his present employment, that with the assistance of a new Parliament I shall be able to keep the present constitution of this country in its pristine lustre; that there is no means of letting Lord North retire from taking the lead in the House of Commons that will not probably end in evil; therefore till I see things change to a more favourable appearance I shall not think myself at liberty to consent to Lord North's request. He must be the judge whether he can therefore honorably desert me, when infalable [sic] mischief must ensue.' (Vol. ii. p. 321.)

In almost the very last letter addressed to Lord North as Prime Minister, the King thus unbosoms himself, respecting the demands of Lord North's successor:—

'Queen's House, March 27th, 1782.

'Lord North,—At last the fatal day has come which the misfortunes of the times and the sudden change of sentiments of the House of Commons have drove me to of changing the Ministry, and a more general removal of other persons than I believe ever was known before. I have to the last fought for individuals, but the number I have saved, except my Bedchamber, is incredibly few. You would hardly believe that even the Duke of Montagu was strongly run at, but I declared that I would sooner let confusion follow than part

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with the governor of my sons and so unexceptionable a man : at last I have succeeded so that he and Ld. Ashburnham remain. The effusion of my sorrows has made me say more than I had intended, but I ever did and ever shall look on you as a friend, as well as a faithful servant.' (Vol. ii. p. 420.)

It is clear that, though the King took an interest in the details of all public business and all official promotion, there was no one subject in which he felt so great an interest as in the dispensation of ecclesiastical preferment. We know with what intensity of purpose, at a later period of his life, he fought against Pitt for the appointment to the Primacy, and won the battle, by promoting Bishop Manners Sutton, in preference to his Minister's nominee, Bishop Tomline. In these volumes we see the same solicitude on behalf of those divines who his Majesty thought would best become the episcopal or any other ecclesiastical dignity. The King writes on appointing one clergyman to the Mastership of the Temple, and another to a Crown living :—

'Queen's House, Feb. 1st, 1771.

'Lord North,—I have learnt from Lord Talbot that the Mr. Watts who is recommended by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London for the pulpit at the Temple is the person I imagined ; he is one of my chaplains, a man of great abilities, and, from my knowledge of him, an excellent preacher ; I therefore consent to his appointment, which you will direct to be prepared.' (Vol. i. pp. 54, 55.)

'Queen's House, March 4th, 1771.
'53 min. pt. 5 p.m.

'Lord North,—Mr. Scott chusing to decline the living of Worplesden, I very readily consent to Mr. Fountayne's obtaining it, and that the former may wait for the living of Simondsburn in Northumberland ; you will therefore direct the warrant to be preferred [sic].' (Vol. i. pp. 60, 61.)

The following, on an Oxford professorship, might be well remembered in days when other claims than those founded on special aptitude for the office are allowed to have weight :—

'Queen's House, March 10th, 1771.

'Lord North,—Your account of Admiral Pye having yesterday carried the election at Rochester by so great a majority gives me much pleasure. I have also received your acknowledgment of the note I sent you, desiring you to consult the Chancellor of Oxford as to the properest person for the vacant Professorship, because I think those offices, having been instituted for promoting learning in the Universities, ought not to be given by favour, but according to merit.' (Vol. i. p. 63.)

The following bear upon promotions on and to the Bench :—

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'Queen's House, November 29th, 1774.
'26 min. pt. 6 p.m.

'LORD NORTH,—I learnt from the Chancellor at the House of Lords this day, that a clergyman quitted Bath on Sunday morning to solicit him for a living vacated by the death of the Bishop of Worcester on Saturday night; this I rather think is rather premature; but having since heard it pretty positively asserted that accounts are arrived this day from that place assuring he is dead, I trust if true you will have heard it, in which case I desire you will acquaint the Bishop of Lichfield with his being promoted to the See of Worcester, and Dr. Hurd to that of Lichfield; the Bishop of Bangor is, I believe, now certainly dead, which will occasion a promotion that will certainly open a small bishoprick for the Dean of Canterbury, who, having good preferments, can be contented with any that may be conferred on him.' (Vol. i. p. 218.)

'Windsor, April 30th, 1781.

'It is not probable that the good Bishop of Winchester will live many hours: Lord North will therefore, as soon as he hears of his death, acquaint the Bishop of Worcester of my appointing him to the See of Winchester, and the Bishop of Litchfield to that of Worcester. Lord Hertford has already my directions to notify the Bishop of Litchfield as Clerk of the Closet the moment he shall find that the present possessor is no more. As to the various translations that this may occasion I desire Ld. North will consult the Archbishop of Canterbury. I owne I think Dr. Horne ought to be the new Bishop; Dr. Graham ought to wait for either Bristol, Landaff, or Carlisle. If he can be told that he will have the first of those three that become vacant he cannot fail of resting contented.' (Vol. ii. p. 368.)

The royal solicitude for the great school which flourished under the protection of Royalty is evinced by the following letter:—

'Windsor, Dec. 2nd, 1781.
'55 min. pt. 3 p.m.

'LORD NORTH,—I have this instant received your letter. You will recollect that, when I told you that I thought the Provost of Eton was likely to die, I desired you would, whenever that happened, recollect that I wished it might be given to the man whose literary tallents might make the appointment respectable. I cannot fairly look on Dr. Dampier as exactly answering that character; besides, for a young man, he is greatly preferred. I would much rather give him a deanery than put him where the person pitched upon ought either to have years or avowed tallents; sure it would be very hard on Dr. Roberts.

'I shall therefore only consent to Dr. Davies for the vacant Cannonry [sic] of Windsor, and leave the rest open till you have reconsidered it, for Eton should not be bestowed by favour, but merit.' (Vol. ii. pp. 394, 395.)

These citations prove that the indolence which had been

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imputed to the young son of Frederic Prince of Wales was corrected in later years by the conscientiousness of the King and the responsibilities of his position. In no station of life, perhaps, throughout his dominions, was there a man who did harder work, and liked it better, than George III. It is possible enough that, as a lad under the leading strings of the Princess Dowager and Mr. Stone, he may have lounged and sauntered, because he had little to do except lounge and saunter. No literary habits had been cultivated in him, as we perceive by his marvellous spelling (which, however, was not a bit worse than that of many a fashionable gentleman and lady of his time), and probably all literary amusement was withheld from him. No object of interest was presented to attract his attention and employ his time. His example shows how erroneous it is to judge the character of the future man from the accidental habits of the boy. We are convinced that many a youth has been judged as harshly as Prince George, because, having nothing to occupy his mind or inspire him with energy, he appeared listless, indifferent, and lazy. In the case of George III., his preceptors were greatly to blame for not having strengthened and expanded a mind, naturally quick, shrewd, and eager, by a discipline which would have corrected both his prejudices and his obstinacy. Despite this neglect, circumstances increased the native shrewdness and developed the latent energy of his disposition.

We now turn to those letters which exhibit in the strongest light the King's resolute opinions on the most important events of Lord North's Administration, viz. the conflict with the City arising out of the dispute with Wilkes, and the conduct of the American War. There is no more curious retrospect in modern English history than that of London in the early part of George III.'s reign as compared with the London of the present day. In those days the great merchants and bankers lived within a stone's throw of the Exchange which had witnessed the origin of their fortunes. They did not dream of using the City only as a place of business to be visited for five or six hours in the daytime, and then abandoned for a West-end mansion or a suburban villa. All the energy, spirit, and independence which characterised the commercial leaders of the Metropolis were concentrated within the sound of Bow Bells. The Court of Aldermen, instead of recruiting its ranks from the retail dealers and tradesmen of Cornhill and Cheapside, enlisted into the Corporation merchants like Beckford who had property in the West Indies or country gentlemen like Wilkes. Such a class of men, combining opulence

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with intelligence and power, was predisposed to very liberal views in politics. It regarded itself as deprived of its just political influence. Some few of its members had bought boroughs; but, as a class, it was not powerful in Parliament, was powerless in the counties, and was, of course, insignificant at Court: its Liberalism, therefore, was extreme. The City was for the first twenty years of George III.'s reign the focus of opposition to the Court, and teemed with resentful remonstrances on occasions which—strange as it may sound to modern ears—provoked courtly addresses from Manchester and Birmingham. 'It is impossible,' writes the King (Letter 311), 'to draw up a more dutiful and affectionate address than the 'one from the town of Manchester, which really gives me 'pleasure as it comes unsolicited.' On the unfortunate dispute in which the House of Commons became entangled with the City about the arrest of one of its servants the King wrote thus warmly:—

'Queen's House, March 17th, 1771.

'Lord North,—Though I sent Lord Hillsborough to you with my opinion, that, as the Lord Mayor has presumed to set the privilege of the House of Commons of ordering printers to be brought to the bar at nought, and even to issue a warrant for committing the Messenger to the Compter for executing the duty of his office, the authority of the House of Commons is totally annihilated if it is not in an exemplary manner supported to-morrow by instantly committing the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver to the Tower; as to Wilkes, he is below the notice of the House.' (Vol. i. p. 64.)

At the same time the following paragraph shows the very sensible view the King had taken of the origin of the quarrel:—

'You know very well I was averse to meddling with the printers, but now there is no retracting; the honour of the Commons must be supported.' (Vol. i. p. 64.)

Again, when the question of ordering the Lord Mayor to attend in his place next night had given rise to one of the most acrimonious debates of the Session, and had been carried by the friends of privilege, the King shows how earnest his own feelings were in the following letter:—

'Queen's House, March 19th, 1771.
'3 min. pt. 9 a.m.

'Lord North,—The conduct of the majority seems to have been of that firm and dignified kind which becomes those that are on right ground. I am not surprized that the whole House, except Alderman Sawbridge, Alderman Oliver, and Sir Joseph Mawbey, joined in condemning the conduct of the Lord Mayor, and in asserting the privilege

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of the House, which, if not in an exemplary manner supported on this occasion, must annihilate [sic] the House of Commons, and thus put an end to the most excellent form of Government which has been established in this kingdom. Go on with resolution, and this affair will be happily concluded. It occurs to me that the mode of conducting the Lord Mayor ought to be well considered, that no rescue may ensue. Might not the conducting him by water be the most private manner?' (Vol. i. p. 65.)

These protracted debates must have been very wearisome to the Royal mind, which, doubtless, regarded such an effusion of words as a grave impediment to business, and saw its own way clearer. But even while his indignation at the insolence of the Lord Mayor made him impatient of any delay in punishing him, the King showed by the following letter that he had taken the full measure of another and more conspicuous agitator than Brass Crosby:—

'Queen's House, March 20th, 1771.
'55 min. pt. 9 a.m.

'LORD NORTH,—I am sorry the business of committing the Lord Mayor could not be concluded last night, for every delay in a breach of privilege of so enormous a kind seems to indicate to the bystander a less attachment in the House of Commons to its own authority than every wellwisher can desire; besides, whatever time is given to the Lord Mayor is in reality allowing consultation and plans of disturbance to the factious. I owne I could have wished that Wilkes had not been ordered before the House, for he must be in a jail the next term if not given new life by some punishment inflicted on him, which will bring him new supplies; and I do not doubt he will hold such a language that will oblige some notice to be taken of him.' (Vol. i. p. 66.)

The Speaker, be it remembered, had thrice ordered Wilkes to attend; and Wilkes had thrice refused to attend except in his own place as a Member. This contumacy the House, warned by past experience, was too wise to visit with punishment, and ultimately allowed the order to drop. This, as the King justly surmised, must have been a sad disappointment to Wilkes.

We now proceed to cite those letters and paragraphs which illustrate the King's sanguine obstinacy in continuing the struggle with the American Colonies. This correspondence abounds with them. The first letter which we shall quote was written after the reception of the news that the people of Boston had boarded the teaships of the East India Company in the harbour, had flung overboard their contents to the value of 18,000*l.*, and had tarred and feathered several adherents of the Government:—

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'Queen's House, Feb. 4th, 1774.
'46 min. pt. 6 p.m.

'LORD NORTH,—Since you left me this day, I have seen Lieutenant-General Gage, who came to express his readiness, though so lately come from America, to return at a day's notice, if the conduct of the Colonies should induce the directing coercive measures. His language was very consonant to his character of an honest determined man. He says they will be lyons, whilst we are lambs; but, if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very meek. He thinks the four regiments intended to relieve as many regiments in America, if sent to Boston, are sufficient to prevent any disturbance. I wish you would see him, and hear his ideas as to the mode of compelling Boston to submit to whatever may be thought necessary; indeed, all men seem now to feel that the fatal compliance in 1766 has encouraged the Americans annually to encrease in their pretensions to that thorough independency which one state has of another, but which is quite subversive of the obedience which a colony owes to its mother country.' (Vol. i. p. 164.)

The fatal compliance in 1766 to which the King refers was the Repeal of the Stamp Act; an Act only so far faulty that it did not concede enough. Burke speaks of its enactment as an event which caused more 'universal joy throughout the 'British dominions than perhaps any other that can be re-'membered.'

The next letter was written on a proposal made by General Gage that the Penal Acts against the Colonists should be repealed. Mr. Donne quotes the following passage from Bancroft which testifies to the multiplicity of the General's difficulties and his expedients:—

'Gage (says Mr. Bancroft*), who came flushed with confidence in an easy victory, at the end of four months was careworn, disheartened, and appalled. With the forces under his command, he hoped for no more than to pass the winter unmolested. At one moment, *a suspension of the Penal Acts* was his favourite advice, which the King ridiculed as senseless; at the next he demanded an army of twenty thousand men, to be composed of Canadian recruits, Indians, and hirelings from the continent of Europe; again, he would bring the Americans to terms by casting them off as fellow-subjects, and not suffering even a boat to go in or out of their harbours. Out of Boston his power was at an end.'

On these proposals the King writes thus:—

'Queen's House, November 19th, 1774.
'17 min. pt. 3 p.m.

'LORD NORTH,—I return the private letters received from Lieut.-General Gage; his idea of suspending the Acts appears to me the

* Bancroft, Hist. of U. S., vol. vi. p. 79.

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most absurd that can be suggested. The people are ripe for mischief, upon which the mother-country adopts suspending the measures she has thought necessary: this must suggest to the Colonies a fear that alone prompts them to their present violence; we must either master them or totally leave them to themselves and treat them as aliens. I do not by this mean to insinuate that I am for advice [sic] [advising] new measures; but I am for supporting those already undertaken.' (Vol. i. p. 216.)

Again: when he had received an intimation that the famous 'Olive-branch' mission was contemplated by the Colonists his opinions find expression in these terms:—

'Queen's House, February 15th, 1775.
'6 min. pt. 10 a.m.

'Lord North,—I take this method of returning the secret letter from Maryland. The author seems to be a spirited man, and well adapted to the difficulties he may meet with; but where violence is with resolution repelled it commonly yields, and I owne, though a thorough friend to holding out the olive-branch, I have not the smallest doubt that, if it does not succeed, that when once vigorous measures appear to be the only means left of bringing the Americans to a due submission to the mother country, that the Colonies will submit.' (Vol. i. p. 229.)

When the struggle had become more obstinate and more desperate the King's aversion to the dismemberment of the empire found expression in the following not very elegantly composed or accurately spelt but perfectly intelligible sentence:—

'If Lord North can see with the same degree of enthusiasm I do the beauty, excellence, and perfection of the British constitution as by law established, and consider that, if any one branch of the empire is alowed [sic] to cast off its dependency, that the others will infalably [sic] follow the example, that consequently, though an arduous struggle, that is worth going through any difficulty to preserve to latest posterity what the wisdom of our ancestors have carefully transmitted to us, he will not allow despondency to find a place in his breast, but resolve not merely out of duty to fill his post, but will resolve with vigour to meet every obstacle that may arise, he shall meet with most cordial support from me; but the times require vigour, or the state will be ruined.' (Vol. ii. pp. 215, 216.)

After France and Spain had openly allied themselves with the insurgent Colonies, the King, in answer to one of Lord North's many suggestions of a change of Ministry, wrote thus:—'Before I will ever hear of any man's readiness to come 'into office, I will expect to see it signed under his hand that 'he is resolved to keep the empire entire, and that no troops 'shall be consequently withdrawn from thence, nor inde-

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'pendence ever allowed.' In 1781 only a few months before Cornwallis's capitulation, he thus comments on Fox's motion for a committee to consider the American War:—

'Windsor, June 13th, 1781.
'25 min. pt. 7 a.m.

'It is difficult to express which appears more strongly, the manly fortitude of the great majority last night in rejecting the hacknied question of a Committee for considering the American war, or the impudence of the minority in again bringing it forward; for whoever the most ardently wishes for peace must feel that every repetition of this question in Parliament only makes the rebels and the Bourbon family more desirous of continuing the war, from the hopes of tiring out this country. We have it not at this hour in our power to make peace; it is by steadiness and exertions that we are to get into a situation to effect it; and with the assistance of Divine Providence I am confident we shall soon find our enemies forced to look for that blessing. Among our many misfortunes I feel one satisfaction—that we have but one line to follow; therefore, at least, diffidence and perplexity cannot attend us; and we have the greatest objects to make us zealous in our pursuit, for we are contending for our whole consequence, whether we are to rank among the great Powers of Europe, or be reduced to one of the least considerable. He that is not stimulated by this consideration does not deserve to be a member of this community.' (Vol. ii. pp. 376, 377.)

Even two months later, he says: 'Should France not supply 'America amply, I think it has the appearance that this long 'contest will end as it ought, by the Colonies returning to the 'mother country; and I confess I will never put my hands to 'any other conclusion of this business.' Lastly, when Cornwallis was hemmed in by the American troops and their allies, without the means of extrication, without provisions, without hope, the King did not despair. Every one in England—and no one more clearly than Lord North—saw the coming blow. The King alone did not or would not see it. To him, indeed, faith was the evidence of things unseen. When all upon the western horizon was to others but one huge cloud charged with gloom and storm, to the King alone it presented a silver lining of light and hope. Even when Cornwallis had capitulated and success had crowned the arms of the insurgents, the King, still ignorant of the event, wrote thus to Lord North:—

'Windsor, November 3rd, 1781.
'54 min. pt. 11 p.m.

'Lord North will be naturally curious to know what news has been brought this day by Lieut.-Col. Conway. I have within this half-hour seen him, and as far as I have been able as yet to collect from him, that, having had Sir Henry Clinton's leave to come to England when

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the campaign was supposed to be at an end, and being better able, from having later left that province, than any one at New York, to state the situation of Ld. Cornwallis, Sir Henry had judged it right still to send him with his dispatches. His opinion seems to be that Ld. Cornwallis will certainly leave the Chesapeak and return to Charles Town after having beat La Fayette, and that both these are likely events; that before he sailed a report of this had arrived from Philadelphia; on the whole, he supposes we shall in very few days hear from Ld. Cornwallis, and he trusts Sir Henry Clinton will soon have somewhat to communicate. This I owne gives me satisfaction. With such excellent troops, if such an event can be effected, I think success must ensue. I feel the justness of our cause; I put the greatest confidence in [the] valour of both navy and army, and, above all, in the assistance of Divine Providence. The moment is certainly anxious; the dye is now cast whether this shall [continue?] a great empire or the least dignified of the European States. The object is certainly worth struggling for, and I trust the nation is equally determined with myself to meet the conclusion with firmness.' (Vol. ii. pp. 386, 387.)

We have now quoted abundantly from this very interesting correspondence, which derives additional value from the care bestowed by its conscientious editor Mr. Donne. And what is the impression which it leaves on our minds respecting the King's character and capacity? On the whole, it is, we think, not an unfavourable impression. But it is more favourable to him as a man than as a King, certainly as a constitutional King. Firmness hardened into invincible obstinacy, a love of authority and control, which, could it have been fully gratified, would have left very little room for the action of Parliament; and an habitual prejudice against individual statesmen which is incompatible with the principles of a limited monarchy. Had George III. been born heir to absolute sovereignty, his reign would have been one of the luckiest accidents possible for his subjects. He had certain qualities which win for absolute monarchs the loyalty of their people and the devotion of their personal adherents. His theory of government somewhat resembled that of the governor of a crown colony, assisted, but not controlled, by his council. As it was, George III. was after 1790 extremely popular with the bulk of the English people, who knew nothing of his relations towards the leaders of political parties, and cared little for the punctilios of constitutional government. To the traders and bankers outside the circle of metropolitan agitation—to the squirearchy in the country, to the middle-class inhabitants of provincial towns—above all, to the clergy and the yeomanry, it was a matter of supreme indifference that their King was suspected of intriguing to oust George Grenville, or of circumventing Lord Rockingham, or of

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conspiring to make the Great Commoner unpopular, or holding in reserve a corps of devoted official Janizaries prepared to upset his recognised Ministers. To some of them the worst of these suspicions appeared—and we think, justly appeared—to be destitute of foundation. To the majority they appeared utterly unimportant. They saw in the King a man who practised the virtues which they themselves most admired, and reflected the prejudices by which they themselves were mainly actuated. He was temperate, he was frugal, he was industrious, he was devout, he was courageous, he was affectionate. Did not the King work harder at public business than the generality of merchants worked at their own? Was not his dinner the model of a gentleman-farmer's family dinner? Did not the King ride about the country without pomp, and talk to yeomen and farmers like the good 'farmer George' that he was? Did he not keep his accounts with marvellous minuteness? Did he not date each of his letters with a methodical precision and particularity unrivalled by scriveners, bankers, and lawyers? Again, had not they seen him on the day of his coronation, unadvised by precedent or counsel, himself doff the Royal Crown that he might with becoming humility partake of the Holy Communion? They knew too how, on ascending the throne, he had rebuked a courtly preacher for a too adulatory sermon, and how he had written to Most Reverend Prelates to express his disapprobation of the secular festivities which had violated the traditional sanctity of episcopal palaces. At a period later than that of Lord North's Ministry good and thoughtful persons were melted into tears at the spectacle of the aged monarch going to the great metropolitan cathedral to return humble thanks to the Almighty for His goodness in restoring him from the dread darkness of a malady worse than death, to life, reason, and health. They knew too that on occasions which made Ministers and Privy Councillors mute through fear, the King alone had breathed courage into the cowed and hesitating circle. It was to his promptitude and spirit that London owed its rescue from the anarchy, at once shameful and terrible, with which the grotesque fanaticism of Lord G. Gordon had afflicted it. It was the King who took down on the spot Wedderburn's opinion that the troops might be legally employed: it was the King who ordered them to be called out: it was the King who declared his readiness to lead them. When an angry mob pelted the royal carriage on its way to Westminster, and his courtiers turned pale at the rude assault, the King alone was calm and undismayed; when fired at in the theatre, he alone of the royal party retained his

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composure. It was in no vaunting spirit of fictitious bravery, then, that the King had written in 1775, when incendiary hand-bills were circulated about the streets of London to prevent the meeting of Parliament: 'These hand-bills are 'certainly spread to cause terror; that they may in the timid 'Duke (sc. of Grafton) I saw yesterday; but I thank God 'I am not of that make. I know what my duty to my 'country makes me undertake, and threats cannot prevent 'me from doing that to the fullest extent.' Indeed, next to gambling and debauchery he seems to have had the most utter aversion to cowardice. He is never tired of sneering at the pusillanimity which made the Duke of Grafton desert him, and contrasting it with the courage shown by Lord North in confronting the dangers and responsibilities of office. If his courage and firmness degenerated into an obstinacy which resisted the eloquence of reasoning and the logic of facts, a few brilliant statesmen or profound philosophers might deride a stubborn temper which the King shared with half the plough-boys and carters in his kingdom; but the great majority of the nation was proud to think that the King had the fortitude to maintain opinions which were common to themselves and their sovereign. Indeed, as we observed many years ago in reviewing the Memoirs of Lord Sidmouth, the prejudices of George III. were the prejudices of almost all contemporary Englishmen. Did the King set his face steadily against conciliation with America? his obstinacy only reflected the obstinacy of the country. His bigotry towards the American Colonists was no more peculiar to himself than was his bigotry at a later period towards the Roman Catholics. In either case he was only a more vehement partisan of a party which included three-fourths of the educated and wealthy classes. Burke so early as the year 1774 writes in this strain to Lord Rockingham: 'Even those who are most likely to be overwhelmed by 'any real American confusion are among the most supine. 'The character of the Ministry either produces or perfectly 'coincides with the disposition of the public.' Even John Wesley indited a lecture to the Colonists on the wickedness of their insurrection, and concluded with these words: 'Our sins 'never will be removed until we fear God and honour the 'King.' We have already quoted passages more than enough to show the King's obdurate pertinacity on this subject. Judging as we do after the event, we are ready to pile epithets of condemnation on an obstinacy which only made the final concession more abject and humiliating. A better knowledge also of the geographical conditions of the country has convinced

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us that, even had we succeeded in the immediate object of the war, we could not have succeeded in the permanent government of a country so vast, so distant, and so accessible to all the vagrant populations of the earth, as all North America. But if we try to place ourselves in the position of Englishmen living in the year 1775, we may find reason to acquit the King of that blind and stupid insensibility which is so unjustly laid to his exclusive charge, on every point save one. It was not more unnatural for an English monarch in those days to desire to maintain the integrity of his kingdom than it was for the President of the American Republic in our time to desire to maintain the integrity of the Union. Nor did the conflict seem dangerous. At the beginning of the contest, few people could reasonably have doubted that Great Britain must prevail. Not only were the resources of the Colonies so small, but their councils were so distracted, and their jealousies so rife, that a vigorous and well-concerted strategy must have rendered their harmonious action impossible, and have paralysed their first efforts. Even after Burgoyne's miserable surrender, the Revolutionary Councils were divided by fear or faction, while their armies were weakened by apathy, by privation, by irregular supplies of food and more irregular supplies of money. Ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-paid, in many cases forced by leaders of whom they knew little into a service for which they cared less, the soldiers of the insurgent army might have often been cut up or hemmed in by commanders who combined activity and intelligence with professional knowledge. Only within the year which preceded the final disaster at York Town, the capture of Charlestown had nearly brought back the Carolinas to their loyal subjection. In the very year which witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis, Washington had been sorely tried by the wide-spread discontent of most of his troops, and by the open mutiny of others. Had we possessed a general of acknowledged and commanding ability, the Colonists might even then have been subdued. But it was the misfortune of England to have no commander equal to the emergencies of this war. Well has Lord Stanhope written: 'It was the bane of England, not merely on this 'occasion but throughout the whole early part of this war, to 'have for chiefs men brave indeed and honourable, skilled 'in the details of the service, but in genius fitter only for 'a second place, not gifted by nature with that energy and 'firmness essential for a chief command.' Clinton and Cornwallis were superior to Burgoyne and Gage; but Clinton and Cornwallis had a private feud of their own, and were to have

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fought a duel on the termination of the campaign. Had Clive had the conduct of the war, he would have probably conducted it to a different issue. Accustomed to incorporate foreign and barbarous races with English troops, he might have infused into the dull and listless levies of Hessian mercenaries some of that fire and spirit which he had breathed into his Sepoy followers on the plain of Plassy. But at an early stage of the war Clive had in a paroxysm of madness put an end to his own life. The conduct of the war was therefore left to the Howes, the Clintons, and the Burgoynes. The blindness of the King showed itself not in his original estimate of the probability of success, but in his continuing to retain the same opinion, when he sent such men as the English generals of the day to contend against such a man as Washington. In holding to this view, he must in 1781 have shown himself exceptionally obstinate and sanguine. And we cannot help regarding this obstinate hope and its mournful disappointment as the indications of a Nemesis which visited the King for his treatment of Lord Chatham. When we trace the misfortunes of this epoch of his reign we cannot but share in the regret which the City of London so often expressed at the time, that Lord Chatham was not at the head of the Government. He certainly was the only Minister able either to conquer or conciliate America. His name was loved and respected in America. The heads of the Revolutionary party looked up to him and would have been persuaded by his reasoning to effect a reconciliation, while it was yet possible. If a compromise had been proved to be impossible, the country would have profited by the genius of the greatest War Minister that it ever possessed. The Minister who had made loyal soldiers of the Jacobite clans, who had fostered the military genius of Wolfe and of Clive, who had smitten the House of Bourbon in its pride—the same Minister might have averted defeat and re-established the supremacy of England in America. True it is that in the last Ministry in which he had taken part, the symptoms of the mysterious malady which afflicted his latter years had developed themselves with increased frequency and severity. His irresolution, his waywardness, his isolation from his colleagues, his strange irritability, and his stranger silence, had driven the poor Duke of Grafton to despair. Still the force and fire which he threw into the debates in which he spoke during the last years of his Opposition, demonstrated that he still retained more than sparks of the energy by which he had not only saved but exalted his country. Whether his mind could then have borne the continuous strain of official and parliamentary labour, and whether

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in the later passages of the conflict with the Colonies he could have secured an honourable compromise, is doubtful. But had he been retained in office by the King, and succeeded in keeping his Administration together, his position would have inspired confidence; and Lord North himself would gladly have made way for him. The King, however, dreaded the return of that dominating and dictatorial Minister. At the beginning of 1778 he writes: 'I solemnly declare nothing shall 'bring me to treat personally with Lord Chatham,' 'that per-'fidious man,' as he styles him in the same letter. Whatever might, or might not, have then been the success of Chatham as Minister, his rejection was mainly due to the personal prejudices of the King, assisted by Chatham's own inability to remain long united to any section of political parties. This obstinacy was highly censurable in the sovereign of a limited monarchy, but, as we have said before, it reflected rather than resisted the general feeling of the King's subjects.

Apart from these personal qualities of courage, industry, punctuality, and devotional feeling, which gave a character to the public conduct of George III., there were incidents in his private life which awakened the affectionate sympathy of his people. The romantic love passage in his youth with the beautiful Quakeress, Hannah Lightfoot, was, we are inclined to think, an idle invention,* but his ardent attachment to Lady Sarah Lennox, proved that he had a warm and susceptible heart; as the restraint which he imposed upon his inclinations, and the decorous tenor of his married life, proved that his sense of duty was stronger than his passions. While dissoluteness prevailed in almost every foreign Court, and profligacy reigned unabashed in the fashionable circles of London, homely and sober Englishmen reflected with pride that the family which was the purest in morals was also the highest in rank. The King's domestic character rallied the enthusiastic loyalty of the people round the throne in the darkest times. Whether Wilkes scattered his seditious scurrilities among the dregs of the London rabble, or Beckford at the head of the City

* Mr. Donne and Mr. Jesse have both treated this ridiculous story more seriously than it deserves. Mr. Thoms has recently shown in a pamphlet republished from 'Notes and Queries' that the pretended narrative is a tissue of improbabilities and contradictions, and that no trace of evidence in support of it can be found of earlier date than a paper in the 'Monthly Magazine' for April, 1821. There is great reason to believe that this story emanated from the authors of the Wilmot-Serres forgeries, and that it is about as true and authentic as the legitimacy of the notorious Princess Olive.

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Corporation insulted the Sovereign on his throne, or men's minds were dismayed by the double horror of foreign war and intestine mutiny, the King's name was a tower of strength to thousands. Nor was it only a recognition of the King's morality and piety that elicited a loyalty as rapturous as that which had welcomed the second Stuart back, and far more lasting. The people knew that their King had borne sorrows and sufferings, such as seldom fall to the lot of men in a private station. The galling insinuations against his mother, made doubly galling by the malignant asperity of faction, had planted a wound which time perhaps never healed. He had been hurt by the marriage of one brother, and pained by the profligacy of another. One sister had made a miserable marriage and met a painful death. Another was hunted from her home by the armies of Napoleon. Then came that terrible disease, that clouding of the reason—that degradation of the man and the monarch to the condition of a chained animal, the sport of brutal keepers, and, worse than that, the sport of graceless sons and their miserable parasites—and lastly, that utter eclipse of light, sense, and mind, which, more awful than death, presaged the slow approach of death.

When, after years of painful and unparalleled exertion, after sacrificing thousands of lives and millions of treasure, England welcomed to her capital the sovereigns to whose emancipation and victories she had mainly contributed—when the shouting multitudes hailed as the most illustrious figure in that brilliant company their own great chieftain, whose courage and energy had redeemed the honour of the English arms and the liberties of European states—when anthems of grateful triumph pealed in solemn temples and festive halls—then did the minds of many turn from the dazzling pageantry and echoing clamours of this unwonted jubilee to the dark chamber of the palace, wherein paced the lonely King, old, sightless, and mindless, or with only so much flickering reason left as to know its own normal eclipse. Few pictures can be imagined more affecting than an incident which occurred in that time of dreary seclusion. One day, the Prince of Wales coming to the room in which his father was confined, stood at the door and, listening, overheard the old man declaiming the plaintive lines of Milton,—

> 'Oh dark, dark, dark! Amid the blaze of noon
> Irrevocably dark! Total eclipse
> Without all hope of day!
> O first-created beam! and Thou Great Word
> "Let there be light!" and light was over all,
> Why am I thus bereaved thy prime decree?'

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When his people saw and thought of these dread sufferings —when they remembered what he who bore them had gone through—how nobly and courageously he had discharged the duties of his station according to his own imperfect view of them—how he had worked harder than some of his Ministers, and hoped more confidently than most of his people, and, in the tension of political strife, had demeaned himself towards his humbler subjects with all the simplicity of a frank and kindly man—is it wonderful that among all classes and all sects, a loyal prayer went up for the restoration of the aged monarch, and that from the meeting-house and the synagogue unstudied supplications arose, before the prelates of the Established Church had decided in what terms to invoke Heaven on behalf of the blind and afflicted King? It is not for us to heap undue eulogy on the memory of George III. We consider some of his political errors to have been most grave, and his theory of kingly government pernicious. But we cannot now, at the interval of nearly fifty years, blind ourselves to the solid virtues which won for him, at the close of his life, a more profound sympathy and more loyal love, than were ever earned by English King before, or by any English monarch, except Elizabeth alone.

ART. II.—*A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, from the year of the Oxford Parliament* (1259) *to the commencement of the Continental War* (1793). Compiled entirely from original and contemporaneous records. By JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS, M.A., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford, &c. Vols. I. and II. (1259—1400.)

THE contents of Professor Rogers' title-page, as quoted at the head of our article, show the originality and comprehensiveness of his design. What progress he may be able to make in filling up so very extensive a scheme, we need not at present anticipate. We propose to deal with these two volumes as a complete work for the period which they cover: the summary of very minute investigations, presenting many statistical results fairly ascertained, but suggesting, in addition, some new and striking views respecting the economical progress of the English nation, which appear to us, here and there, more striking than convincing; chiefly because the author is a politician as well as an antiquary, and has in his mind certain theories respecting what ought to be in the nineteenth century,

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as well as a mass of knowledge concerning things as they were in the fourteenth.

He ascribes to himself, with perfect justice, the merit of having used for the compilation of his work original authorities only. If he employs second-hand materials at all, or even quotes former writers, it is almost entirely for purposes of illustration and comparison. The records from which he has drawn his information are catalogued in the preface to his second volume. It is chiefly derived from four collections. These are —the archives existing in the muniment-rooms of Merton, Queen's, and New College, in Oxford; and the ancient miscellanies in the Public Record Office. The evidence which has been derived from other than these four sources—namely, from private collections of accounts (which he particularises)—has been scanty, and, comparatively speaking, unimportant. The most valuable and complete of all the documents examined by the author are those of Merton College. The estates possessed by this ancient and distinguished corporation were situated in Warwick, Kent, Hants, Durham, Northumberland, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, Bucks, Surrey, Wilts, and Oxfordshire; and accounts of expenditure and receipts from all these estates are preserved in abundance among the College archives. But though his most complete, these are not his most abundant sources of information.

'By far the largest number of farm accounts which have been examined' (he proceeds, after specifying those of the other colleges) 'are preserved in the Public Record Office. It is not clear how these records came into the possession of the Crown. Some may have been transferred from the mesne lord on the occurrence of escheat or forfeiture, or may have been surrendered on the occasion of a regrant of lands; some perhaps represent the proceeds of estates administered in the Court of Wards' (and so forth). 'Accounts of monastic estates were probably transferred either on the suppression of alien priories, or at the general destruction of these establishments in the sixteenth century.'

The examination, comparison, and extracting of these numerous and minute records have cost the Professor five years of labour.

Before proceeding to their contents, we will touch briefly on one collateral point of interest to antiquaries.

'The accounts are generally written on parchment, very few on vellum. Up to the beginning of the fourteenth century, the use of these materials was universal, and, as far as I have seen, no paper is employed before this period. There is a book in the Public Record Office, written in the reign of Edward II. (1307–1327) con-

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taining an account of customs paid at Bordeaux, the material of which is a thick paper, apparently made of cotton. . . . The earliest specimen of English paper made from linen rags which I have ever seen is a small piece containing an account of the spices contained in the Merton College larder in the year 1337. The fabric is very coarse and rude, a large fragment of the original linen being still visible in the substance of the paper, and the texture is very loose. Shortly after this date, however, excellent paper, wired and watermarked, may be found; but the ancient fragment alluded to above is, perhaps, the earliest existing specimen of an art which has been the means of such important benefits to mankind.'

Wired and watermarked paper seems to have come into use about 1350.

Out of these materials the Professor has constructed with great industry a series of tables, filling the whole of his second volume, giving with the utmost minuteness the prices of all common articles of consumption, and of labour of every kind, from 1259 to 1400. The first date (that of Simon de Montford's Parliament) is taken, he informs us, merely at random, owing to the circumstance that the continuity of the materials at his disposal only commenced with that year. The first volume is devoted to a summary of the results which appear tabulated in the second, together with the exposition of his own views on the slow and fluctuating progress of society during the era under review.

The first fixed point which it is essential to ascertain at the very outset of an inquiry of this kind, is the value of the currency in which prices are estimated. Unfortunately, it is not easy to form, with mathematical accuracy, any comparison between the pounds, shillings, and pence of the English accounts of the period, and those now in use. We have not space to go into so complicated a question; and the Professor's intimations on the subject are, we must say, not so distinct, or so clearly arranged, as so elementary a part of his work would seem to require. We collect, however, that he does not consider that the intrinsic value of the currency varied during the period to such a degree as to affect his calculations materially; and that he assumes the pound and the shilling to have contained almost three times as much pure silver, and to have represented a purchasing power in relation to commodities (measured generally in wheat, the steadiest of them) about eight times as great, as the pound and shilling of the present time.

In the period of 140 years, which these returns illustrate, there took place no internal change of importance in English political history, except such as are by their nature very gradual in operation. There was certainly no space of equal

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length in our annals, prior to the reign of William III., so free from revolutionary commotion and civil war. It began, indeed, with the struggle between the Crown and the barons under Simon de Montfort: it ended with the peasant insurrections of Richard II.'s reign: but the interval between these was one of complete quiet. No vast confiscations, no invasion of corporate, or crown, or religious property, took place to interfere with the ordinary vicissitudes of landed estates, and the relation of landlord and tenant. There were long foreign wars with France, but felt only as foreign wars commonly are felt, distantly and at second-hand, by the mass of the population. In this absence of political causes of disturbance, the Professor has fixed on two events of a natural order, which interrupt in a remarkable manner the regular range of prices and remuneration of capital and industry. The first is the great famine of 1315–6. The second, and by far the more important, is the Black Death, or Plague of 1348; which, beginning at that date, devastated England, as well as the greater part of continental Europe, for some years longer. The Professor is so much struck with the evidences which his computations afford him of the extent and duration of the effects of this last mighty visitation, that he is disposed to make it a turning-point, as it were, in the history of England: to believe that it effectually and permanently disturbed the relations between capital and labour, and those between landlord and tenant, and, generally, shook the very basis of society throughout the kingdom, and initiated a new order of things. Great results, undoubtedly, from what appears so temporary a cause; nor are we by any means disposed to accept in the mass our author's view on the subject, as will be seen presently when we come to discuss them at leisure. In the meantime, let those who may be disposed too readily to reject beforehand conclusions which may be thought exaggerated, reflect on what has happened in our own times. Only twenty years ago, the economical condition of Ireland seemed as fixed an element, in the statesman's calculation, as any feature in human society well could be. Suddenly and unexpectedly there fell upon us, neither the hand of the invader, nor social revolution at home, nor any other of those political vicissitudes which form the staple of the historian's commentaries; but the hand of God—or an unexpected development of certain natural laws, if Professor Tyndall prefers so to word it. The food of the nation perished; an eighth of its population with it; those who remained emigrated year after year in increasing numbers; a whole race of small cotter tenants almost disappeared; a new

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division of land was substituted for the old. With this example fresh before our eyes, we may, perhaps, believe what chroniclers bred in less eventful days have rejected as extravagant; namely, that a natural visitation of extreme violence may produce at once greater changes in the national existence than are wrought out in centuries of ordinary progress or decay.

Following the Professor, we will therefore take a rapid survey of the general state of our social economy in the fourteenth century—the age of Chaucer, the age in which English social life first dawns on us, that in which, we may almost say, England became England; and then devote a few words to the peculiar changes which he conceives the visitation of famine and plague, to which we have alluded, have effected in that economy.

We should greatly deceive ourselves, according to the Professor, if, following the guidance of some superficial writers, we imagined the face of the country, in those days, to have presented the appearance of a comparative wilderness. England was already a country of old civilisation, and of which the more productive portions had been cultivated for many centuries. The forest and the moor, though of course somewhat more extensive than now, were by no means so much so as to form characteristic features in any district, south of the Humber, which is now cultivated. The northern counties were no doubt far less reclaimed than the southern.

'There is a general impression, which must needs be vague, and is, I believe, founded solely on antecedent probabilities, that the area of arable land in England five hundred years ago was much less than at present. I cannot agree with such a notion for several reasons, though, as I have said above, I am willing to allow a deduction for the less settled parts of the country, as well as for those which were liable to plundering excursions. Let it be admitted that some land has been broken up which was never put under the plough till the last fifty years; and we must set against it that which has been turned into pasture, and occupied by the growth of towns. In mediæval times, a park or pleasure ground in the neighbourhood of a mansion was unknown. Cultivation was carried on up to the very doors of the house, the more so, perhaps, as proximity to the master's abode was an element of security for the crop. If we walk in the grounds of a modern English park, now laid out in grass, we may often see the marks of ancient culture in ridge and furrow. Great part, for instance, of the land near Belvoir Castle is of this kind. The lords de Ros, who then possessed the castle, assuredly cultivated the whole of the southern valley. Thousands of acres have been laid down in meadow, which, centuries ago, bore crops of corn. Similarly, thousands of acres in the suburbs

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of ancient towns are now built over, but once were used for growing. In the Holywell estate, on the north side of Oxford, every parcel of ground that could be cultivated was occupied. . . . Suppose we assume the amount of land regularly under the plough was equal to three-fourths of that which is now cultivated, and that the remaining fourth of the area represents that portion which was necessarily left waste in consequence of its lying on the Scotch and Welsh borders, or from its being part of the less perfectly settled parts of England, as was certainly the case in the north-western counties, we may, perhaps, find the elements of the calculation.' (Vol. i. pp. 54–55.)

It will be noticed that Mr. Rogers has arrived on this point at nearly the same conclusion as Mr. Hallam:—

'From manorial surveys,' says the latter, 'and similar instruments, it appears that in some places there was nearly as much ground cultivated as in the present day. The condition of different counties however was far from being alike, and in general the northern and western parts of England were the most backward.'*

Mr. Hallam was wrong, however, as to the West of England; there is no older cultivation in our island than that of Devon and Cornwall, and the area of the reclaimed lands in these counties has scarcely extended itself materially since the age of which he speaks.

The case therefore was this: England (the south at least) was hardly less cultivated than now, but the agriculture was very far less productive. We 'shall conclude as a rule,' says our author, after calculations which we omit, 'that the rate (of 'wheat) produced in the time before us was not much more 'than one-fourth of that procured by modern agriculture.' Reduce the cultivated area by one-fourth; the crop produced on that area by three-fourths; and in this way we might arrive, *à priori*, at some data for comparing the population of England in the fourteenth century with that which it now contains; assuming first—what there is no doubt of—that no food was then imported, little if any exported; and, secondly, what is not quite so clear, that wheat was then, as now, the staple article of consumption.

On this head of population, however, Professor Rogers arrives at conclusions from which, with all due respect for the means of knowledge with which his elaborate researches have furnished him, we are still disposed to dissent.

'I conclude that there were generally as many people existent in this country in the fourteenth century as there were, on the average,

* Middle Ages, ch. ix. p. 12.

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quarters of wheat to feed them with. And furthermore I think that, judging from the evidence before us, the rate of increase was not more than four times. At present it is probably fifteen times, taking one wheat crop with another. But if the present population of England and Wales produces, as it most likely does, fifteen millions of quarters yearly, and imports five in order that its twenty millions should subsist, and we deduct one-fourth of the area of England now cultivated, the wheat produced in England five hundred years ago would not have sufficed for more than two and a half to three millions.

'But though, subject to the deduction made above, it seems likely that the area of land under the plough was not less than at present, it does not follow that wheat crops were as frequent. On the contrary, it is certain that by the system of fallows they must have been rarer. If under these circumstances one-fifth less wheat was annually cultivated, the estimate of the population would be diminished by another half million: and when we take into account the absence of the most familiar among our present vegetables, and consider how important a part they fulfil in the subsistence of the people, we may perhaps be justified in a further reduction of another half million, and may set the population at no more than one and a half millions, even at its fullest time, that is, before the pestilence (1348). But whether the number of the English and Welsh people in the fourteenth century was one and a half or two, or even two and a half millions, it is certain that the rate of population precludes the possibility of its being more than the highest estimate.' (Vol. i. p. 57.)

In starting some doubts whether the highest of these estimates is not considerably below the mark, we by no means venture on more than a little hypothetical criticism. The subject is far too uncertain to admit of speaking with confidence. Our scepticism arises in some degree from consideration of the great military efforts which England, with a population supposed to have been so limited, was capable of making during the whole of the fourteenth century; and after the great pestilence of 1348 as well as before. At Sluys, in 1340, we are told of two hundred and forty English sail present in action, and of 30,000 French killed. In 1346 England sent 30,000 men to Crécy, according to Knyghton; and Sharon Turner thinks the number underrated. In 1353 (eight years after the plague) there were three English armies in the field: in Scotland, Normandy, Gascony. In 1356, 20,000 armed soldiers, besides citizens, escorted King David of Scotland to the Tower. In 1358, Edward III. is said to have taken 100,000 men to Calais. Again; the population of Scotland is now between a sixth and a seventh of that of the southern division of the island. There is no reason to suppose that Scotland was

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relatively more populous formerly. Take the proportion at a sixth, and take the highest conjectural number given for England by Professor Rogers: Scotland would only have had 400,000 inhabitants. But Scotland is reported to have had 45,000 men in arms at Bannockburn; 50,000 at Nevill's Cross, in 1346. Now, we are ready to make every reasonable allowance for the wild uncertainty of military computations, especially in the Middle Ages, and to recognise the impossibility of relying on them until scrutinised by some Colenso of profane history. We are fully aware, also, that modern estimates of the proportion of armed men to population are very different from those which are applicable to feudal times, when levies *en masse* crossed the sea or the border, to do their forty days' service, and dispersed when their time was up. Still we repeat that, after all these circumstances are allowed for, the Great Britain which maintained such pertinacious, extensive, and desolating wars through the century in question, could hardly have been the home of so small a people as that assumed in the calculations of these volumes.

These doubts of ours certainly derive additional force from the statistics of the mortality occasioned by the Black Death, concerning which great event we shall have more to say presently. Mr. Rogers believes that from one-third to one-half of the people of England perished by it. The supposition is no doubt startling at first; and the contemporary estimates which we possess are untrustworthy; but there are curious fragments of collateral testimony, which certainly tend to corroborate his view. Mr. Seebohm, in a remarkable series of papers on this special subject, contributed to the 'Fortnightly Review,' says that 'there exists statistical evidence, as reliable 'and clear to-day as it was five centuries ago, from which we 'may probably estimate the mortality in different localities; 'evidence which from its nature is incapable of exaggeration, 'and wholly free from the objections which, of necessity, 'attach even to contemporary evidence when large numbers are 'concerned.'

These proofs Mr. Seebohm finds in the ecclesiastical records of the time. He shows from these that in the West and East Ridings of Yorkshire 'more than two-thirds of all the parish 'priests' died in the years 1348 and 1349; in Nottinghamshire, half; diocese of Norwich, probably two-thirds. Assuming the accuracy of Mr. Seebohm's investigations, we really do not see how to dispute the conclusions deduced from them. The mortality among the priesthood would probably fairly average that among the people in general; for if, on the one hand, the

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class of society to which they belonged may be assumed to have been somewhat better guarded against the epidemic by its sanitary condition than the lowest, their avocations, on the other hand, would bring them into close contact with its virulence.

If, then, half the population perished—and if Professor Rogers' enumeration *before* the Black Death is correct—England after it can only have had at the outside a million and a quarter of people. And yet, as we have seen, after the first two or three years, the wars went on just as before, and there is no perceptible relaxation of military efforts. We are inclined therefore to prefer Mr. Seebohm's conjecture—though with all due reserve—that a long period of comparative prosperity (and, according to Mr. Rogers, nearly thirty years of plentiful seasons) had raised the number of our people, before the pestilence, to four or five millions.

It may be true that this high estimate will hardly tally with Professor Rogers' calculation as to the quantity of food consumed; but we own it appears to us (though we cannot here go into the argument) that his statements are founded rather too exclusively on wheat, and that he makes too little allowance for the probable consumption both of inferior grain and of meat. Of rye, indeed, Mr. Rogers says that 'it was grown in particular 'localities only, and in small quantities.' Of oatmeal, that it was used scantily, but generally for thickening soup. 'As at 'present, it was more frequently employed for food in the 'north of England; indeed, the most consecutive information 'as to its price is derived from Cumberland.' On the whole, his conclusion evidently is that there has been no great change in the habits of the English people, as chiefly wheat-consumers. But his evidence on this subject seems very limited. Of meat he allows that 'it was certainly cheap.' Beef and mutton, not worth, according to his estimates, above a farthing a pound, at the time when six pounds of wheat cost a penny. But pigs 'were the most important kind of animal food; the necessity 'for using salted meat during a moiety of the year leading our 'forefathers to breeding them largely.' Poultry also, 'to 'judge from the price, and from the frequent recurrence of 'poultry-rents in the rentals of estates, must have been very 'common: so that the patriotic wish of the Bearnese king, 'that every peasant should have his fowl in the pot, was pro-'bably verified in the period before us.' Poultry-rents, indeed, were all but universal. 'In fact, the habits of the poorer 'classes in mediæval England were very much the same as 'that which prevails in France at present; from which country,

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'as is known, the greater part of the eggs come which are 'consumed in England.' On the whole, we are inclined to maintain the theory above suggested, that the population of England is rather under estimated in these pages from regarding the consumption of wheat too exclusively as the criterion of its number.*

Let us now realise the general appearance of that vigorous and sturdy, though scarcely very progressive, type of society which was then established on the soil, whatever the actual numbers may have been.

'The midland and eastern counties were, so far as the resources of the soil and the art of husbandry permitted, fully occupied by an active and laborious population. Each manor or parish contained its complement of inhabitants, whose industry supplied them with the greater part of the necessaries of life, and who were always within easy reach of some fair or market in which they could exchange their surplus products, and procure such conveniences as they needed, or such luxuries as the general simplicity of the age allowed. The manor-house was situated in the middle of the village, and was tenanted when the lord was the owner of a single fee. But when, as was often the case, it formed a part only of some great but scattered estate, it was either shut up against the lord's periodical visit or was partly inhabited by the bailiff. Round and near the manor-house were clustered the huts of the peasant proprietors, and of the

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* Some animals now commonly used for food seem to have been very scarce in the fourteenth century; and among these, singularly enough, rabbits, the multiplication of which one would have expected to be very large in sandy, half-civilised districts. Nevertheless, if these statistics are to be trusted, 'these animals were so dear as to suggest, 'either that they were at this time confined to particular localities, 'from which they have subsequently spread over the whole country '(a view which seems to be countenanced by the fact that the price 'does not increase in the later part of the period), or that they were, 'which we can hardly believe, rigorously and effectively preserved 'in the interest of the great landowners.' Rights of freewarren, at all events, seem to have been regarded as valuable and jealously maintained. Professor Rogers even doubts whether the smaller kinds of game, taken generally, were very abundant; a doubt certainly not much in keeping with common notions of Chaucer's lusty old England, such as he saw it in his 'Vision of St. Valentine's 'Day,'

'When every fowl cometh to chuse her mate,
Of every kinde that men thinke may,
And that so huge a noise gan they make
That earth, and sea, and tree, and every lake
So full was, that unnethe there was space
For me to stand, so full was all the place.'

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few labourers whose land was insufficient for their entire maintenance. In case, however, the small landowner (as was generally the fact) held sufficient land for the sustenance of his family, he had also his wooden barn and byre, in which he stored his produce and kept his stock; the amount of the latter being defined partly by the extent of his little homestead and land, partly by the rights which he possessed and exercised in summer time over the common pasture of the manor—rights which were sometimes unlimited (or, as they were technically styled, held without stint), sometimes defined by a certain amount of cattle and sheep.

'The estate of the manor was generally compact, and no doubt included the best ground in the parish, with, in case such existed, great part of the natural water meadow, at that time in the absence of artificial grasses so precious. The lands of the small proprietors were, however, generally very scattered, their estates frequently consisting of small patches in a large common field, or a certain number of furrows, between which, as a land-mark, a boundary of grass, serving partly for hay, partly for autumn-feed, was suffered to grow. At the verge of the whole parish stood the belt of wood, which supplied the inhabitants with the necessary fuel, and in which they generally had common rights.'*

'A very considerable portion of the land of the large proprietors was farmed by themselves, through bailiffs. Another portion was in the hands of socage, or free, tenants. The socage tenant,' as the Professor describes him, 'owed suit and service; he paid a quit rent, not, as now, trivial, but hardly less than the annual value of the land. He was, in fact, a farmer at a perpetual lease, but secure of recovering all outlay which he might make on the soil, and of all additions which his labour and capital could annex to its permanent

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* A remarkable analogy to this description of the rural economy of the fourteenth century is to be found in an account lately given in 'Notes and Queries,' of 'a state of society and of the arrangements of property,' in the words of the writer, 'which are rapidly becoming of the things that were.'

'Many parishes in Dorsetshire were formerly divided after the following fashion:—

'1. A farm of say 800 acres attached to the manor-house, and called the Lord's Farm, or Manor Farm, consisting of meadow, arable land, down, and coppice.

'2. A certain number, say twenty-two "livings." Each of these had originally a small farmhouse, a few acres of coppice, and twenty-four acres of arable, scattered in small slips of one to four acres, over three large fields, called "tenantry fields." Besides this, each living had four "cow leases," or the right to turn that number of cattle upon the common; also a right to turn forty sheep upon the common down. Also, each holder of a living had the right to let his cattle and pigs run at "shack" over the whole of the tenantry fields after harvest. It is a curious question whether these holders of "livings" were the bordarii or villani of Domesday Book.'

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value.' In a rank below these free tenants were the nativi or villeins and the coterelli or cotarii, holding their tenancies at agricultural services. The lot of these persons may have been degraded; but in the period before me, at least, it is not so grievous as the expressions used about their condition suggest, or inquirers into the social state of our forefathers have concluded. . . . Anything like the extreme theory of villenage was, I am convinced, extinct before the close of the thirteenth century. In the many thousand accounts which I have investigated, general, nay well-nigh universal, as is the entry of customary payments, contingent fines for licences granted to villeins, penalties levied for feudal transgressions, and compensation made for customary services, all of which occur abundantly, *I have never found a trace of any transfer of villeins*, or even of their services, to third parties. . . . The services and incidents of the villein's tenure were determined, and in no case precarious.'

The following is a rough sketch of the external features, so to speak, of the society thus constituted:—

'It has been stated above that the elements of mediæval society were very few, and its economy simple and rude. Below the nobles and great ecclesiastics were a body of gentlemen and yeomanry, the latter differing from the former rather in the comparative largeness of their estates; the inhabitants of towns, and a mass of peasant proprietors, who were also labourers either by tenure or for hire. The cost of maintenance as measured in money was small, land was cheap though very much subdivided, and the habitations of the people were small and inexpensive. The only products of architectural skill were churches, and perhaps castles; the latter in the time of Edward I. being built on a larger scale, and with more attention to the comfort of the inhabitants. Such castles, however, were occupied by the king and the great lords, the inmates of monastic or collegiate houses being closely packed and very indifferently lodged. The furniture, too, was rough and scanty, inventories of domestic conveniences and utensils being very concise. The most valuable part of the personal property possessed by our forefathers consisted in clothing and metal vessels. The resources of the community were very limited. It is hardly necessary to say that there were no books, or very few, and that the great cost of artificial light was unfriendly to other than very early hours. The course of social life in country places must have been very uniform. In the absence of the lord, who visited his manor-house rarely, and then only in order to consume its products, and whose periodical audit formed almost the only break in the uneventful year of the mediæval peasant, the small farmers and peasantry were brought into contact with no one of rank superior to themselves, except perhaps the parish priest when he happened to be resident, and was not, as was very frequently the case, a pluralist who resided at the Court, or even abroad, and whose duties were performed by some ordained monk from a neighbouring monastery. We can indeed only guess at the condition of the upland folk, and understand

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the power they had of procuring the conveniences of life, from the price at which such objects were accessible to the mass of the people.' (Vol. i. p. 113.)

Clothing was certainly dear. Probably leather constituted the sole 'vêtement nécessaire' of many a sturdy labourer and huntsman.

'Cloth was coarse, but its price is high. So with linen, which appears to have been costly. Shirts were, in fact, such valuable articles, that they are often the subjects of charitable or ostentatious doles, and we find them not unfrequently at this time, as well as for centuries afterwards, devised by will.' (Vol. i. p. 67.)

Yet this simple England possessed already a considerable command over the produce of foreign countries. Her 'upper 'ten thousand' were dressed in the fine linen and cloth of the Low Countries; silks from Italy, 'and, perhaps,' says the writer, 'from the northern coast of Africa' (?) Jewellery, and goldsmith's work, were certainly abundantly employed for ostentatious purposes. 'The most costly articles of foreign produce 'were those which are known from the remotest times under 'the name of spices;' articles used (relatively speaking) far more abundantly than now, owing to the peculiar tastes of mediæval gourmands, and owing also to the demand of the Church for incense.

The consumption of wine—almost throughout the century—was, also relatively speaking, enormous. It was almost exclusively drawn from Gascony, and so cheap as to give some warrant to the half-historic, half-prophetic, raptures in which some of our statesmen indulged at the period of the late French treaty. French wine, in the last half of the thirteenth century and first half of the fourteenth, 'was little more than four times 'the price of cider, and not much more than thrice the price of 'beer,' which latter, it must be remembered, before the invention of hops, could not be made so as to keep. It must have been procurable almost everywhere by the traveller; certainly in localities where the thirsty wanderer might be puzzled to find it even now. We find the warden and fellows of Merton purchasing wine (as duly specified in their accounts) 'during 'their Northern journey (to visit their lands) in the year 1331,' at several of the stages, as at Alreton, Esyngwold, York, Durham, Cane, Ponteland, and Grantham. 'It is most likely 'that the travellers ordered not less than a quart, perhaps 'sometimes half a gallon, and that they found it readily at all 'their stages, either in the town inn or at some wine-seller's 'shop.' It must, in short, have been the common tipple of the age. It was

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'Rough, and probably new; but it must have possessed body and spirit sufficient to bear the carriage. We are sorry to be compelled to add that at New College, all the wine entered in the annual rolls (for some time) is set down among the charges of the chapel! . . . However numerous were the masses said in New College Chapel during the earlier days of its foundation, it could hardly have been the case that more than a gallon a week was required for these offices.' (Vol. i. p. 620.)

But the most curious instance of mediæval bibacity which the Professor has put on record is to be found in the account of the journey of Robert Oldman, bailiff of Cuxham under Merton College, to London, to buy a pair of millstones, in 1331 (i. 506). According to the worthy bailiff's accounts—who audited them does not appear—he charged the College with the price of five gallons of Gascony, used in 'discussing 'the terms of his bargain with the London merchant!'

'Habit and prejudice (says the Professor) and a patient acquiescence in the enormous charges levied by the intermediaries of the wine trade, have accustomed English people to look on that as a luxury which their forefathers five hundred years ago were enabled to use freely and cheaply, and procure at low rates at the common inns on the road, at a time when communication and travel were certainly neither so easy nor so frequent as at present, and land and water carriage were far dearer. Hereafter, perhaps, we may recover the customs of our ancestors, and see the produce of foreign vineyards within the easy reach of the mass of the people.'

For the purpose of obtaining these and other foreign luxuries, the people of England had, with very slight exceptions, two commodities only to offer in exchange—wool, and the produce of their mines. On the statistics of these great staples of our export, from the earliest days down to those within the recollection of our great-grandfathers—for the command of the foreign market now enjoyed by the British manufacturer scarcely dates further back,—these volumes contain some information, but less complete than that respecting domestic articles of consumption.

More interesting is the account of the commercial routes used by our forefathers; a chapter in the history of civilisation which has been by no means worked out. Of course the progress which the world has made since their time, in national as well as local intercommunication, is greater than in almost any other particular. But it is not the less true, that in the general opening of the highways of modern commerce, some of the byeways known to them have become either wholly impeded or far less practicable.

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'It is singular that in this time there seems to have been freer access to Mid Asia than is accorded now. The Christian merchant visited, with, it should seem, no extraordinary risk, and with of course the means for successful traffic, regions which cannot be entered now except in the most cautious manner. No European has for many years penetrated to Bokhara, or indeed beyond the confines of Persia, unless in utter poverty, and, generally, unless in the guise of a dervish, and with the ostensible profession of Islamism. Either the aggressions of European policy or the fanaticism of Mohammedanism have rendered the route so difficult, that any entry into what were once the great highways of Eastern commerce and the channels of communication with the Western world is impossible except by force or fraud.' (Vol. i. p. 141.)

This subject is naturally connected with a very curious one, on which, also, mistaken notions as to the inferiority of our forefathers are commonly entertained. The habit of 'travel 'was, from many causes, far more frequent in the fourteenth 'than in later centuries; and journeys were constantly under-'taken for the purposes of religion and business.' The share which the usage of pilgrimages had in bringing about this result —the relic, perhaps, of the still older and more general locomotion of the crusading era—is well known. Less attention has been bestowed to a cause almost equally operative—the wonderful success which the Papal Court had achieved in persuading all Western mankind that its affairs, temporal as well as spiritual, could only be transacted in the last resort at the 'threshold of the Apostles.' Professor Rogers gives some curious accounts of the cost of journeys to Avignon, where the Popes were in the fourteenth century established. We take one as a specimen. In 1363, Henry Whitfield, Provost of Queen's, goes to Avignon 'to secure the appropriation of the 'rectory of Sparsholt.' He is accompanied by a servant. He begins his journey by exchanging his 'viaticum,' 23*l.*, at the London 'cambium,' into florins. He sells his horse (at the end of his journey) and spends 5*l.* from his own resources. His journey to the 'curia' occupied seven weeks; lengthened by 'intemperies et pericula in viâ.' It cost sixty shillings. He takes a courier with him, 'ut me salvum conduceret,' and pays him twenty shillings for his labour. When he comes to Avignon, he takes up his abode 'at an English college or 'hostel, frequented by his countrymen,' if this be the meaning of 'domus nostra;' the inmates of which he calls 'socii;' and gives them a feast on entrance. He is delayed for rather more than sixteen weeks. The three lawyers whom he consults, Appleby, Albriche, and Humberford (and the expenses of legal advice at the Court are enormous) 'are all, to

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'judge from their names, Englishmen, and perhaps, since 'Queen's was a north country college, from Westmoreland 'and Cumberland.' Each receives a fee of ten florins, the last two having further demands. The journey from Avignon to Calais occupied eighteen days, and cost 2*l.* 4*s.* 7½*d.* in English money. The cost of travelling from Calais to Oxford was 7*s.* 'The expenses attending the use of the Court were 'large; for the custom of the Roman curia, as indeed uni- 'versally elsewhere, was to grant a monopoly of office by pur- 'chase, a fashion which lingers with us still in the buying and 'selling of army commissions. But it does not seem that the 'Court was oppressive or dishonest.' Considering that Spars-holt was but a poor living, the expenditure incurred for it was great indeed. How much of the sum and substance of mediæval, and of early modern history, is illustrated by a chance dip of this kind into the most trifling details of real life! We see at a glance the source of the enormous wealth, and profuse extravagance, of the Papal Court at one period of its existence; the origin of the wars of a Julius, the excesses of an Alexander, the cultivated extravagance of a Leo. We are admitted behind the scenes, into the details of the enormous and constantly increasing pecuniary pressure on the faithful which fed that extravagance; the operative cause which went so far towards producing a Wycliffe, a Huss, and a Luther. We see at a glance one reason, at least, which led to the especial success of the Reformation in those countries where the population had been most devout and most squeezable — in our own island, the Low Countries, Germany.

Religion and its abuses were, however, by no means the only causes which led to the peculiarly locomotive habits of European society during this century, and a little later. The institution of chivalry, with its multiform knight-errantry, contributed; so did the constant international communication of merchants transacting business for themselves. And looking still more generally at the subject, we come to realise the fact that Patriotism (with its caricatures, local Philistinism and Chauvinism, as the Germans and French are pleased to phrase them), after prevailing so extensively as to constitute the ruling element of European society in the classical times, went out of date during the Middle Ages, and revived only at the commencement of times strictly modern. The gentlemen—the priests—the traders, throughout Europe, formed so many guilds apart; with similar usages and feelings, and, to a great extent, a common language for each. The French knight, in their chronicles, is on far closer terms of union with the

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knight of England or Flanders than with the French merchant. The chivalrous combatant of the pages of Froissart owes his allegiance to the Leopards or to the Fleurs-de-lys, not to the 'natale solum,' on either side of the Channel; and, still more closely, to the banner of his immediate feudal superior. If the latter changes sides in a quarrel, he changes also, without much or any regard to the manner in which the question may interest his country. If the sentiment of attachment to 'la patrie' existed at all, it was in the lower orders: Jacques Bonhomme was, in his rude way, far more of a Frenchman than his lord. M. Martin, the historian, remarks on this quality as evinced in the pages of the popular chronicler, the 'Continuator of William de Nangis,' 'dont 'le patriotisme démocratique fait un contraste si frappant avec 'le cosmopolitisme féodal de Froissart.' That exaltation of national feeling, which we now regard as the indispensable foundation of civic virtues, seems to have commenced, in this island, with the wars of Wallace and Bruce; on the Continent, when the old quarrel of kings, between France and England, had hardened into an inveterate quarrel of nations, in the fifteenth century. Europe, from having been cosmopolitical, became municipal—a few generations may see the progress reversed.

The first of those two remarkable national events to which we have alluded as constituting special interruption to the ordinary course of events was the famine of 1315–16.

'The highest actual price recorded was at Leatherhead, in February 1315–16, that is, after the first deficient harvest: it reached 26*s.* 8*d.* the quarter—that is, adopting our common multiple of eight, 10*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* of actual money. This however is exceptional; but in the following year, 1316, 20*s.* a quarter=(8*l.* modern money) is paid in several localities. We shall find that at no time in English history has a dearth of such magnitude occurred as that immediately before us. The scarcity was not local, but universal, the whole country having been similarly affected. . . . The highest quotation of wheat in modern English history was that of December 1800, when it is returned at 6*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* This however was not much more than double the ordinary price: while the scarcity of 1315 represents a quintuple rise in many places, and that of 1316 almost a quadruple of the general average.' (Vol. i. p. 198.)

It is difficult to imagine how society went through such a trial as this, insulated and unprotected as the condition of men then comparatively was; unless we are right in suspecting that wheat was not so exclusively the food of the multitude as now. But sharp as the trial must have been, its permanent effects were inconsiderable. Judging from the statistical tables with

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which the Professor has himself supplied us, we should incline to think he had slightly exaggerated them in the following passage:—

'There can, I think, be no doubt that the mortality consequent upon these calamities did affect in a marked manner, and to some extent permanently, the wages of labour. We have seen in this inquiry that a considerable rise did take place in the price of labour during the decade of years in which the scarcity was greatest, and that this rise continued even after general prices became cheaper. Now such a result could not have been effected unless, in the first place, a scarcity of hands had made the demand for labour excessive, and unless the labourer were put into such a situation as would enable him to secure the advance which he had for a time enjoyed. This rise cannot, on the whole, be reckoned at less than 10 per cent.' (Vol. i. p. 292.)

Very far more important were the consequences of the great epidemic which visited England and Europe, just a generation later, and is known in chronicles by the name of 'the Black 'Death.' It is not within our space here to dwell on the romantic or terrible incidents of an event associated in our minds with so much of historical and literary interest. We deal with it only as constituting, according to our author, a marked and very important era in English social history. This visitation took place first in 1348; but the plague 'became endemic,' and its ravages continued, though with intermissions, for several years; although (in strict conformity with the mysterious rule which seems to govern the movement of cholera and other great epidemics) its attacks were infinitely more destructive at the commencement of its career than after the disease had prevailed some time. So many accounts have been given to the world of this pestilence, and so much of historical criticism has been expended on it, that we need do no more than refer to Mr. Rogers' speculations on the subject, except so far as they illustrate his immediate subject. Nor, indeed, will most people, unless such as are to be found among the sectaries of Mr. Glaisher, receive very credulously the information that

'The Black Death seemed, not only to the frightened imagination of the people, but even to the more sober observation of the few men of science of the time, to move forward with measured steps from the desolated East, under the form of a dark and fetid mist. It is very likely that consequent upon the great physical convulsions which had rent the earth and preceded the disease' (what these were, we are not informed) 'foreign substances of a deleterious character had been projected into the atmosphere, had permanently infected its lower regions, and could not, by the ordinary powers of

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dispersion possessed by the air, be easily eliminated or neutralised.' (Vol. i. p. 293.)

Our business is with the results of the visitation, and not with imaginary physical causes or concomitants.*

The first and most obvious of these results was an inordinate rise in wages, estimated in money. 'The immediate effect of the plague' (says Mr. Rogers, and his tables confirm it,) 'was 'to double the wages of labour; in some districts, to raise the 'rate even beyond this.' The fact is already well known in history through the Statutes of Labourers, which formed a distinguishing feature in legislation under Edward III., and which embodied a series of attempts, as unsuccessful, in all probability, as they deserved to be, to enable employers to obtain labour at less than its value. One curious mode in which the stringency of these Acts was eluded is observed by Mr. Rogers.

'I seem,' he says, 'to detect the operation of the statute in a fact which I have frequently noticed in the accounts after the Black Death. Entries of payments of wages at certain rates are cancelled, and lower rates are substituted for them. . . . I cannot help thinking that these changes point to evasions of the statute, and that perhaps the labourer was compensated to the full extent of the previous entry, but in some covert way, or by some means which would not come within the penalties of the statute.'

One other incidental circumstance is worth noting. In the accounts examined by the Professor, entries of payments for field labour performed by women are very common before the Black Death; after it they become comparatively rare, and generally at double the former rate. It is open to conjecture,

* It is not improbable that this pestilence was even more felt in the northern counties of England—then very thinly peopled for the most part—than in more populous and commercial districts. It was one of its characteristics that its severity was greatest in comparatively desolate regions. The traditions of Sweden and Norway respecting it are even more dismal than those of France and Italy. In secluded glens and sea-coast tracts, the inhabitants were all but exterminated. In Sweden it is said that churches were rediscovered in the forests, after not only their parishioners had died out, but their existence had been forgotten. The legend of the valley of Justedal, near Bergen, recounts that it was filled at one time with people who sought refuge there from the 'Great Death' of 1350; but that all died, except one little girl, who was found in a wild state, fluttering about like a white ptarmigan, 'Ripa,' after which they named her: she married afterwards, and her descendants were called the 'Ripeslägten' or clan-Ptarmigan.

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therefore, whether one of the greatest tokens of difference between our rural economy and that of our continental neighbours did not take its origin in this visitation, which for some reason or other affected the market for labour here otherwise than there.

The next economical consequence of the Black Death—if really *propter hoc* and not only *post hoc*—is remarkable enough. The rise in money wages was accompanied by a considerable, though irregular, rise in the money prices of almost all commodities. This was long ago remarked by historians. 'At first the reduction in the number of consumers 'effected a proportionate reduction in the price of all merchant-'able commodities: in the second year the prices rose with a 'rapidity and to a height which alarmed the government.' According to Knyghton, the rise was fourfold (Lingard, ed. 3. chap. 3). Mr. Rogers' researches establish the fact with more particularity. During the period which followed the plague, and continued to the death of Edward III. (1348–77), 'wheat,' he says, 'fell rarely below the average, and 'was sometimes greatly above it.' The year 1351 was one of those noted as of famine price (upwards of 10*s.* the quarter), although there were not more than half the number of mouths to consume it. In like manner the price of live stock falls considerably in the very year of the calamity, but immediately afterwards rises above what it had been before. This augmentation in the price of articles of common consumption is not at first sight so easily accounted for as that of wages; nor does the Professor, so far as we have noticed, offer a solution. The natural inference would rather have been, that a mortality of one half the population would reduce in proportion the area on which food was raised; that the least fertile portion would fall out of cultivation, and consequently the cost of production would diminish, and food become cheaper. But one circumstance, we think, somewhat elucidates this paradoxical dearness; and that is, the probable effect of the plague on the value of the currency. If half the population perished, the coin in the possession of each survivor was (on the average) doubled. No doubt the foreign exchanges would soon dispose of the surplus, if the calamity was confined to England. But all the neighbouring regions of the Continent suffered equally; and therefore the natural result would seem to be much the same—for a short time—as that of a large and sudden increase of gold and silver.

These—the immediate effects of the greatest general mortality of which substantial records exist—were, of course, transitory

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only. 'We learn from contemporary accounts,' says Mr. Rogers, 'that population soon righted itself.' There is much simplicity shown by the quaint chroniclers, to some of whom reference is here made, in describing, and accounting for, the phenomena which occurred before their eyes. To quote from the Continuator of William de Nangis (as modernised by M. Martin, in his 'Histoire des Français'):—

'Sitôt qu'elle eut cessé, les hommes et les femmes qui restaient se mariaient à l'envi; les épouses conçurent entre mesure par tout le monde; nulle ne demeurait stérile: on ne voyait en tous lieux que femmes enceintes, et beaucoup enfantaient deux, voire trois enfants vivants. Le monde fut en quelque sorte renouvelé, et devint comme un nouvel âge.'

'The physiologists of the age, however, while they admitted the numerical increase, averred that the human race suffered a diminution in the number of teeth always possessed by persons who had been born before the visitation of the Black Death.' (Vol. i. p. 301.)

But a third result of the plague, and for a time at least a more important one than either of these, was the very singular change which it introduced in the tenancy of land, and which, so far as we know, Professor Rogers has been the first to point out. We have seen that during the fourteenth century, up to this time, the cultivated land of England was occupied in several different ways: by the landowner himself, cultivating it through bailiffs; by tenants on long leases; tenants of the manor, at fixed money rents, fines, and so forth; by cottars, serfs, and the like, at labour rents, redeemable for the most part in money. Now, for the first time, a new kind of holding is introduced.

'The wages of labourers, despite the restrictions placed upon them by the statute of 1350, rose so high that it was no longer profitable to cultivate by bailiff. . . . Even the high prices of wheat were insufficient to compensate the enhanced cost of labour, and the college (Merton: but this is only one case) let its land on lease, at the best possible terms.

'These leases were peculiar. The stock was let with the land, either in whole or in part, the rents being in money or corn. The tenant on the expiry of his lease was bound to return the same amount of seed corn and of live and dead stock as he received, or their estimated value. (The leasing of cattle and sheep on these terms was very common *before* the plague.) One of the most familiar resources of the land is the "firma vaccarum." Cows were let at 5*s.* a-year. . . . . This kind of tenure, closely analogous to the métairie of south-western Europe, prevailed for a short time in England. It is abandoned about fifty years after its commencement, not indeed simultaneously, but generally, after such an interval from its being adopted on any estate. Thus, with hardly an

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exception, the Merton estates are let on the ordinary method of lease for years, at or about the beginning of the fifteenth century. But New College, which persisted in many of its estates in carrying on the old system of cultivating by bailiff till the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, does not get out of the land and stock leasing till a considerable time beyond the middle of that century. The leases are all short, and fines are unknown.' (Vol. i. p. 24.)

'A corporation could not or would not alienate its lands. Hence the estate was preserved intact. But a very different set of causes must have operated upon the lands of the feudal lords. *There can be no doubt that these were largely alienated in small parcels.* Many causes contributed to this result. The price of labour continually rose, the price of food continually fell, and hence the small occupier became more prosperous and independent. The habits of the land-owners in the reign of Richard II. were expensive, for the nobles emulated the court. The rent of land was very low, for the produce was worth very little more than the cost of production.' (Vol. i. p. 25.)

Here we own that we arrive at a *non plus:* at one of those points, so frequently occurring in this kind of inquiry, in which we feel that the taste for generalisation has carried us too far, and that our theory, founded on one set of phenomena, is running counter to the lessons obviously deducible from another set. If, for many years after the Plague of 1348, labour was rising in value, and food was getting cheaper, and rents coming to nothing, and the large estates in course of breaking up; how came it that the nobles under Richard II., who had no resource save their land or the rent of it, were able to indulge, so as to be remarked upon above other nobles, in 'expensive habits' and to 'emulate the court'? and how came it that the court—which must have been equally composed of landowners—was able to set the example?*

* It is worth while to advert in passing to the exceedingly different deductions which Malthus drew, from the evidence examined by himself, as to the condition of the English labourer in the fourteenth century. We do not say that his sources of information were as manifold or as accurate as those employed by Professor Rogers. Nevertheless it is impossible not to find one's distrust of historical generalisations increased, when such a comparison as this between the conclusions arrived at by two acute observers respecting the same series of facts is instituted. Mr. Malthus's opinion was, that the average earnings of the labourer for five hundred years before his time were more frequently below than above a peck of wheat a day, which he regarded as the normal rate. That all through the fourteenth century the average was below this amount, and the condition of the labourer very inferior to that which obtained during the fifteenth century. This he attributed in great

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Thus far, however, we are disposed to agree with Mr. Rogers: that Mr. Hallam's dictum that 'the insurrection of 'the Jacquerie in France about the year 1358, had the same 'character and resulted in a great measure from the same 'causes, as that of the English peasants in 1381,' is not well founded. That England, superficially, caught the infection of revolt from the Continent—as in the sixteenth century it caught that of the Reformation, in 1830 that of political change—is likely enough. But the causes which lay at the bottom of the French and of the English movements were quite different. The Jacquerie was 'the desperate effort of 'excessive suffering' produced not only by evils in the system of social economy, but by long and desolating war. Of this last calamity England had no experience; of the former far less than France.

'None of the circumstances which attended or provoked this revolt accompanied the insurrection of Tyler and his associates. In the first place, the times were, all things considered, of unexampled prosperity. The rate of wages had steadily progressed. Corn was exceedingly cheap, wheat having been below the average for four or five years preceding the insurrection; and there is no better index of the material prosperity of the country than the low price of corn. Compared with the period which followed the Plague, and continued to the death of Edward III., during which wheat fell rarely below the average, and was sometimes greatly above it; the time was one of singular plenty, and, as is clear, the general community fully shared in the abundance which prevailed.' (Vol. i. p. 80.)

We have seen that the immediate result of the Plague was to render the old system of landlords farming their land through a bailiff unprofitable, owing to the dearness of labour; that leases, which for a time partook of the métayer character, the stock being let with the land, began to prevail; while rent by service was disappearing, under pecuniary commutation. 'Was 'it not,' says Professor Rogers, 'an attempt to transmute the 'pecuniary compensation into the labour-rent, and so revive

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measure (differing again from his successor) to the enforcement of the Statute of Labourers. That in the latter part of Edward III.'s reign (which Mr. Rogers seems to select as a period of prosperity for the lower classes) wages amounted to only half a peck a day: a result so low as to excite his own distrust while recording it. That the rate gradually rose in the following century to a peck, and finally to two pecks or half a bushel: which makes him fix the reign of Henry VII. as the acme of the English labourer's condition. Then followed a century of deterioration. (*Political Economy*, chap. iv. sec. 4.)

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'the tenures and the labour-prices of the earlier part of the 'century, that led to the insurrection?'

This, the Professor owns, is a mere hypothesis, and suggested only as such. But that something of the kind did take place is probable enough. The land remained in the hands of the old owners; but its profits were gradually shifting away from them, and becoming transferred to the labouring tenant. Such a change would hardly take place without general efforts, on the part of the governing classes, to restrain it by litigation or legislation; nor without a struggle on the part of the labouring classes to hold what they had won.

'We are told that combinations were entered into, and considerable sums of money subscribed, for the defence and protection of the villeins: in short, to compare modern with ancient practices, that a sort of trades' union had been concocted and sustained by the labourers. Such an organisation points to the facts that the grievances felt by the peasantry were general, had been borne for some time with impatience, and that communications passed freely and fully between the various malcontents. The agents, in all likelihood, were found among some of the priests, one of whom, Ball, attained great influence among the peasantry.' (Vol. i. p. 83.)

'We cannot doubt,' he adds elsewhere, 'that the principal means of communication between the malcontents of separate regions was found in the itinerant priests.' (Vol. i. p. 95.)

We have not space to pursue any farther the investigations of Professor Rogers into this very interesting part of his subject—the causes, extent, and consequences of the Cade and Tyler insurrections. To enter into them fully would indeed exceed his limit, the end of the fourteenth century. One thing we seem to apprehend, though as yet, from deficiency of materials, somewhat obscurely: that the end of these things was the creation of a large class of peasant proprietors—the famous yeomanry of England. 'Arable land, at this time, was 'not worth more than fifteen years' purchase. . . . By the 'close of the fourteenth century the tenants had accumulated 'capital to such an extent, that they were able to supply 'stock from their own resources in most cases, in many others 'to purchase land, according to the custom of the times, under 'fee-farm rents.' It may be doubted whether the yeomanry fairly existed, as a class, before the end of the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth, they undoubtedly constituted a most characteristic feature in the society of the age. It was they who, under such leaders of the old aristocracy as had retained a hold on the affections of their vassals, although villenage, and service tenures, and indeed any substantial dependence of tenant on lord, were well-nigh out of date,

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fought out the wars of Henry V. and VI. in France, and the war of the Roses. It was they—in the first instance at least—who reaped the benefit, when the destruction of so many illustrious lines on the scaffold and in the field ruined even the remnant of the old territorial oligarchy.

How came it that this great institution of yeoman ownership, established thus rapidly in a free country like England, was so ephemeral? How came it that England has not, nor has had for centuries, notwithstanding this beginning, anything to show like the peasant proprietorship, and subdivision of land, of France and other parts of the Continent? How came it that, instead of throwing off the almost nominal ties which still connected them with the ground landlord, the yeomanry fell back again into the condition of a tenantry at rack rent, that is, a condition still more dependent than that from which they had originally emerged? Professor Rogers seems to think—if we may judge from some rather random expressions at the end of his first volume, to which we shall revert by-and-bye—that this great revolution was not effected until the seventeenth century, and was the consequence of 'strict settlements,' introduced by the lawyers of the Restoration. Mr. Seebohm has touched on the point more comprehensively, as it seems to us, though incompletely, in his essay on 'the Black Death,' to which we have already adverted.

'The freedom of the peasantry was not a one-sided bargain. Serfs having claimed the right to do what they liked with their labour, landlords soon learned to do what they liked with their land. . . . During the century which followed the final victory of the labouring classes, the value of land continued throughout at its very lowest point. It was not till the commencement of the sixteenth century that the rise in the value of land commenced. . . . Because it required fewer hands and paid them better, landowners began very naturally to turn arable land by wholesale into pasture and to grow wool instead of corn. Because feeding sheep paid them better than feeding such villein-tenants as still remained attached to the soil, multitudes of these latter were from time to time uprooted, and in modern phrase, "ejected," to make room for sheep, &c. Large tracts of country, one after another, were enclosed by hedges and turned into pasture.'

This change had clearly commenced by the end of the fifteenth century, for Parliament began, in Henry VII.'s reign, to pass Acts, as futile as similar legislation in general, to prevent the turning of arable into pasture.

Thus the interdict which lay against the extension of peasant proprietorship in England is partly accounted for; its decay and final extirpation arose from still more general

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causes. The principal of these was, the attraction, in England at all events, of money towards land. As a general rule, an investment in land returns less than investment in commerce or manufacture. This is so well known, that the number of years' purchase for which land sells habitually represents an interest somewhat lower—often considerably lower—than that which is earned by money otherwise employed. The causes which lead to this result lie deep in the social economy—deep, we may say, in human nature. But, without now investigating them, let us be satisfied with recognising the fact. The inevitable result is, that, if the transfer of land is tolerably free from difficulties, the maintenance of peasant proprietorship is impossible. One by one, the yeomanry will be tempted, by offers of sums from which they can draw greater pecuniary advantage than they can from the land, to part with their holdings to the neighbouring large proprietor, who can either farm the land on a larger scale to greater advantage, or is content—as so many are—to make some sacrifice of mere gain to the pride of extending his possessions; or to the newly enriched child of commerce, who buys land, as he does luxuries, to suit his fancy.

In a country like England, where the value of men's labour has for some generations been high, and its command of the precious metals exceptionally great, this cause for the consolidation of land in comparatively few hands is in constant operation. There is a constant transfer of the soil (in merely agricultural districts) from those who only propose to live by cultivating it, to those who hold it for the sake of enjoyment, or vanity, or power. It is idle to allege, in the face of this leading fact, the circumstance that in portions of France and elsewhere peasant proprietorship maintains itself, and *morcellement*, possibly, increases. Those countries do not possess similar abundance of realised wealth available for the purpose of large purchases; and, if they did, the habits of the population—so deeply rooted by centuries of similar occupancy, and so widely different from ours—would oppose themselves strongly to such investment. There are large tracts of France and other continental countries in which a *nouveau riche*, buying up the lands of small proprietors, instead of being welcomed and worshipped as he is in England, would be simply *hostis humani generis*—one detested, opposed, cheated in every way, as a monopolist interloper among a people of equals. The most popular play of many years past on the French stage—'Nos 'bons Villageois,' owes great part of its long-continued success to its sharp hits at these jealous, envious, unaccommodating

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qualities of the French peasant. These afford fair game enough. Nevertheless, it may be doubted whether part of Jacques Bonhomme's success in holding his own against the invasion of oligarchy is not owing to his obstinate persistence in those very qualities.

The case, to put it shortly, appears to lie thus:—In countries where the land is much subdivided, there is a tendency, among the small proprietors, to cling to the possession of land with a tenacity more than commensurate with its market value. In countries of great commercial wealth, there is a tendency on the part of the capitalists to give for land more than its market value. Neither tendency is in strict conformity with the axiom which the science of Political Economy assumes, for convenience, as the basis of its abstract reasonings; namely, that men will shape their conduct in the main by correct estimates of pecuniary profit and loss. Nevertheless, both of them exist and influence human affairs; and to modify them is a work of many generations.

And we cannot but observe, in the advocates of peasant proprietorship—of whom our Professor is one of the steadiest—considerable inconsistency on one important point. They are, at the same time, advocates of the freest possible transfer of land.

'We owe the fact,' says Mr. Rogers, 'that the great English nation is tenant-at-will to a few thousand landowners, to that device of evil times, a strict settlement. We are informed (he adds, strangely exaggerating the extent of the innovation which he condemns) 'that the machinery which has gradually changed the whole character of the rural population of England was invented by the subtlety of the two lawyers of the Restoration, Palmer and Bridgman. No Englishman who has the courage to forecast the destinies of his country can doubt that its greatest danger lies in the present alienation of its people from the soil, and in the future exodus of a disinterested peasantry.'

We should have thought, for our own parts, that the effect of the system of strict settlement might be more accurately described as follows: it places some impediment, more or less, in the way of estates passing from the landed to the commercial class; it does not prevent the subdivision of land into parcels, because that, in merely rural districts, is all but prevented already by the propensity of the rich for buying up land. And one thing appears to us all but certain: that if the still subsisting restrictions on the alienation of land are removed, and it is rendered by legal reforms as transferable as a bill of exchange, the effect—however advantageous in other respects

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—will only be to render still more difficult the formation, or the maintenance, of small landed properties. The additional facilities for the acquisition of land will be turned to advantage by its great engrossers. A transfer may take place from some impoverished races of landowners of the old stock to wealthy capitalists, but no creation of a 'yeomanry' is in this way possible.

Let us look a little attentively at Mr. Bright's scheme for the regeneration of Ireland, which certainly does appear to us to partake of the confusion occasioned by the contradictory lines of reasoning which we have above indicated. Mr. Bright would have the State acquire, by fair means, the ownership of (say) half the land of the great proprietors of that country, in order to establish small landowners in their place. In this way, he supposes, peace, and progress, and security of property might be ensured. But suppose these desirable objects attained; what next? Surely an influx of capital in search of employment, and also an immigration of wealthy persons in search of landed investments, into Ireland. The new peasant proprietary would be beset with handsome offers to purchase their estates with sums for which they could obtain, elsewhere, better interest than the annual produce of those estates. They would certainly yield to the temptation; unless we are to suppose, what is most improbable, that the ingrained passion for the maintenance of landed ownership, of which we have spoken as a disturbing cause in economical speculation, had already had time to develop itself in the class in question. The result therefore would simply be the absorption, more or less rapid, of the small properties in large ones; and the introduction of a new set of territorial magnates instead of the old ones. Unless, indeed, Mr. Bright were to complete his measure by an agrarian law, prohibiting the accumulation of land; and then what becomes of the great doctrine that land ought to be rendered as alienable as possible? Is that great doctrine to be enforced in order to pull down a territorial oligarchy, and then to be abandoned again in order to build up artificially a territorial democracy?

But we must apologise for this digression. Our business is not with Mr. Bright's future free peasantry, but with the socage tenants and villeins of the fourteenth century, whom, following the guidance of Professor Rogers, we have safely landed at that step in their history when the great institution of the English yeomanry—half real, half fabulous—was just expanding into life, and calling with itself into existence the turbulent, flourishing, 'merry' England of the

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Houses of York and Lancaster. The curtain had fallen over this transitory scene long years before the Reformation, to which the change is sometimes, with little historical accuracy, attributed. When it will rise again over a similar scene—the ideal, at this moment, of so many of our best thinkers, and the refuge of their minds from the contemplation of the half-plethoric, half-starved community in which we now dwell—we are not the prophets to anticipate. Only one thing appears to us tolerably clear: that the division of land into small properties will arrive together with the division of commercial wealth between many owners, and not before. Believers in the theory of co-operation may see in their favourite project the solution of the problem. And they have at least this advantage; they have a distinct future before their eyes, whether ever to be realised or not. All other speculators on the termination, or improvement, of the strangely and increasingly artificial society in which we now exist, seem to us to have no definite prospect at all, and merely to dream on—like one of Dickens' most famous characters—in continual consciousness that what is is not for the best, and continual trust that 'something will turn up.'

ART. III.—1. *Lectures on Greek Philosophy, and other Philosophical Remains of* JAMES FREDERICK FERRIER, B.A. Oxon, LL.D., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews. Edited by Sir ALEXANDER GRANT, Bart., LL.D., Director of Public Instruction in Bombay, and E. L. LUSHINGTON, M.A., Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow. 2 vols. Edinburgh and London: 1866.

2. *Institutes of Metaphysic: the Theory of Knowing and Being.* By JAMES F. FERRIER, A.B. Oxon. 2nd ed. Edinburgh and London: 1861.

THE late Professor Ferrier of St. Andrews was well worthy of the memorial which his friends have raised for him in these two volumes of 'Remains.' The 'Institutes of Metaphysic,' published in his lifetime, had secured for him, if not a wide reputation, yet an undoubted recognition as a thinker from all sides of the philosophical world. The present volumes may not add anything to his philosophical doctrine or excite, among those who have been interested in it, any higher opinion of his speculative ability; but they can scarcely fail to

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enhance his general reputation, while they bring before us a mind, singularly devoted to abstract studies, and singularly gifted with the power of illuminating them and rendering them attractive. They serve also to show clearly the relation which his speculations bore to the previous Scottish philosophy against which they were a reaction. It is in this point of view that we propose mainly to consider them at present. Without entering into any detailed review of his lectures on the Greek Philosophy, we shall endeavour in the following paper to fix his position as a thinker and writer, and to offer a brief estimate of him in both capacities. The powers exhibited in these 'Remains' and in the 'Institutes of Metaphysic,' seem to us to demand a more general acknowledgment than they have yet received.

In the introductory notice, prefixed to the volumes of 'Remains,' written by Professor Lushington, with much taste and graceful feeling, we learn the few particulars of Professor Ferrier's life deserving to be recorded. He was born into an intellectual and literary circle. His grandfather was an intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott; his aunt was the well-known authoress of 'Marriage,' 'Destiny,' and 'The Inheritance.' Professor Wilson was his uncle, and was afterwards connected with him by still closer ties. He may be said to have come by birthright, therefore, into the possession of much that was characteristic and valuable in the old intellectual life of Edinburgh, and the influence of this inheritance is very obvious in some features of his own intellectual culture. He was born in 1808, and received his early education in the Manse of Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire. Here, too, he was fortunate. Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell was one of many Scottish clergymen who, while not learned in any special manner, are yet full of the mental vigour and vivacity which learning does not always give. He was the originator of Savings Banks in the south of Scotland. He was also a close observer of nature, and gave some of the fruits of his observations to the world in a series of interesting volumes on the 'Seasons.' In the family of this clergyman there was first awakened in Mr. Ferrier's mind the lively interest and affection which he never lost for Virgil, Ovid, and the Latin poets in general; he often spoke in later life of the new source of delight then opened to him in these authors. He afterwards attended the Edinburgh High School, and was for some time domiciled with Dr. Burney at Greenwich. He then went to the Edinburgh University for two sessions, from 1825 to 1827, and finally to Oxford, which he entered as a fellow-commoner of Magdalen, and where he took the degree of B.A. in 1831.

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Up to this period there is no evidence of his being specially interested in metaphysical studies. Edinburgh had lost Dr. Thomas Brown in 1820, and had not yet gained Sir William Hamilton. Oxford had not begun to develop that philosophical earnestness which in recent years has marked its schools. It may be doubted, indeed, whether Oxford exercised any definite intellectual influence on Professor Ferrier. He had imbibed his love for the Latin poets before he went there, and his devotion to Greek Philosophy was an after-growth with which he never associated his Magdalen studies. To one who visited the college with him many years afterwards, and to whom he pointed out with admiration its noble walks and trees, his associations with the place seemed to be mainly those of amusement. There is reason to think that few of those who knew him at Magdalen would have afterwards recognised him in the laborious student at St. Andrews, who for weeks together scarcely crossed the threshold of his study; and yet, to all who knew him well, there was nevertheless a clear connexion between the gay gownsman and the hard-working Professor.

His love of metaphysical research seems to have increased rapidly after his return to Edinburgh and his settlement there as an advocate in 1832. Sir William Hamilton, although he had not yet attained his final position in the University as Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, was now in the full spring of his philosophical activity. His famous review of Cousin's 'Cours de Philosophie' had appeared in this Journal in 1829, and his not less significant article on the 'Philo-'sophy of Perception' saw the light exactly a year later. It was soon after the publication of these articles that Ferrier made the acquaintance of their author, and very soon their intimacy 'ripened into a warm friendship,' which 'continued 'thoroughly cordial and affectionate, both in agreement and in 'difference on philosophical questions.' To this friendship appears to have been owing that interest in metaphysical studies which was destined to become such an absorbing passion with Professor Ferrier. It is true that he afterwards went to Heidelberg and studied there for some time; but whatever points of affinity may be discovered between his later speculations and German Thought, there is no evidence that at this period he was much affected by the course of this Thought. He himself says that his 'Philosophy is Scottish to the very core,' and 'that it owed nothing to Germany.' In the same essay *

* 'Appendix to Institutes of Metaphysic,' originally published under the title of 'Scottish Philosophy, the Old and the New.'

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in which he says this, he speaks of Sir William Hamilton as the thinker to whom he was chiefly indebted; and in his early metaphysical articles there are many indications of the same fact, even while opposing himself most strongly to Sir William Hamilton's views. 'He has taught those who study him,' he says '*to think*, and he must stand the consequences, whether 'they think in unison with himself or not. We conceive, 'however, that even those who differ from him most, would 'readily own, that to his instructive disquisitions they were 'indebted for at least one half of all that they know of phi-'losophy.'* The speculative activity thus awakened in Ferrier did not immediately bear fruit. The next five years were chiefly years of silent growth, during which he was laying the foundation of his later convictions. 'Taught to think' by Sir William Hamilton, he no doubt gradually passed — although we have no indication of the manner in which he did so—from the attitude of a disciple to that of a critic and finally of an opponent. It is one of the services of a great and energetic intellect that it not only makes disciples but excites independent thoughtfulness, and this without any of the alienation, which in the case of smaller minds attends the severing of intellectual ties.

But the young Scotch Advocate, during those years, was not only busy whetting his intellect against metaphysical problems; he was, moreover, enthusiastically cultivating the general fields of literature. Every one who has looked into his metaphysical writings is, perhaps first of all, struck with the finish of their literary form. Those who may attach to them no other value, at least acknowledge with what clear vigour and fine expressiveness they always convey his meaning. And the fact is, Professor Ferrier was always more than the Metaphysician. To the last his interest in literature was almost equal to his interest in philosophy. He had a pure delight in it for its own sake, and especially in English, German, and Latin poetry. Of French literature he knew comparatively little, and even French metaphysics did not much interest him; its analytic, psychological character presented but few attractions in comparison with the higher flights of German Thought. But from the time of his residence in Heidelberg, in 1834, he studied German, and especially German poetry, with the greatest enthusiasm. Its marvellous freshness and exuberant power seized him with something of the wild delight which they have for the German student, and the poetic

* Reid and the Philosophy of Common Sense, vol. ii. Remains.

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impulse he derived from it never died away. It was in this form rather than by its metaphysics that Germany first affected him. Among his first contributions to 'Blackwood's 'Magazine,' were two translations from the German—a translation of Tieck's 'Pietro d'Abano' and of Deinhardstein's 'Picture of Danae,' of the latter of which a specimen is given at the end of the second of the volumes of 'Remains.' Other literary articles, and especially a Review of 'Miss Barrett's 'Poems,' show how freshly he kept alive his poetic sympathies, and how vividly they responded to the 'subtlest touch of all 'true poetry.' It may also be mentioned that when Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton (now Lord Lytton) published his 'Translation of Schiller's Ballads,' he dedicated them to Professor Ferrier, with whom he had frequently corresponded regarding his task, and to whose 'critical judgment and skill 'in detecting the finer shades of meaning in the original' he acknowledges his obligations.

His first public essay in philosophy appeared in a series of papers in 'Blackwood's Magazine' during the years 1838 and 1839, under the title of 'An Introduction to the Philosophy of 'Consciousness.' This essay is republished in the 'Remains,' and marks the first definite stage in his philosophical development. Although bearing traces of juvenility, it is eminently worthy of study, while it gives the significant key to all his subsequent speculations. We shall examine it farther on; in the meantime it will be well to run out the brief thread of his personal history, and so to keep together our remarks on his philosophical position and character.

In 1842, Professor Ferrier was appointed to the chair of Civil History in the University of Edinburgh. There is no special record of his work in this chair, which was looked upon at that time mainly as a stepping-stone to some more important professorship. In session 1844–5, during Sir William Hamilton's severe illness, Mr. Ferrier acted as his substitute, and taught the class of logic and metaphysics for some time; his zeal and success in the discharge of this task are warmly acknowledged by Sir William in a testimonial given to Mr. Ferrier when applying for a chair in another university. In 1845 he was elected Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy at St. Andrews, and held that office till his death. He was twice a candidate for a philosophical chair in Edinburgh; first, on the resignation of his uncle, Professor Wilson, in 1852, and again in 1856, on the death of Sir William Hamilton; but on both occasions, a combination of circumstances, irrespective of the merits of the candidates,

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determined the choice of the electors, and his name and his immediate influence as a teacher are destined to be preeminently associated with St. Andrews.

It was shortly after his settlement in St. Andrews that the train of thought developed in the 'Institutes of Metaphysic' took full possession of his mind. At first his lectures had been in the usual manner, chiefly critical and expository of the various schemes of mental and moral philosophy; but for some years he devoted himself, in his chair as well as in his study, to the working out of the definite system of speculation contained in the 'Institutes.' He also frequently corresponded with his friends on the subject which entirely engrossed him; and one of his letters addressed to Mr. De Quincey, who regarded him as 'the metaphysician of highest promise among 'his contemporaries in England or Scotland,' is an admirably clear, if somewhat hardly compacted, epitome of his system. The Institutes reached a second edition in 1856; and in the same year he published the remarkable pamphlet, to which we have already alluded, entitled 'Scottish Philosophy, the Old 'and the New.' This pamphlet was in reply to various criticisms which his work had provoked, and there is none of his writings marked by a more incisive and masterly vigour. Its publication immediately followed his rejection for the chair of logic and metaphysics in Edinburgh; and the smart of his failure, no less than the feeling that his views had been unfairly represented by some of his critics, contributed to give pungency to its pages. The editors of the 'Remains' have withdrawn certain parts of it on republication. He would probably have approved of such a course himself. For while he was an unsparing opponent where he thought he had been unfairly treated, or that his philosophical honour was at stake, he yet readily forgot occasions of controversy when past, and the bitterness which too often springs from them.

From this period he had no thoughts of leaving St. Andrews, to which he had become warmly attached. He found all his happiness in his work there and in the society with which he was surrounded. Professor Lushington has well described his work and mode of life at this time:—

'His labours as a professor,' he says, 'were prompted by unsparing energy; they were rewarded by one of the truest evidences of merit, the devoted sympathy and attachment of his pupils. To stimulate their minds to philosophic thought, to lead them to insight rather than tenacity of conviction, and empower them to think for themselves,—this, as the steady principle of his endeavours, is repeatedly set forth in his lectures, and undeviatingly ruled his practice. In

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all matters of college business his sound judgment and vigorous good sense were acknowledged and looked up to by his colleagues. His students felt sure that there was not one among their professors to whose generous consideration of their feelings they might more confidently trust, or whose resolute assertion of all that was due to his own office they must more implicitly respect. They revered him as a guide to truth and wisdom, they loved him as an elder friend and fellow-labourer.

'His devotion to contemplative study was so persistent and absorbing that he was seldom induced to leave his home in St. Andrews for excursions to any distant quarters. His friends both in Scotland and England had often to regret the rareness of the visits which he paid them, not only on their own account, but, as they believed, for his sake also. For they could not repress within them the strong persuasion that the intensity of his solitary labours in search of truth was wearing him out; and that whenever he could be induced to intermit the restless mental exercise, usually carried on far into the morning hours, such relaxation must prove beneficial to his general health. But for him philosophy had deeper charms than for most even of laborious and meditative inquirers. The "difficult "air" which surrounds the top of the mountain of speculation, exhausting to common travellers in that high region, was to him as the daily breath of life. Those among his acquaintance for whom such abstruser pursuits had no attraction, could not but feel and acknowledge the largeness of mind and heart which enlivened his social intercourse, which sought for no display, but manifested itself in the readiness with which he entered alike into the common business and recreation of every-day life, and into all general topics of rational interest. The most devoted of all students, he was the last man to whom any one who knew him, or even casually met him, could have thought of applying the description of "pedant." In mixed company, his graceful courtesy, his rich and genial humour, and the fine unstrained benignity which, being heart-deep, inspired his whole manner, secured general admiration and goodwill. There was hardly a social meeting at St. Andrews at which his presence, expected or unexpected, would not have been welcomed with genuine gladness; nor could any subject be mooted on which his views, however unobtrusively expressed, would not have been listened to with respectful attention.'

Professor Ferrier seemed naturally of a healthy, if not strong, constitution. He was well knit in frame and had a clear, vigorous, and even joyous expression of countenance, in which the lines of intellectual decision and severe thoughtfulness were always marked, but which bore no trace of wear or overwork until long after he had settled in St. Andrews. From the time of his settlement there, however, he lived a far too studious and sedentary life. With unabated ardour he consumed the midnight oil through the long winter months, and even summer, save in some hours of unusual warmth and

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brightness, seldom drew him from the attractions of his study. His health began to suffer from this mode of life; and soon after 1856 his friends noticed with anxiety a difficulty he had in breathing after any unusual exercise, such as that of ascending a staircase. Still, saving a growing disinclination to physical exertion, he continued the even tenor of his life and studies to the beginning of winter in 1861, when he was suddenly seized by a violent attack of *angina pectoris.* From this attack he recovered and continued, with but little interruption, his professional labours, and even the prosecution of his 'Lectures on Greek Philosophy,' which he had begun, a few years before, on a more systematic plan. 'Those who 'conversed with him after this date on his favourite topics 'were aware that his subtlety and penetrating energy of 'thought were as vivid as ever.' But his physical system had received a shock from which it never rallied, and, henceforward, he was more or less of an invalid. Gradually, his strength decayed and the symptoms of weakness, attending heart affection, assumed a threatening form. During these closing years he ceased in some degree to vex himself with those philosophical problems which had been such an absorbing interest to him; he lost something of his keen relish for abstract discussion; and his old love of literature came back upon him with new freshness. He reverted to the Latin poets, the friends of his youth, and once more read through Virgil.

'He spoke of death,' says Professor Lushington, 'with entire fearlessness, and though there was nothing new to those who knew him best, it impressed their minds at this time more vividly than ever. The less they dared to hope for his life being prolonged, the more their love and regard were deepened by his tender thoughtfulness for others, and the kindliness which annihilated all absorbing concern for himself. In many little characteristic touches of humour, frankness, beneficence, beautiful gratitude for any slight help or attention, his truest and best nature seemed to come out all the more freely; he grew, as it were, more and more entirely himself indeed. If ever a man was true to philosophy, or a man's philosophy true to him, it was so with Ferrier during all the time when he looked death in the face and possessed his soul in patience.'

Another friend * who saw much of him at this time, says:—

'The strength and patience of his character, and buoyant energy and varied activity of his mind, were never more conspicuous. We had many earnest conversations,—for it is needless to say that a reason so inquisitive and reflective as Professor Ferrier's had pondered

* Principal Tulloch of St. Andrews.

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much on the subject of religion. He was unable to feel much interest in any of its popular forms, but he had a most intense interest in its great mysteries, and a thorough reverence for its truths, when these were not disfigured by superstition or formalism. His large thoughtfulness made him indifferent to minor matters, which to many minds represent so much of religion, and he had perhaps too vehement a dislike to certain aspects of pietistic activity; but he had true religious impulses, and Christian truth, expressed in a manly, straightforward, and unexaggerated manner, always impressed him. He was open to the light from whatever quarter it might come; but he also felt that there was much regarding which we must be content here to remain in darkness, and to await the solution of the future. . . . There was a singular depth and immovableness in his cheerful patience. I do not think I ever heard him complain, and I have seen him in great languor and pain. He might give utterance to a half-playful, half-grim expression regarding his sufferings, but he never seemed to think there was anything strange in them, anything that he should not bear calmly as a man and as a Christian. Neither did he say much of unfinished work which he might have done, although such work had been formerly much in his heart. He expressed few regrets, he spoke of no fears. He looked heroically yet humbly into the future, and did such work as he could with interest and diligence to the end. On the very day before his final seizure, I believe, he was in his library, as was his wont, busy among his books.'

He died on the 11th of June 1864.

In briefly reviewing Professor Ferrier's position as a philosopher, we are led back to his early essay—an 'Introduction 'to the Philosophy of Consciousness.' This essay, as we have already said, gives the key to his general course of speculation, and begins his life-long opposition to the old Scottish philosophy. At first he attacked its method and general character; then he advanced to attack its special doctrine of perception, and to lay down the basis of what he supposed to be a higher doctrine. This more developed stage in his line of thought is marked by the 'Institutes of Metaphysic.' His final stage is marked by the 'Lectures on Greek Philosophy,' in which he applies his general principles to the exposition of the most interesting and significant phase of past speculation. His own ideas constantly reappear in this exposition; and he became an historical critic chiefly because he believed in the virtue of these ideas to illuminate and render intelligible the course of Greek philosophy. Throughout his successive writings there will be found to be a natural connexion and organic growth of thought which we will endeavour to exhibit.

I. It was a favourite point in the old Scottish Philosophy that it had applied the scientific or inductive method to the

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study of mind. Reid, Stewart and Brown—differing as the latter does in so many respects from his predecessors—unite in the importance which they attach to this method, and the value of the results to which they suppose it to lead. According to Reid the human mind is a 'fabric, curious and wonderful,' which we can only understand by a careful examination of its several parts. 'All that we know of the body is owing to 'anatomical dissection and observation, and it must be by an 'anatomy of the mind that we can discover its powers and 'principles.'* Stewart is full of the same comparison between physical and mental science. As the former was rescued by Bacon from irrelevant inquiries regarding the 'substance of 'matter,' 'the mode of its creation,' and the 'efficient causes 'of its changes,' so he conceived that Dr. Reid had done eminent service to the latter by fixing observation on the mere facts of mind, the character of its various faculties and their relations to one another, and turning attention away from all purely metaphysical questions:—

'Upon a slight attention to the operations of our own mind,' he says, 'they appear to be so complicated, and so infinitely diversified, that it seems to be impossible to reduce them to any general laws. In consequence, however, of a more accurate examination, the prospect clears up; and the phenomena, which appeared, at first, to be too various for our comprehension, are found to be the result of a comparatively small number of simple and uncompounded faculties, or of simple and uncompounded principles of action. These faculties and principles are the general laws of our constitution, and hold the same place in the philosophy of mind, that the general laws we investigate in physics hold in that branch of science.'†

From Dr. Brown, on this subject, it is almost needless to quote. He disregarded the more cautious language of his predecessors, and identified the study of mind and matter as both alike objects of purely physical investigation:—

'That which perceives' (he says, in a passage quoted by Ferrier, as containing 'the whole substance' and 'scientific method' of his philosophy), 'is a part of nature as truly as the objects of perception which act on it, and as a part of nature is itself an *object of investigation purely physical.* It is known to us only in the successive changes which constitute the variety of our feelings; but the regular sequence of these changes admits of being traced, like the regularity which we are capable of discovering in the successive organic changes of our *bodily* frame.' (*Physiology of the Mind*, pp. 1, 2.)

Professor Ferrier had not only no sympathy with this sort of

* Reid's 'Inquiry,' p. 1.

† Stewart's 'Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind,' pp. 9, 10.

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language and the vaunted method which it described, but he made both the subject of unsparing ridicule. All the first and best half of his early essay is a bold and sparkling polemic against any supposed analogy between Mental Philosophy and Physical Science. The Scotch Philosopher, he says, is like the 'analytic poulterer,' who slew the goose that laid the golden eggs. Leave mind to its natural workings, and how marvellous are they, but cut into it with the inductive knife, and its *essence* disappears in the process. Look at what are called the 'mental 'faculties' on 'the dissecting table of Dr. Brown,' and see how 'shapeless and extinct' they have become. You can never find a true philosophy of man in this way. 'Science 'may indeed play with words, and pass before us a plausible 'rotation of "faculties."' She may introduce the casual *nexus* into thought, and call the result 'association.' But the man himself is not to be found in this 'calculating machine.' For man is a 'living soul,' and not a mere dead mass of 'faculties.' He is not mere 'mind' any more than matter. It is not any aspect or faculty of mind, but consciousness or personality which constitutes his true being; and this element of consciousness is quite distinct from mere mind. Do you say that they are not distinct? that 'I' and 'mind' are identical, only that the knowing subject and the known object are here one and the same? Then Ferrier answers,—you have equally given up the assumed analogy upon which your whole philosophical method rests. For if mind be the 'Ego,' if it be self-conscious, then you have here something quite separating it from matter. Matter is nothing but a series of *changes;* mind is also a series of changes; but, moreover, it is *conscious* of its changes, and this is a fact entirely new and different from any thing in matter. And so the professed analogy between matter and mind as objects of scientific investigation breaks down. But according to him there is nothing in a mere 'state of mind any more than there is in 'states of matter,' to countenance the presumption that it should take cognisance of its own operations. '*A priori*, there is no more ground for supposing 'that "reason," "feeling," "passion," and "states of mind" 'whatsoever, should be conscious of themselves, than that 'thunder and lightning, and all the changes of the atmosphere 'should. Mind, endow it with as much reason as you please, 'is still perfectly conceivable as existing in all its varying 'moods, without being, at the same time, at all conscious 'of them. Many creatures are rational without being 'conscious.'*

* Remains, vol. ii. p. 28.

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It may be rejoined that consciousness is nothing but an additional fact or quality of mind found in man—an element of experience, no less than other 'states of mind.' Ferrier's answer to this is a very good specimen of his ingenious subtlety:—

'Matter,' he says, 'is not "I." I know it only by its changes. It is an object to me, *Objicitur mihi*. This is intelligible enough, or is at least known from experience, and a science of it is perfectly practicable, because it is *really* an object to me. Suppose, then, that "mind" also is not I, but that I have some mode of becoming acquainted with its phenomena or changes just as I have of becoming acquainted with those of matter. This, too, is perfectly conceivable. Here, also, I have an object. *Aliquod objicitur mihi:* and of this I can frame a science upon intelligible grounds. But I can attribute no consciousness to this object. The consciousness is in myself. But suppose I vest myself in this object. I thus identify myself with mind, and realise consciousness as a fact of mind, but in the meantime what becomes of mind as an *object?* It has vanished in the process. An object can be conceived only as that which may possibly become an object *to* something else. Now what can mind become an object *to?* Not to me, for I am it, and not something else. Not to something else without being again denuded of consciousness; for this other being could only mark its changes as I did, and not endow it with consciousness without vesting in it its own personality, as I had done. Perhaps you imagine that the synthesis of "I" and "mind" may be resolved; and that thus the latter may again be made the *object* of your research. Do you maintain that the synthesis may be resolved in the first place *really?* Then you adopt our first supposition when we supposed that "mind" was not "I." In this case "mind" is left with all its changing phenomena, its emotions, passions, &c., and the consciousness of these remains vested in that which is called "I," and thus "mind" is divested of its most important fact. Or, in the second place, do you suppose the synthesis resolved *ideally?* But, in this case too, it will be found that the fact of consciousness clings on the one side of the inquiring subject ("I"), and cannot be conceived on the side of the object inquired into ("mind"), unless the synthesis of the subject and object which was ideally resolved be again ideally restored. The conclusion of this is, that if the synthesis of "I" and "mind" be resolved either really or ideally, consciousness vanishes from "mind," and if it be maintained entire, "mind" becomes inconceivable as an *object* of research. Finally, are you driven to the admission that mind is an object, only in a fictitious sense; then here, indeed, you speak the truth. That which is called "I" is a living reality, and though mind were annihilated, it would remain a repository of given facts. But that which is called mind is truly an object only in a fictitious sense, and being so, is, therefore, only a fictitious object, and consequently the

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science of it is also a fiction and an imposture.' (*Remains*, vol. ii. pp. 29–31.)

The conclusion, of course, to which he comes is that consciousness, and not mind, in its ordinary psychological sense is the proper subject of philosophy. Man is marked off from all other creatures, not by the possession of a mind, but by the power which he alone has of contemplating all his sensations, passions, emotions, and states of mind as *his own*. This is the root and essence of man's intelligent being, out of which grow 'conscience, morality, responsibility, which may be shown to 'be based on consciousness and necessary sequents thereof.' The animals are wholly destitute of it. 'No notion of themselves accompanies their existence and its various changes, 'neither do they take any account to themselves of the reason 'which is operating within them: it is reserved for man to 'live this *double* life. To exist, and to be *conscious* of existence; to be rational, and to *know* that he is so.'*

Having found the primary, constitutive fact of human intelligence, to be consciousness, he considers, at length, its genesis —when it arises, and how it arises. He is particularly earnest in showing that it does not arise in sequence from any *states* of mind or co-relative with them, but in opposition to all mere passive states and conditions. So far from being a mere educt of experience, as the psychologist says, the Ego emerges in direct assertion against all experience. It only *is*, in virtue of its denial of the law of causality which binds all nature. It only maintains itself in antagonism to 'the flood of sensations, 'which, pouring in on all sides, are successively striving to 'overwhelm it.' This element of negation is the essential and characteristic element of the perceptive consciousness. Take it away and the distinction of Ego and Non-Ego would disappear. 'The *ego* and the *non-ego* only are by being discrimi-'nated, or by the one of them being denied (not in thought or 'word only, but in a primary and vital act) of the other. But 'consciousness also is the discrimination between the *ego* and 'the *non-ego;* or, in other words, consciousness resolves itself, 'in its clearest form, into an act of negation.' He illustrates at length the inverse ratio between consciousness and mere 'states of mind.' Not only have the latter no tendency to generate the former, but they have a direct tendency to overpower and extinguish it even when it comes into operation. The maximum of feeling, passion, or any state of mind, is the minimum of consciousness, and *vice versa;* the one pole is

* Remains, vol. ii. p. 39.

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depressed as the other rises. And if it be objected that unless 'states of mind' existed, consciousness could never come into being—

'In this objection,' he argues, 'the premises are perfectly true, but the inference is altogether false. It is true that man's consciousness would not develop itself unless certain varieties of sensation, reason, &c., became manifest within him; but it does not by any means follow from this that consciousness is the natural sequent or harmonious accompaniment of these. The fact is, that consciousness does not come into operation *in consequence* of these states, but *in spite* of them: it does not come into play to increase and foster these states, but only actively to suspend, control, or put a stop to them. . . . The fact that consciousness is in nothing *passive*, but is *ab-origine* essentially active, places us upon the strongest position which, as philosophers fighting for human freedom, we can possibly occupy; and it is only by the maintenance of this position that man's liberty can ever be philosophically vindicated and made good.' (*Remains*, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80.)

It is unnecessary to follow farther Professor Ferrier's argument in this essay. We have dwelt upon it thus far, because, while showing here and there a certain crudity of thought – as of one only trying as yet the growing wings of speculation—it is at the same time one of the most interesting of all his writings. In turning to it from ordinary metaphysical writing, it is impossible not to be struck by its singular richness, life, and vigour, and a certain charm of enthusiasm which never allows the reader's interest to flag. It serves, moreover, to fix his starting-point in philosophy, both negatively and positively. From the first, it is obvious that he not only swerved aside from the path of the old Scottish philosophy, but ran right against it. Its pretensions were never venerable in his eyes, and there is even a *brusquerie* in his attack which might have been spared, but which was very characteristic of him. Students of the Scottish philosophy still living, must remember the effusive admiration with which the inductive or 'Baconian' method used to be spoken of as applied to mental science. It seemed as if the plan had at length been found of unravelling all the mysteries of mind. It required, therefore, not only courage, but a certain buoyant confidence in Ferrier to raise his voice as he did against it. This confidence was a marked feature of his mind. In speculation, he knew no fear, and gave no favour.

But it is also obvious that it was no love of mere destruction which animated him. He attacked the favourite ideas of the Scottish school, only because they seemed to him to have consistently run to something like materialism in the hands of

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Dr. Brown. Unlike Sir William Hamilton, he saw in Brown's philosophy the appropriate development, rather than the debasement, of the doctrines of Reid and Stewart; and instead, therefore, of turning back, like his master, to re-examine and purify the sources, he turned against the whole system as false in method and in principle. He started on a different road in search of the philosophic truth which they seemed to him to have missed. And, although he afterwards advanced much farther, he never abandoned the line of thought on which he first entered. The 'self' or 'me' in which he finds the fundamental element of human intelligence, he continued to apply to the solution of the hardest problems in Metaphysic. There are even, already, in this essay glimpses of 'the primary law or 'condition of all knowledge' which he afterwards developed in the 'Institutes.' He continued to work, in short, on the spiritual and metaphysical basis which he here lays down in contrast to all psychological or inductive data. He was never less, but always more, spiritual in his thinking than any of the thinkers of the older Scottish philosophy.

II. In examining the origin of consciousness, Ferrier had already come across the problem of Perception. He had pointed to an indissoluble unity of subject and object in every element of cognition, and even indicated what he thought the special flaw in the Scottish doctrine, which had been so widely accepted as a triumphant vindication of our natural beliefs against the inroads both of Idealism and Scepticism.* It was not *till* some years afterwards, however, that he fully worked out his views on this subject. The essays on Berkeley and on Reid, in the second volume of the 'Remains,' enable us clearly to trace the working of his mind upon it, and, in this respect, are extremely interesting. They form the natural links of connexion between the 'Introduction to the Philosophy of 'Consciousness,' and 'The Institutes of Metaphysic.' In themselves, moreover, these essays are admirable specimens of metaphysical discussion, full of the vigorous sap of the earlier essay, with more keenness, consistency, and hardness of fibre in the thought.

The philosophy of Reid sprang out of the question of Perception, as indeed all philosophy, more or less, does. How does man become cognisant of the external world? The prevalent opinion, to which, in the estimation of Reid, at least, Locke was no exception, assumed that external objects pass into cognition by means of certain transferred images, repre-

* Remains, vol. ii. pp. 10, 11.

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sentations, or 'ideas' of them communicating with the mind. These ideas or representations were the immediate or proximate objects of the mind in perception, and there were thus three factors or elements concurring in cognition; *first*, matter, or the external object; *second*, the idea, or proximate object; *third*, mind. But Berkeley, taking up this view, successfully showed that there was no verifying connexion between the external object and its supposed idea. If the mind only knew the idea, and if the idea was separate from the thing, or from matter, which it was according to the hypothesis, matter would disappear. Never coming into perception or consciousness at all, the mind could never lay hold of it. It never passed into knowledge; and a system of pure idealism was the necessary consequence; there was no escape from this conclusion. Unable to controvert the reasoning of Berkeley, Reid had quietly resigned himself to Idealism;* but he was startled from his idealistic content by a summons to surrender, not only matter, but also mind, as a condition of the prevalent hypothesis. Hume, whose great mission it was to probe the thought of his time all round, argued with irresistible force; —If you begin with the idea, you have no more right to infer mind than you have to infer matter as a distinct substance. Both are alike suppositious and unguaranteed. The only real element of knowledge is the idea, or 'perception,' as he called it; and there is no ground to conclude a substance from a perception; the two are entirely different. Both matter and mind were thus argued out of all knowledge; there remained only a succession of ideas yielding nothing but themselves.

Reid sought to meet this scepticism by discarding 'ideas' as entities altogether. We do not apprehend, he said, the external world through ideas; we take direct cognisance of it. 'Philosophers sometimes say that we perceive ideas; some-'times that we are conscious of them. I can have no doubt of 'the existence of anything which I either perceive, or of which 'I am conscious; but I cannot find that I either perceive 'Ideas, or am conscious of them.'† These are his own words. Ideas disappeared altogether when he more carefully pondered them; they became mere fictions of the schools. The only realities are matter and mind, which stand face to face in perception. Reid is by no means consistent in his language; all the laborious exposition‡ of Hamilton scarcely serves to give

* Sir W. Hamilton's 'Lectures on Metaphysics,' vol. i. p. 395.
† Essays on the Intellectual Powers, iv. c. 2.
‡ Discussions, pp. 38–97. Lectures on Metaphysics, pp. 18–63.

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unity to his doctrine; but he certainly aimed at this conclusion. He believed that he had vindicated the 'vulgar' opinion, as he called it, against the refinements of philosophers; and reclaimed within the domain of human knowledge the worlds of matter and of mind. The obvious characteristic of his doctrine is the assertion of a dualistic basis in the fact of perception; matter and mind; object and subject; in contradistinction to the triple basis of the old system of ideas, or the unitarian basis of Hume's system of mere 'perceptions.'

Ferrier felt himself drawn by various ties into opposition to this doctrine. The distinction and even priority which it assigned to matter was repulsive to his whole mode of thought; and the dualism on which it rested seemed to him necessarily to fall back into the old dilemma of representationism. Analyse perception at all, and, according to him, this is the necessary consequence. 'Matter and mind,' he said to the Scotch philosopher, are your essential elements of cognition. But what do you mean by 'matter;' matter *per se;* or matter *cum perceptione?* The only matter that will serve your purpose is, of course, the former. But matter *per se* is inconceivable; you cannot think it if you will; all your thought, even if you let it 'chase to the heavens,'* cannot reach to matter *per se*, or, in other words, transcend matter *cum perceptione.* And, do you fall back upon the latter? then you have immediately the old dilemma reproduced, namely, 'matter;' 'matter perceived' (perception); and 'mind.' The only difference is that you have got rid of the scholastic crudity of 'ideas,' as certain transcripts or mental images thrown off from outward objects. These are banished to the limbo of pedantry from which they came; no one, indeed, ever seriously believed in them;† but, instead, you have got the mind's *own perception* as its immediate or proximate object in perception, and *matter per se* as the remote or indirect object:—

'When a philosopher divides, or imagines that he divides, perception into two things, perception *and* matter, holding the former to

* The language of Hume, in a remarkable passage in his early 'Essay of the Understanding,' part ii. § 6, which seems very much an anticipation of Ferrier's system.

† Here Brown and Ferrier are united in holding that Reid made too much of the opinions of previous philosophers on this subject,—and that they could never have meant anything more by their talk about 'ideas,' 'representations,' 'phantasms,' and 'species,' than that 'the mind is immediately cognisant, not of real objects themselves, but *only of its own perceptions of real objects.*' (*Remains,* vol. ii. p. 414.)

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be a state of his own mind, and the latter to be no such state; he does, in that analysis, and without saying one other word, avow himself to be a thorough-going representationist. For his analysis declares that, in perception, the mind has an immediate or proximate, and a mediate or remote object. Its perception of matter is the proximate object, the object of its consciousness; matter itself, the material existence, is the remote object. But such a doctrine is representationism, in the strictest sense of the word.' *

He states his argument still more fully and clearly in reference to a passage which he quotes from Stewart in exposition of Reid's doctrine. 'The mind is so formed that certain impressions produced on our organs of sense, by external objects, are *followed* by corresponding sensations, and that these sensations (which have no more resemblance to the qualities of matter, than the words of a language have to the things they denote), are *followed* by a perception of the existence and qualities of the bodies by which the impressions are made.'† There is here a clear assertion of matter, or external objects *per se*, being the cause, first of sensation, then of perception. Passing over the intermediate steps, the substantial meaning of the assertion is that—

'real objects precede perceptions; that perceptions follow when real objects are present.' 'Now,' he proceeds with his argument, 'when a man proclaims as fact such a sequence as this, what must he first of all have done? He must have observed the antecedent *before* it was followed by the consequent; he must have observed the cause out of combination with effect; otherwise his statement is a pure hypothesis or fiction.' . . . 'Now, did Reid, or did any man, ever observe matter anterior to his perception of it? Had Reid a faculty which enabled him to catch matter before it had passed into perception? Did he ever observe it, as Hudibras says, "undressed"? Mr. Stewart implies that he had such a faculty. But the notion is preposterous. No man can observe matter prior to his perception of it; for his observation of it presupposes his perception of it. Our observation of matter *begins* absolutely with the perception of it. Observation always gives the perception of matter as the *first* term in the series, and not matter itself.'

Ferrier's conclusion is that the analysis of the perception of matter must be given up. The moment we begin to analyse it we find ourselves separating matter from mind; but matter cannot be *conceivably* separated from mind. The mental or perceptive element recurs do what we will; we cannot think it away; it returns upon us in the very thought of not thinking

* Remains, p. 415.
† Elements of Philosophy, part i. c. i.

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it. Perception, therefore, is to be accepted as an indissoluble unity, incapable of division or analysis :—

'The perception of matter is the absolutely elementary in cognition, the *ne plus ultra* of thought. Reason cannot get beyond, or behind it. It has no pedigree. It admits of no analysis. It is not a relation constituted by the coalescence of an objective and a subjective element. It is not a state or modification of the human mind. It is not an effect which can be distinguished from its cause. It is not brought about by the presence of antecedent realities. It is positively the FIRST, with no forerunner. The perception-of-matter is one mental word, of which the verbal words are mere syllables.' (*Remains*, vol. ii. p. 411.)

The recognition of this doctrine, in Ferrier's estimation, is the foundation of all Metaphysic.

Nor is this to tumble once more into a mere system of Idealism, and, to deny the existence of an external world. No one denies the existence of an external world; no philosopher, in his senses, disputes the reality of matter. Berkeley was certainly far from doing this. The only question in dispute is, as to the kind of matter or external world. It is a mere begging of the question to say that the verdict of the natural consciousness is in favour of matter *per se*, or a world divorced from mind :—

'When a man consults his own nature in an impartial spirit, he inevitably finds that his genuine belief in the existence of matter is not a belief in the independent existence of matter *per se*, but it is a belief in the independent existence of the perception of matter which he is for the time participating in. The very last thing which he naturally believes in is, that the perception is a state of his own mind, and that the matter is something different from it, and exists apart *in naturâ rerum*. He may *say* that he believes this, but he never does really believe it. At any rate he believes, in the *first* place, that they exist *together*, wherever they exist. The perception which a man has of a sheet of paper does not come before him as something distinct from the sheet of paper itself. The two are identical, they are indivisible; they are not two, but one. The only question then is, whether the perception of a sheet of paper (taken as it must be in its indissoluble totality) is a state of the man's own mind, or is no such state. And, in settlement of this question, there cannot be a doubt that he believes, in the *second* place, that the perception of a sheet of paper is not a modification of his own mind, but is an objective thing which exists altogether independent of him, and one which would still exist, although he and all other created beings were annihilated. All that he believes to be his (or subjective) is *his participation in* the perception of this object. In a word, it is the perception of matter, and not matter *per se*, which is the *kind* of matter in the independent and perma-

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nent existence of which man rests and reposes his belief. There is no truth or satisfaction to be found in any other doctrine.

'This metaphysical theory of perception is a doctrine of pure intuitionism; it steers clear of all the perplexities of representationism, for it gives us in perception only one, that is, only a proximate object; this object is the perception of matter, and this is one indivisible object. It is not, and cannot be, split into a proximate and a remote object. The doctrine, therefore, is proof against all the cavils of scepticism. We may add, that the entire objectivity of this *datum* (which the metaphysical doctrine proclaims) makes it proof against the imputation of idealism, at least of every species of absurd or objectionable idealism.'*

This doctrine of perception is the great solvent which Ferrier uses through the whole range of Metaphysics. It became, after long pondering, a sort of metaphysical charm in his hand, at the touch of which the hardest problems of 'Knowing' and 'Being' seemed to him to resolve and settle into new shape and order. The 'Institutes of Metaphysic' are nothing more than an elaborate application of the doctrine under the successive forms of a theory of Knowing or Epistemology, a theory of Ignorance or Agnoiology, and a theory of Being or Ontology. The knowable—the *only possible knowable*—is not 'matter,' nor yet 'mind,' but 'matter plus mind;' 'thing-'mecum;' 'object plus subject.' 'Along with whatever any 'intelligence knows, it must, as the ground or condition of its 'knowledge, have some cognisance of *itself*.' In other and explanatory language, '"Self" or the "me" is the common centre, 'the continually known rallying-point in which all our cogni-'tions meet and agree. It is the *ens unum, et semper cognitum,* '*in omnibus notitiis.* Its apprehension is essential to the exist-'ence of our, and of all, knowledge.' This is the primary law or condition of all knowledge set forth at length under successive propositions and counter-propositions in the first and

* Elements of Philosophy, pp. 445–6. Hume is at one with Ferrier in his assertion that the real world of vulgar belief is not matter *per se*, but matter-as-perceived. 'All the unthinking and unphilosophical 'part of mankind (he says), suppose their perceptions to be their 'only objects. It is only philosophers that speak of "existence" as '"double," as "internal and external, representing and represented."' (*Of the Understanding*, part iv. § 2.) Hume was content to signalise the contradiction between the popular and philosophical belief. Berkeley, and Ferrier after him, maintained that in this case the popular is the true and only philosophical belief,—in other words, that the only external world is the world-as-perceived, that the perception of matter, and not matter *per se*, is the only kind of matter of which we know or can know anything.

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largest section of the 'Institutes of Metaphysic.' The law of ignorance is not, as might be supposed, the reverse of this; namely, the want of knowledge of *things in themselves*, or of *objects per se*. No; we can only be ignorant of that which we can possibly know. But we cannot possibly know things in themselves:—

'To know thing *per se* or *sine me*, is as impossible and contradictory as it is to know two straight lines enclosing a space; because my mind by its very law and nature must know the thing *cum alio*, i.e. along with *itself* knowing it.' 'The difference between this and every other system is, that while every other system refers our nescience of matter *per se* to a defect or limitation in our cognitive faculties, and thus represents us as ignorant of matter *per se* in the proper sense of the word *ignorant*, this system refers our nescience of matter *per se* to the very nature of constitution of *all* reason, refers it to a necessary law which is the very perfection and essence of *all* intelligence.'

The true theory of 'Being' springs directly out of the junction of these two theories of Knowing and of Ignorance:—

'Once exclude matter *per se* from the pale *both* of our knowledge *and* of our ignorance, and an ontology becomes, *for the first time*, possible. Because in answer to the question, What is real and absolute Being? we must either reply, It is that which we know, in which case it will be *object plus subject*, because this is the only Knowable; or we must reply, It is that which we are ignorant of, in which case, also, it will be *object plus subject*.' This, then, is the ὄντως ὄν. 'Absolute Existence is the synthesis of the subject and object—the union of the universal and the particular—the concretion of the ego and non-ego; in other words, the only true, and real, and independent Existences are minds—together—with—that—which—they—apprehend.'

We feel that it is scarcely fair thus to try to set forth, in a sentence or two, the elaborate thinking of the 'Institutes of 'Metaphysic;' but we have been mainly indebted to Ferrier's own summary of his reasoning in his letter to De Quincey, to which we formerly alluded. Our limits do not permit any further expansion; and his system suffers less from this sort of compression than many others. As he himself said of it; it is 'like a telescope which shuts up as short and pulls out as 'long as one pleases.' Plainly, it is nothing else than an extended application of his fundamental doctrine of perception. He turns this doctrine, like a revolving light, upon all the successive aspects of the metaphysical world, and they seem to him to grow luminous and intelligible under its rays.

Still less do our limits permit us to enter into any discussion of the merits of Ferrier's system. Our purpose throughout

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has been to expound, not to discuss or criticise; and we have seen the growth of his system in its polemical relations to the old Scottish school of Philosophy. In what degree his polemic is sound and likely to maintain itself, and in what degree it is weak and full of assumption, it would lead us far out of our present way to examine and try to settle. We must be content with remarking that the antagonism between the 'Old' and the 'New Scottish Philosophy' is an antagonism of vital assumption on both sides, against which argument seems powerless. Do we apprehend matter in itself? Are we face to face with a real world, independent of mind? Or does the *me*, or mental factor, cleave inseparably to every object of knowledge as its illuminating condition—the 'light 'of all our seeing?' The alternative is not so much one of argument as of fundamental hypothesis,—a point on which to stand that we may argue at all. As in the case of all first principles, we are found carrying one or other alternative with us from the beginning; and when we have run out the lines of our reasoning, we are simply where we were when we started. We have been arguing throughout on a dualistic or unitarian hypothesis,—on a basis, as Sir William Hamilton said, of natural realism or speculative idealism. Philosophers seem to be born Realists or Idealists, Aristotelians or Platonists, and what argument can subvert a primary tendency of intellect?

It is singular and highly deserving of notice, that the unitarian and idealistic tendency in philosophy is once more everywhere in the ascendant. Ferrier's lofty spiritual idealism is merely one phase of the tendency in our time. The prevalent Sensational Philosophy, which seems, and is in its essence, the most opposed to his, is yet in its recent developments strangely coincident with his fundamental law of knowledge. It starts like him from an antithesis in unity of the nature of *subject-object*; but, while with Ferrier the subjective or unifying element is mind in its full stature, or consciousness (apart from consciousness or the fully developed contrast of subject and object, there is no beginning of human intelligence with Ferrier); with the Sensational Philosophy, the subjective is merely a primitive sentiency or germ of mental susceptibility. The two systems run alike to a subjective root; only, in the one case, the subject is the fully developed ego; in the other, it is a mere rudimentary sensation manifesting itself in the twofold antithetic form of continued *actual* sensations, or sensations proper, and continued possibilities of sensation converted by the natural laws of expectation and association into permanency and objectivity. The two systems are identical in the assertion of a

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single or unitarian root of knowledge; and further, in the assertion that this root is subjective or idealistic; but they are essentially opposed in so far as, according to Ferrier, the single factor out of which all knowledge springs is *spiritual*—the apprehensive ego; according to the Sensationalists, it seems to be nothing more than a modification of matter, different, it may be, from all lower modifications, but not *substantially* different or distinct.*

III. We have left ourselves no space to consider the final stage of Professor Ferrier's philosophical development as exhibited in the 'Lectures on Greek Philosophy.' This is the less to be regretted because, as we have already said, these lectures do not add anything, or at least add very little, to the distinctive results of his system of thought. Valuable, indeed, as these lectures are as models of lucid exposition, of calm, vigorous, persistent thinking, tracking a few ideas with an undeviating interest and freshness, and a reiterated force and clearness of meaning, which at times almost startles by its brilliancy, they yet labour under disadvantages. With the exception of the earlier ones they are scarcely in a state in which he himself would have published them. They suffer, moreover, from intrinsic defects, arising partly from his subject, and partly from his mode of treating it. The earlier or pre-Socratic phrases of Greek philosophy are only known to us from fragmentary writings, in some places impenetrably obscure, and offering a field for plausible conjecture rather than for clear and satisfactory explanation. This was a tempting field for Professor Ferrier. Possessed of not a few of the qualities of an historian of Philosophy, a rare insight into the heart of systems, and the vitally organising skill which can reproduce their process of connexion and growth, and trace their most hidden relations, he was yet so intent upon his own views as to see other systems mainly in their light. His faculty of interpretation, while keen and largely appreciative, was also arbitrary and over confident. Where he did not find meanings he did not hesitate to substitute them—to eke out the meagre and halting sense from his own fertile and eager thoughtfulness. Above all things, he professed the necessity of rendering past doctrines intelligible—of 'reanimating them 'from within while engaged in receiving and deciphering them 'from without.'† But it is evident how nearly interpretation

* Bain 'On the Emotions and Will,' pp. 641–6.; Mill's 'Examination of Hamilton's Philosophy,' c. xi.

† Remains, vol. i. p. 3.

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may in such a case verge upon dogmatism, and the function of the historical critic be lost in the zeal of the metaphysician. The Lectures on Greek Philosophy bear a good many traces of this dogmatism, of the process of first putting in a meaning and then drawing it out again. The process is pleasant, and a vivid light is shed over the page, but it is a light to which the materials before him sometimes very slightly contribute.

After the publication of the 'Institutes of Metaphysic,' or at least of the pamphlet in their defence, Ferrier's interest in the polemical side of his philosophy, which had hitherto been so strong, seemed to languish. He dwelt mainly on certain positive aspects of philosophical belief, and especially, upon the great idea that philosophical Truth must, by its character, be universal—in other words, a Truth for *all* intelligence and not merely for *some* intelligence, and further, that philosophy in its successive developments is to be regarded, and can only be understood, as a search after this Universal or Absolute. This is the twofold idea which inspires his lectures. It constantly re-appears, and the various systems which come under review are made tributary to its illustration. It is remarkable to what extent it sheds a real illumination upon the course of Greek speculation.

In conclusion, we feel ourselves warranted in saying of Professor Ferrier—whatever estimate may be formed of his philosophical system—that he is one of those thinkers who are likely to leave their mark upon the course of metaphysical opinion. There is life in all that came from his pen, the life which springs out of intense conviction and of a rare, brilliant, and penetrating faculty of thought. He was possessed of a lofty faith in the divine dignity of human reason and the reality of a truth transcending that of the senses. As far removed as any man could be from superstition, he yet held, with an unhesitating decision, that man cannot live by bread alone; and in a time when the vague compromises of the old Scottish school seem no longer able to resist the advancing tide of Sensationalism, he will be remembered as having vindicated a spiritual principle in man on grounds of the highest and most confident argument.

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ART. IV. — *L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au IVme Siècle.* Par M. ALBERT DE BROGLIE de l'Académie Française. Troisième Partie.

THIS work was noticed in our pages * on its first appearance. Since that time, four volumes have been added, and we have now, in welcoming the two final volumes, to follow the distinguished author to the conclusion of his labours. Before entering on the consideration of this last instalment of his history, it is not out of place to glance at the previous fortunes of his family, and at the position which he occupies in his own Church and country. The original seat of the Broglies was a village near Turin, called the village of the Six B's, because six illustrious families whose names begin with B sprang from it. The Broglies emigrated in the seventeenth century to a town in Normandy formerly called Chambras, but receiving from them the name of 'Broglie,' which, after the interval of the French Revolution, it recovered again at its own desire. Parts of the old castle still remain, but the larger portion of it was built by Marshal de Broglie, who was employed by Louis XVI. in the reaction against the Revolution, and who in consequence emigrated. He refused ever again to see his son, who had taken the popular side in the Assembly. This son was the father of the present Duke; who was guillotined at a later stage of the Revolution, and shortly before his death sent for his child and said, 'They will tell you in after years that I fell a victim to 'the excesses of liberty. Do not believe them. It is not liberty 'but tyranny which has caused my fall.' That parting counsel has never been forgotten in the house of Broglie. The child grew up to be the able Constitutional Minister of King Louis-Philippe; and in spite of his father's tragical death, in spite of the overthrow of his royal master and of his friend the celebrated statesman, M. Guizot, who lives in dignified seclusion as his neighbour, he remained, and has remained, faithful to the liberal principles which he thus inherited. Those who have partaken of his hospitality in the halls of that ancient castle will feel that they have seen in him the model of a statesman now rarely to be met—grave and wise and just; as open to new impressions and ideas as he is reserved and discriminating in his judgment of the present and the past.

The religious history of the family is still more remarkable than its political career. Two uncles of the Duke were in holy

* Ed. Review, vol. cxi. p. 422.

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orders. One became Bishop of Ghent, and was deposed from his office for some offence taken against him by the first Napoleon. The other, who adopted extreme royalist views, was so enraged against the Concordat, that, wishing to place as vast a gulf as possible between himself and the restored Church of France, he dressed in colours, wore a pigtail, and abandoned all clerical functions. But another vein of thought entered into the family by the Duke's marriage with a Protestant lady—one of the most remarkable women of her time—the daughter of Madame de Staël, who combined the genius of her mother with a high principle and devotion which well fitted her to exercise the most beneficial influence over any family in which her lot might be cast. Steadfast to the convictions of her own faith, she was able conscientiously to bring up her sons in the faith of their father; and, indeed, so lofty was the religious atmosphere in which she lived, that it might be said to be above the level where theological discords take their rise. A volume of fragments, printed after her death, on moral and theological subjects, exhibits a character as pure and a mind as strong as ever was produced by either of the two contending sections of Christendom. She lies in the little cemetery of the castle, cut off by a premature death, which has cast a shade, never altogether removed, over the survivors of the family. It is the eldest son of this union, Albert, Prince de Broglie, who has devoted himself to this laborious work on the 'Church and the Empire 'of the Fourth Century,' and on whom the French Academy has been able to confer an honour almost without parallel, by enrolling amongst its members both father and son of the same illustrious house. In the combination of independent judgment, of religious veneration, of industrious research, and of noble aspirations which these volumes exhibit, we seem to see united the various qualities which we have traced in his lineage. If, at times, they display indications of the extravagant fancies and reactionary tendencies of his great grandfather and great uncle, the more general spirit of his book is that which he has derived from his distinguished parents. But it is from a more than any merely personal interest that we have called attention to this peculiarity of M. de Broglie's position. That position is one which he shares with a few—we fear but a few—remarkable men, in his own and other countries of Europe, of a sincere and devout Roman Catholic, who is free to receive the impressions of the science and progress of the age in which he lives, and resist, so far as possible, the encroachments by which papal despotism and ecclesiastical pretensions are constantly endeavouring to suppress the sense of truth and the struggles of

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conscience within the bosom of the Roman Church. For a member of that Church to keep himself pure from this its besetting temptation, and to prefer the calls of truth and freedom to the craving for illimitable authority, is a difficult, many, perhaps, may think a hopeless, task. But it is one to which no one who cares for the prospects of Christendom can be indifferent—it is a cause, to which, as on a former occasion,* so now, we bid God speed, because its advance involves with it the advance of Christian enlightenment throughout the world.

How far he has sustained this position will, we think, appear on a careful perusal of his work. It consists of three parts. The first, of which a notice occurred in these pages immediately after its appearance, included the original establishment of the Christian Empire under Constantine. The second part chiefly turned on the reaction of Paganism under Julian, and the furious disputes within the Church itself, under Constantine's successors. The third part, which is now before us, comprehends the final establishment of Christianity and the suppression of Paganism under Theodosius.

It has seemed to us that, under present circumstances, we cannot do better than select one portion of the work, on which he has evidently bestowed much labour and care, and which perhaps has the most interest for the general reader—namely, the description of the Second Œcumenical Synod, the First Council of Constantinople.† It is a perspicuous treatment of one of those great assemblies, which have been enshrined in the traditional veneration of Christendom, as having contributed to the formation of our present ecclesiastical and dogmatic system; and this treatment becomes more interesting when we find it in the hands not of a professed divine, but of a layman, a gentleman, and a scholar. And, although pledged by his creed to a certain preconceived view of these delicate subjects, he has spoken of it with a freedom and a force, that, whilst illustrating his peculiar position in his own church, to which we have just alluded, gives a hope that on other kindred topics he and those who think with him may be induced to break the death-like silence of submission which is the real bane of the modern Roman Catholic Church.

In telling the story of this often-quoted synod, we shall follow the order of events, as M. de Broglie has arranged them, and shall take his view of the proceedings, except so far as they appear to us plainly at variance with the original autho-

* Ed. Review, vol. cxx. p. 304.

† The Council itself, we must remember, took place A.D. 381.

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rities.* These exceptions are happily not numerous, and we shall only notice them for the sake of bringing out more fully the whole facts of the case, and of showing how difficult it is even for an independent mind like M. de Broglie's entirely to free itself from the effects of early prejudice and the haze which long ages of traditional representation have thrown over the scene. In order to comprehend the actors and the circumstances of the assembly, we must step back a few years into the past.

The city of Constantinople had been almost ever since the Council of Nicæa in the hands of the great party which was called by the name of the heresiarch Arius, and which embraced all the princes of the Imperial House from Constantine the Great to Valens (with the exception of the 'apostate' Julian), as well as the Gothic tribes on the frontier. But the 'orthodox' or so called 'Catholic' party, to which the name and memory of Athanasius still gave life and energy, struggled on; and when the rude Spanish soldier Theodosius restored peace to the Empire, his known opinions in favour of the orthodox doctrine gave a hope of returning strength to the cause which had vanquished at Nicæa. Under these circumstances, the little community which professed the Athanasian belief at Constantinople determined on the step of calling to their assistance one of the leaders of those opinions from the adjacent province of Asia Minor. Basil would have been the natural choice; but his age and infirmities rendered this impossible. Accordingly, they fixed on Gregory, commonly called 'of 'Nazianzus.' Unlike the school in our own Church which, in the time of the Nonjurors, and still more recently, sanctions the intrusion of new bishops into places already preoccupied by lawful prelates, the orthodox community at Constantinople showed a moderation which M. de Broglie highly commends. Gregory was already a bishop, but a bishop without a diocese. Appointed to the see of Sasima, he had never undertaken its duties, but contented himself with helping his aged father in the bishopric of his birthplace Nazianzus. Ac-

* The usual authorities which describe it are the ecclesiastical historians of the following century—Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret. But far more important than these, and almost unique in the history of the Councils, are the letters, orations, and long autobiographical poems of Gregory Nazianzen, who, as we shall see, was not only a contemporary, but an eyewitness of most of what he describes. We must add from modern times the learned and candid Tillemont, and the exact and impartial Hefele, both of them belonging to the more moderate school of the Roman Church.

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cordingly he was ready to the hands of the minority of the Church of Byzantium, without any direct infringement of the rights and titles of Demophilus, the lawful bishop of Constantinople.

He came from his rustic retreat reluctantly. He was prematurely old and infirm. His bald head streaked with a few white hairs, and his bent figure, were not calculated to command attention. He was retiring, susceptible, and, in his manners, simple to a fault. It is this contrast with the position which was forced upon him that gives the main interest to the curious cycle of events of which he thus became the centre.

Constantinople was crowded with the heads of the different ecclesiastical parties, awaiting the arrival of the new Emperor There were the Arian bishops in possession of the imperial sees. There were the semi-Arians, who by very slight concessions on both sides might be easily included in the orthodox community. There were the liberal Catholics, who were eager to grant such concessions. There were the Puritan Catholics, who rigidly spurned all compromise. With these divisions —in that age to which some in our own day look back as to a time of golden unity, but assuredly not less distracted than the Church of old England, or of New America—there was a vast society, hardly less civilised, less frivolous, less complex, than that of our great capitals now, entering into those abstract theological questions as keenly as our metropolitan circles into the political or ecclesiastical disputes which form the materials of conversation at the dinner-tables of London or the saloons of Paris. Everywhere in that new capital of the world—at the races of the Hippodrome, at the theatres, at feasts, in debauches.* the most sacred names were bandied to and fro in eager disputation. Every corner, every alley of the city, the streets, the markets, the drapers'-shops, the tables of moneychangers and of victuallers, were crowded with these 'offhand dogmatizers.'† If a trader was asked the cost of such an article, he answered by philosophising on generated and ungenerated being. If a stranger inquired the price of bread, he was told 'the Son is subordinate to the Father.' If a traveller asked whether his bath was ready, he was told 'the 'Son arose out of nothing.'

The shyness as well as the piety of Gregory led him to confine his appearance in public to the pulpit. So completely

* Gregory Naz. Or. 22–27.

† *αὐτοσχέδιοι δογμάτισται.* Gregory Nyssa, 'De Deitate Fili' vol. ii. p. 898.

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had the orthodox party been depressed, that they had no church to offer him for his ministrations. They went back for the moment to the custom which, beginning at or before the first conversion of the Empire, was in fact the origin of all the early Christian churches. Every great Roman house had attached to it a hall, which was used by its owner for purposes of justice or of public assemblies, and bore (at least in Rome) the name of 'basilica.' Such a hall can still be traced in Vespasian's palace on the Palatine; such was the origin of the basilica of Santa Croce in the Sessorian palace, and of St. John in the palace of the Lateran. Such a hall was employed by Gregory on this occasion in the house where he had taken up his quarters. An extempore altar was raised, and in accordance with the ancient Eastern practice of separating the sexes, a gallery was erected for the women, such as on a gigantic scale may be seen in the Church of St. Sophia; showing at once the importance of the female element in these Byzantine congregations, and also the prominence given to an element in church architecture which our modern ecclesiologists regard as the extreme of bad Protestant taste. To this extemporised chapel he gave the name of the *Anastasia*, or Church of the Resurrection or Revival; in *allusion to the resurrection, as he hoped, of the orthodox party in the Church, much as our modern Nonconformists gave to their places of worship the names, not of the ancient saints, but of such events, or symbols, as seemed to indicate their solitary position in a corrupt world or church—*Ebenezer*, 'the stone of help;' *Bethesda*, 'the house of help.' The building was soon crowded; the crush at the entrance was often terrific; the rails of the chancel were broken down; the congregation frequently burst out into loud applause. It required a more than mortal not to be touched and elated by these signs of the effect produced by his oratory. As the aged Wilberforce used long after his retirement from public life to recall the results of his eloquence in the House of Commons—'Oh! those cheers, those delightful 'cheers!' so Gregory, years afterwards, used to be visited in his solitary dreams by visions of his beloved *Anastasia*; the church brilliantly illuminated; himself, after the manner of the ancient

* It furnishes a curious example of the growth of a legend from a name. Socrates records a miracle of a woman falling from the gallery without injury to life, as the origin of the title. As we know the real meaning of the name, it is obvious that the reverse is the true account of the matter. A Novatian chapel had borne the same name for the same reason.

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bishops, aloft on his throne at the eastern end, the presbyters round him, and the deacons in their white robes below; the crowd thronging the church, every eye fixed on him; the congregation sometimes wrapt in profound silence, sometimes breaking out into loud shouts of approbation.

But, as M. de Broglie says, 'these bright days' were destined to have 'a sad morrow.' The sermons, which consisted usually of abstract disquisitions on the disputed doctrines, but sometimes of counsels towards moderation, veiled under a eulogy of the great Athanasius,* provoked the jealousy or hostility of the opposite party, or perhaps of the more zealous members of his own. On one occasion a body of drunken artisans broke into the church, accompanied by an army of beggars, of furious nuns,† and, the usual accompaniment of riots at that time, ferocious monks. A violent conflict ensued — some of the priests and neophytes were wounded. The police hesitated to interfere —ostensibly on the ground that it was impossible to decide which were the assailed and which the assailants. M. de Broglie treats this as a mere feint. But the facts which he proceeds to relate seem to justify the uncertainty of the magistrates. Gregory, with an imprudence which M. de Broglie severely condemns, had surrounded himself with a body of orthodox fanatics, with whom he had but little sympathy, and whose hostility to the moderation of the venerable Basil might have well roused his suspicion. They slept in his house, they assisted him in preparing his sermons, they formed a guard about him in these tumults. One of them was no less a person than the youthful Jerome, then on his way from the farther East, whose fierce and acrid temper rendered him a staunch but perilous friend, and who lost no occasion of expressing his admiration of Gregory—his 'beloved master,' 'to whom there was no equal 'in the Western Church.'‡ There was another who rendered a yet more dubious assistance. Maximus or Heron was one of the class of those wild Egyptians who played so disgraceful a part some years later in the train of Cyril of Alexandria. He had once been a philosopher of the Cynical sect, and, although ordained, still wore their curious costume. In all

* This is the date of the oration on Athanasius, according to M. de Broglie.

† M. de Broglie says 'des femmes débauchées.' But it is clear from Gregory's account (Or. xxiii. 5, xxxv. 3; Ep. 77; Carm. de Vitâ Suâ, 660, 670), that they were the nuns or consecrated virgins.

‡ Many questions passed between them on Biblical criticism and on ecclesiastical policy. (Jerome Contra Rufin. i. 13; De Illustribus, c. 117.)

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these disturbances his figure was conspicuous. He wielded a long staff in his hands. A tangled mass of curls—half of their natural black, half painted yellow—fell over his shoulders.* A dirty shirt enveloped his half-naked limbs, which he occasionally drew aside to show the scars of wounds which he professed to have received in some persecution. At every word of Gregory he uttered shouts of delight, at every allusion to the heretics he uttered yells of execration. The most sinister rumours, however, were circulated against his private character. Even the marks on his back were whispered to be the effects of a severe castigation with which he had been visited for some discreditable transaction. But Gregory was infatuated, as is sometimes the case with the most sagacious and the most incorruptible of men, by the charms of assiduous flattery, by the advantage of having near him an ally who stopped at nothing in defence of a cause which he thought right. Such was the hold which Titus Oates established on respectable Protestants, and Sacheverell on respectable High Churchmen. Such is the secret of the ridiculous eulogy which Gregory pronounced on Maximus in his presence, in a sermon which still remains as a monument of the weakness into which party-spirit can betray even a thoughtful and pious man. His dear 'Heron was a true model of the union of philosophy and 'religion'†—a 'friend from an unexpected quarter'—a 'dog'—alluding to the title of his philosophical sect of the Cynics or 'Dogs'—'a dog indeed in the best sense: a watch-dog, who 'guards the house from robbers'—finally, it was not too much to say, 'his successor in the promised see of Constantinople.' This last hint was not thrown away on 'the Dog.' There was no time to be lost. The Emperor was on his way to Constantinople. Whoever was the orthodox champion in possession of the see, would probably be able to keep it. Maximus communicated his designs to his Egyptian fellow-countrymen amongst the bishops. They, as the orthodox of the orthodox, entered at once into his plan, which received the sanction of Peter, successor of Athanasius in the see of Alexandria. Alexandria at that time was, saving the dignity of the new capital of Constantinople, the chief city of the Eastern world. Its ecclesias-

* De Vit. 754, 766.

† Gregory Naz. Or. xxv. 1, 2. It is from his companion St. Jerome that we are able to substantiate the identity of Maximus with the Heron of this strange discourse. 'The names were changed,' says Jerome, 'in order to save the credit of Gregory from having alter-'nately praised and blamed the same man.' (*De Viris Illustribus*, c. 117.)

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tical primacy in the East had hitherto been undisputed. Nay, in some particulars it claimed supremacy over the West also. The Bishop of Alexandria was at this time the only 'Pope,' or 'Father' of the Church. He had long enjoyed the title. The Bishop of Rome had not yet ventured to claim it. It is a probable conjecture* that in this stroke of elevating an Egyptian of the Egyptians to the see of Constantinople there was a deliberate intention at grasping the primacy of the Imperial Church. All was prepared. A large sum of money, placed at the disposal of Maximus by a Thasian presbyter who had been to the Golden Horn to buy marble, was employed in securing the services of a number of Alexandrian sailors. Gregory was confined to his house by illness. With this mixed multitude to represent the congregation, the Egyptian bishops solemnly consecrated Maximus at the dead of night. The elevation to this high dignity was rendered still more marked by the metamorphosis in his outward appearance. 'They took "the '"dog,"' says Gregory, in whose eyes the Cynic now assumed a very different aspect, 'and shaved him; the long locks, in 'which his strength resided, were shorn off by these ecclesi-'astical Dalilahs.' But Maximus had overreached himself. This was too startling a contrast. When he appeared in the morning, cropt, and well-dressed as a bishop, an inextinguishable roar of laughter resounded through the city. Poor Gregory felt that he was included in the general ridicule. He determined on leaving Constantinople. Then a reaction took place. The mob veered round. They insisted on forcing Gregory at once into the contested see. They dragged him in their arms to the episcopal chair. He struggled to escape. He stiffened his legs, so as to refuse to sit. The perspiration streamed from his face. They pushed and forced him down. The women wept, the children screamed. At last he consented, and then was left to repose. He endeavoured to recover his equanimity by retiring for a time to a villa on the shores of the Sea of Marmora, there to wander, as he tells us, at sunset—unconscious of the glory which at that hour lights up that wonderful prospect with a glow of magical splendour—but not insensible to the melancholy sentiment inspired by the rolling waves of the tideless sea along the bays of that winding shore.

There were two other claimants for the vacant see—each waiting with the utmost expectation the only hand which could

* Milman's 'History of Christianity under the Empire,' vol p. 115. This aspect of the election of Maximus is not notic M. de Broglie.

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seat them securely in their places, the hand of Theodosius. At Thessalonica the Emperor met Maximus, who, seeing that he was coldly received, took refuge at Alexandria, under the shelter of the prelate who was at that time the eastern oracle of the ecclesiastical world. Theodosius in this difficulty appealed to the western oracle at Rome. The Bishop (not yet 'Pope') of Rome was glad of the opportunity of striking a blow at once at the independence and the superior civilisation of the East. Dean Milman has well pointed out the illiterate character of the early Roman Church. Damasus, though with a sufficient tincture of letters to write the bad verses that may still be read in the Roman catacombs, fired off an answer which by the same blow killed one and wounded the other rival. Maximus was to be rejected, not on account of his scandalous vices, but because—he still wore the garb of a philosopher. 'No Christian can wear the clothes of a pagan philosopher.' And then, with a covert attack on Gregory himself, but certainly in a spirit entirely contradictory to the voice which sounded from the same infallible chair through the lips of Leo X., 'Philosophy, friend of the world's wisdom, is the enemy 'of faith, the poison of hope, the war against charity.' The advice thus proffered was followed up by a recommendation to the Emperor to summon a General Council for the settlement of the disputed succession.

This accordingly was the origin of the Council of Constantinople. Theodosius confined his call, however, to the Eastern bishops. But meanwhile he took the matter of the See of Constantinople into his own hands. To the actual Bishop, the Arian Demophilus, he proposed the orthodox confession or resignation; Demophilus honourably resisted the temptation. 'Since you fly from peace,' said the Emperor, 'I will make you 'fly from your place.' So summary was the deposition of a prelate in those days, to which our modern zealots look back as the palmy days of a free church in a free state, when the breath, not of a prelate but of an Emperor, was sufficient to depose the greatest bishops in Christendom. To Gregory he turned with a no less imperious expression of his will: 'Con-'stantinople demands you, and God makes me his instrument 'to give you this church.' The election was still nominally in the hands of the people, but the mandate of the Emperor was more powerful than any *congé d'élire*. It was on the 26th of November—one of those dreary days on which the winds from the Black Sea envelope the bright city of Constantinople with a shroud of clouds dark as night, which Gregory's enemies interpreted into a sinister presage of his ill-omened elevation.

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The Emperor rode in state to the church where the ceremony was to take place. The immense multitude of the Arian population who were to lose their bishop, and perhaps themselves to be banished with him—old men, women, and children, threw themselves in vain before his horse's feet. The Spanish soldier rode on immovable, as if he were on his way to the field of battle. It was, says Gregory himself, the likeness of a city taken by storm. By the Emperor's side was the pale, stooping, trembling candidate for the see, hardly knowing where he was till he found himself safe within the church, behind the rails of the chancel, where he sat side by side with the magnificent Emperor, who in his imperial purple was raised there aloft as the chief person in the place. It was the 'Church of the Apostles,' that earliest mausoleum of Christian sovereigns, the first germ of St. Denys, the Escurial, and Westminster Abbey, where Constantine and his successors lay entombed, and where in after days was to rise a yet more splendid edifice, the mosque which the Mussulman conqueror Mahomet II. built in like manner for himself and his dynasty. There was still a hesitation, or seeming hesitation, as to which way the popular feeling would turn. Suddenly by one of those abrupt transitions common in Eastern skies, a ray of sunlight burst through the wintry clouds, and flashing from sword to sword along the ranks of soldiers, and from gem to gem on the rich dresses of priest and courtier, finally enveloped the bald white head of Gregory himself as with a halo of glory. The omen was at once accepted. A shout like thunder rose from the vast congregation, 'Long live our Bishop Gregory.' In the high galleries rang the shrill cries of the women in response. With a few faint protestations, Gregory consented to mount the episcopal chair, and the long dispute was terminated.

Within six weeks after this event, took place one of those double-sided movements which, without revealing any actual duplicity in the actors, disclose the hollowness of their pretensions and opinions. On the same day that a rigid decree condemned and banished the Arians of the empire from the walls of every city,* there arrived in Constantinople the chief of the whole Arian world, Athanaric the Goth, seeking shelter in the court of his conqueror from a domestic revolution. He was received with as much honour as if he had been the most

* Demophilus the Arian Bishop, on the promulgation of this edict, very naturally quoted the evangelical precept, 'If they per-
'secute you in one city, flee to another.' 'Not so,' says Socrates the ecclesiastical historian. 'The text means that you must
'the city of the world and go to the city of the heavenly Je

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orthodox of mankind, and then a few days after his arrival he wasted away and died. His funeral, heretic as he was, was conducted with a magnificence which excited the wonder and admiration of the Goths even far away beyond the Danube.

Meantime the day for the opening of the Council drew on. Even Gregory did not consider his elevation secured till he had received its confirmation. The month of May had come — the season when the navigation of the Mediterranean was open, and when the bishops could safely embark from their distant dioceses. It was the first General Council that had assembled in the Imperial city. When its predecessors met at Nicæa, this was because Constantinople was not yet founded. But now there was no locality at once so central, and so august, as the great Christian capital. Called as the Council was emphatically 'by the commandment and will' of the Emperor, it could meet nowhere but under the shadow of the imperial throne. Although less distinguished by the character and fame of its members than that earlier synod, and although still more exclusively confined to the Eastern Church, it was not without some brilliant ornaments. There were the friends of Basil, well versed in his moderate counsels. Chief amongst them was his brother Gregory of Nyssa, reckoned by the 5th and 7th General Councils amongst the highest authorities of the Church.* He had lately returned from his journey to Syria, on a mission of peace-making—filled with indignation against the follies and scandals of the pilgrimages. He brought with him his elaborate work against the recent heretics, which in spare moments he read aloud to his friend the new Bishop of Constantinople, and to their joint admirer, the youthful Jerome.† There was Cyril of Jerusalem, now in his advancing years, with whom Gregory had there become acquainted, and who himself had originally belonged to the semi-Arian section of the Church. There was Melitius, the just and gentle Bishop of Antioch, so much revered in his own city that his portrait was found everywhere, on rings, on goblets, in the saloons of palaces, in the private chambers of great ladies. It might be conjectured that one of these likenesses had wandered far West, from an incident which occurred on the first visit of the Bishops to the Emperor. The reception which he gave to Melitius was of the most flattering kind; he flew up to him, singled him from the rest, pressed him to his bosom, and kissed his eyes, lips, breast, head, and hand. He had, he said, in a vision on the eve of his election to the empire, seen a venerable person approach who wrapped

* Tillemont, ix. 601. † Jerome, De Vir. Ill. c. 128.

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him in his imperial mantle, and placed the diadem on his head. This personage he now recognised in the Bishop of Antioch. Such a welcome of itself designated Melitius to be President of the Council. In fact, in the absence of the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria, the Bishop of Antioch occupied the chief place. And the *mellifluous* character of *Melitius* (to use the pun of Gregory) well adapted him for the office.

The first work which the Council had to undertake was the decision of the contest for the see of Constantinople. The absence of Maximus, and of the Egyptian bishops, who were detained at Alexandria around the deathbed of their chief, rendered Gregory's triumph easy. But it is characteristic of his moderation, and of that of Melitius, that when there was a proposal of proceeding against the bishops who had taken part in the nomination of Maximus, it was abandoned on the grounds—too often lost sight of, notably on two memorable occasions in our own time—that, as they were detained in Alexandria, it would be unjust to condemn them in their absence without hearing their defence.

This auspicious beginning of a generosity unusual on such occasions was suddenly cut short by the death of Melitius. The grief felt on the event was testified by the magnificence of his obsequies. The body was wrapped in a silken shroud, worked by one of the noble ladies of Constantinople. It was carried in procession to the imperial mausoleum in the Church of the Apostles; all the bishops assisted, with their clergy, singing psalms in the different dialects—probably the Greek dialects—of Asia Minor and Syria. Funeral orations were pronounced, amongst others, by Gregory of Nyssa. The sacred remains were then sent home to Antioch; and it marks the difference between ancient and modern usage, that an express order from the Emperor was required to enable the funeral procession, as a special favour, even to enter the walls of the various cities through which it passed.

The first question to be discussed by the Council, thus deprived of its head, and placed, as a matter of course, under the presidency of Gregory Nazianzen, now the recognised Bishop of the imperial city, was occasioned by the very calamity which they were now deploring. Ostensibly called together to decide certain grave theological questions, then pending, their main interest was centred, as usually happens in popular assemblies, whether secular or ecclesiastical, on a question purely personal.

The Church of Antioch had been lately divided by two contending factions. The occasion of it is so characteristic of ecclesiastical history, that it is worth while to describe it in a

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few words. Melitius, who had thus been carried to his grave with all the honours of a saint, was the lawful, but, in the eyes of an extreme party at Antioch, not the orthodox, bishop of that see. He had in his youth, it was said, been infected by the subtle errors of Arius; and, in his later years, he had joined Basil in the noble attempts of that great divine to moderate the rage of controversy, and to accept, without further test or questioning, all who were willing to adopt the creed of Nicæa, which down to that time had expressed no precise definition of the complicated opinions that were now arising on the nature of the Third Person of the Trinity.* This moderation was the worst offence in the judgment of the partisans of extreme orthodoxy. They refused to communicate with Melitius; and they received from Sardinia, from the hands of the stern fanatic Lucifer of Cagliari, a bishop of the name of Paulinus, who became the head of a dissenting community within the Church of Antioch, priding itself on its superior orthodoxy, and refusing to acknowledge the legitimate bishop, and maintained chiefly in its position not by any countenance from the national churches of the East, but from the more eager† zealots of the Western Empire, who fanned the flames of discord. 'This ridiculous and 'causeless schism'‡ (words equally applicable to such dissensions, whether in the fourth century or in the nineteenth) had engaged the attention of Melitius before he left his diocese. The case had been referred to the imperial counsellors, who had decided in Melitius's favour; and he then proposed to Paulinus, as a middle course, that the government of the Church should remain in *statu quo* till the death of either, in which case the other should succeed to the vacant see. To this, after some hesitation, Paulinus acceded; and all the chief clergy at Antioch swore to observe the compact.

On the death of Melitius, the very case provided for had occurred; and Gregory immediately proposed to the Council that the convention should be carried out. He appealed to the oaths by which it was supported; he reminded them that 'if two angels were candidates for the disputed see, the quarrel 'was not worth the scandal it occasioned.' With a disinterestedness the more remarkable because he had been fiercely attacked by Paulinus for his moderate counsels in former times, he entreated them to abide by the agreement, and hinted at the danger of rousing the passions of the western bishops, who were

* Gregory, Or. xliii. 19.
† De Broglie, vol. i. pp. 121–123.
‡ Ibid. p. 424.

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in favour of their nominee Paulinus. Never did Gregory plead with more eloquence or in behalf of a juster cause. But he pleaded in vain. Even before Melitius's death, the contending factions in this Antiochene quarrel had flown at each others' throats, canvassing right and left everyone that came across them, with cheers and counter-cheers.* The question had passed from the region of justice and of faith into a mere party struggle. Now that the time for a pacific settlement had arrived, the Melitians would not hear of submitting to the odious Paulinus. Nor could they be conciliated by the appeal of Gregory. His influence had been shaken by his weakness in the affair of Maximus—and, besides, his allusion to the fear of the West roused all the slumbering passions of the jealous East. He has himself described the effect of his speech: —'A yell, rather than a cry, broke from the assembled epis-'copate.' 'They threw dust in his face; they buzzed about 'him like a swarm of wasps; they cawed against him like an 'army of crows.' The young were most ardent, but they were hounded on by the old. An argument against the West, which seemed to the youthful partisans of the East irresistible, was that Christianity must follow the course of the sun, not from west to east, but from east to west; and the Eastern bishops supported this view, 'showing their tusks,' says Gregory, 'as if they had 'been wild boars.'† From the midst of this tumult, he appealed to Modarius, an Imperial officer, a Goth, (probably therefore an Arian), to allay the ecclesiastical clamour.‡ He pointed out to him that these episcopal gatherings, so far from putting an end to the evil, merely added confusion to confusion. It would seem that this appeal was also in vain. Theodosius, whether from scruple or policy, was determined to leave the bishops to themselves. The celebrated precedent set by Constantine at Nicæa had passed into a law. That sagacious ruler, when he received the mutual complaints and accusations of the bishops of the First General Council against each other, put them all into the fire without reading them; and in accordance with this contemptuous but charitable act, an imperial decree was passed on the occasion of this Second Council,§ prohibiting bishops to appear against each other in courts of law. Theodosius, however, though unwilling to interfere directly, determined to exercise an indirect influence on the largest scale. He summoned from across the border the only western bishops who were avail-

* Gregory, De Vit. 1555.

† De Vit. 1805. ‡ Ep. 136.

§ Cod. Theod. xi. t. 39, l. 9. As explained, with every appearance of reason, by M. de Broglie (vol. i. p. 434), after Godefroi.

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able—those of Macedonia, which, according to the division then established, belonged to the Western Empire. Their appearance might have turned the scale in behalf of Gregory's counsels but at the same moment that they entered Constantinople, there arrived in the Golden Horn an equal accession to the opposite faction from Egypt. The Egyptian bishops were with their new 'Pope,' and boiling over with indignation against Gregory for his rejection of their old favourite Maximus. The Macedonian bishops also proved more unmanageable than Theodosius had anticipated. They brought with them, as Gregory expresses it, the 'rough breath of the North-Wester.' Their uncompromising austerity, and the subtle controversial spirit of the Eastern prelates, found a common ground in attacking the unfortunate Gregory. There was one joint in his ecclesiastical harness which presented an opening for the darts of the rigid precisians of the time. The Council of Nicæa had peremptorily forbidden, on pain of deprivation from orders, any translation—not only from see to see, but from parish to parish. From that hour to this, in every church of Christendom, human ambition and obvious convenience have been too strong for the decree even of so venerable a body as the First Œcumenical Council. But, general as the violation of the decree was, it was only when personal interests could be served by reviving it, that attention was called to the practice. Gregory had been Bishop of Sasima, before he was elevated to the see of Constantinople. This was enough; and although the fact had been perfectly known at the time when his election to the see was confirmed by this very Council; although there was no reason for proceeding against him, rather than against any of the many bishops and presbyters who had equally broken the decree of Nicæa; although there was no reason for reviving the question in his case at this particular moment; yet the leading members of the Council had the incredible meanness to condemn in him what they forgave in those with whom they had no quarrel; to take advantage of his temporary unpopularity to press against him a measure which justice would have required to be pressed against numberless others. To Gregory personally the retirement from his bishopric was no great sacrifice. The episcopate had always been a burden to him; he 'neighed like an imprisoned horse for his green pas-'tures* of study and leisure.' He determined at once to 'make 'himself the Jonah of the tempest.' Yet when it came to the point, even he could not believe that the Council would have

* De Vit. 1860–70.

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the base ingratitude to accept a resignation so nobly and promptly offered. But generosity towards a fallen foe is a difficult virtue. A few, in disgust at their associates, followed Gregory as he left the Council. The rest remained, and rejoiced in the departure of an honest and therefore a troublesome chief. 'I have not time or disposition,' says Gregory, 'to unravel their intrigues, so I will be silent.' He then visited the Emperor hoping, perhaps in spite of himself, to obtain a reversal of his own sentence. But Theodosius, though far more deeply affected than the Synod, adhered to the resolution of leaving the bishops to settle their own affairs; and after a pathetic and eloquent farewell, delivered in the Church of the Apostles; after a glowing description—true even after the vicissitudes of 1300 years—of the great opportunities of Constantinople, 'the eye of the world, the knot which links 'together East and West; the centre in which all extremes 'combine,'—Gregory quitted that glorious city for ever, and hastened to bury his old age and his cares in the solitude of his ancestral home at Nazianzus. We may think, perhaps, that he would have acted a more dignified part, had he buried in oblivion all remembrance of the causes of his retirement. But history has ratified the truth of the invectives which his vanity or his righteous indignation extorted from him. The pent-up flood of his emotion, as he says, could not be restrained,* and the result is an elaborate picture of the bishops of that time, doubtless of those whom he had known at the Council, and who had cast him out from their ranks as 'an evil and unholy man.' This extraordinary description, although doubtless, in some of its features, it has had counterparts since, would be justly considered a libel on any modern ecclesiastical assembly, and is thus instructive, as showing the impression produced on a contemporary and a canonized saint by an institution and an age, to which later times have looked back with such unquestioning reverence.† 'They are 'actors on a gigantic scale.' 'They walk on stilts.' 'They grin 'through borrowed masks.' They seem to him as though they

* Ad Episc. (vol. ii. pp. 824, 829).

† M. de Broglie (by an illusion not uncommon in modern ecclesiastical writers) has evaded some of these dark colours by transferring them to the Arian Bishops; much in the same way as the mutual recriminations of the Bishops of Nicæa have been disposed of by wrongly referring them to the heretics. But there can be no question that Gregory is speaking of those who dismissed him from his office (see *De Episc.* 150; *Ad Episc.* 110), and therefore of the whole Council collectively.

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had come in answer to the summons of a herald who had convoked to the Council all the gluttons, villains, liars, false-swearers of the Empire. They are 'chamelions that change 'their colour with every stone over which they pass.' They are 'illiterate, low-born, filled with all the pride of upstarts 'fresh from the tables of false accountants,' 'peasants from the 'plough,' or from the spade, 'unwashed blacksmiths,' 'deser-'ters from the army and navy, still stinking from the holds of 'the ships,' or with the brand of the whip or the iron on their bodies. The refined Gregory was doubtless acutely sensitive to the coarseness of vulgarity and 'the ignorance which 'never knows when to be silent.' But he is aware of the objection that the Apostles might be said also to have been unlearned men. 'Yes,' he replies, as if anticipating the argument of the apostolical or papal succession, 'but it must be a real 'Apostle; give me one such, and I will reverence him however 'illiterate.'* 'But these,' he returns to the charge, 'are 'timeservers waiting not on God, but on the rise and flow of 'the tides, or the straw in the wind'—'angry lions to the 'small, fawning spaniels to the great'—'flatterers of ladies' —'snuffing up the smell of good dinners'—'ever at the gates 'not of the wise but of the powerful'†—'unable to speak 'themselves, but having sufficient sense to stop the tongues 'of those who can'—'made worse by their elevation'—'affect-'ing manners not their own'—'the long beard, the downcast 'look, the head bowed, the subdued voice'—'the slow walk'—'the got-up devotee'‡—'the wisdom anywhere but in the 'mind.'

If such is a faithful character of the prelates at the Council, it needed not any special provocation to justify the well-known protests of Gregory, which the partisans of ecclesiastical hierarchies have vainly tried to explain away, and which, in fact, are even tame and flat after these sustained invectives. 'Coun-'cils, congresses, we greet afar off, from which (to use very 'moderate terms) we have suffered many evils.' 'I will not 'sit in one of those Councils of geese and cranes.' 'I fly from 'every meeting of bishops, for I never saw a good end of any 'such,§ nor a termination, but rather an addition of evils.'

The Council was thus left without a head, and Constantinople without a bishop. Accordingly, one of the chief objects for which the Synod had been called together was by its

* Ad Episc. pp. 200–230.
† De Episc. pp. 330–350, 635.
‡ Πιστὸς ἐσκευασμένος, Ibid. 150.
§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 106, 110; De Vit. 855.

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own extraordinary folly frustrated. Whilst the Council hesitated, others took the matter into their own hands. The solution was one which forcibly illustrates the ecclesiastical usages of those times, as unlike to those of the Church of M. de Broglie, or to those of our own, as it is possible to conceive.

There was a magistrate at Constantinople named Nectarius, remarkable for his dignified manners, perhaps one of those grandees so often mentioned by Gregory as the object of episcopal adulation. He was a native of Tarsus, and, being on the point of returning home, called on his countryman Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus, then at the Council, to ask whether he could take any letters for him.* Diodorus, perhaps not without the partiality of a fellow-citizen, was so much struck by his venerable white locks and his splendid priestly appearance, that he determined, if possible, to have him raised to the vacant bishopric. He accordingly communicated his name to the Bishop of Antioch, who at first laughed at the notion as preposterous, but at last consented, partly as a favour, partly as a joke, to add his name at the end of the list to be submitted to the Emperor.†

Meantime, as not long afterwards at Milan, in the case of Ambrose, the name of Nectarius appears to have been whispered about in the groups of loiterers who may always be seen in an Eastern city, and thus to have reached the Court. The Emperor the moment he saw the list, put his finger on Nectarius's name, ran over the other candidates, then came back to Nectarius, and declared him bishop, to the general amazement of the Council, who, nevertheless, at once acquiesced in the decision.

Not only, however, was Nectarius a layman and a magistrate, but he was unbaptised, and not only unbaptised, but he had purposely delayed his baptism, according to the bad practice of that corrupt age, in order to reserve for the last moment the cancelling of the sins of a somewhat frivolous youth and manhood. But this discovery was made too late, and the Emperor adhered to his decision with an obstinacy so surprising that it was afterwards supposed by Nectarius's admirers that he must have had a special inspiration. In the opinion of some this strange episcopate turned out extremely well. But this is not the natural inference from the few facts that we know

* It is difficult not to be reminded of Cardinal Consalvi's naïve account of the election of Pius VII. by the Conclave (see Memoirs of Consalvi, vol. i.).

† Sozomen, vii. c. 8. This incident is very imperfectly related by M. de Broglie.

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concerning it.* Its beginning certainly was not creditable. He learned his episcopal duties as fast as he could from one of his Cilician friends, Cyriacus, Bishop of Adana, who, by the advice of Diodorus, he retained with him for some time.† He also surrounded himself with a circle of his own countrymen, and amongst others was anxious to ordain as his chaplain and deacon, Martyrius, a physician, who had been formerly one of his boon companions, but who now declined Nectarius's strange proposal on the characteristic ground, that he, having been baptised long before, had lost the chance of clearing himself which Nectarius, by his postponement of the sacred rite, had so prudently reserved.

Such was the new head of the Council and of the clergy of Constantinople to be introduced into his office by an accumulation, in the course of a few days, of the ceremonies of baptism, ordination, and consecration, each of which at that time implied weeks if not years of preparation. The scandal of Nectarius's elevation caused so much talk as to revive once more the hopes of our friend Maximus the Dog, who seduced no less a person than Ambrose ‡ and the other bishops of the West to take up his cause. But Nectarius held his own, supported, as he was, by Emperor and Council, and also by a kindly note from his deposed rival, 'cast away by the ungrateful city like a 'flake of foam or a fragment of sea-weed' on the Bosphorus.

Meanwhile, under these not very august auspices the Council hastened to wind up its affairs, and to approach the decision of the theological questions for which the Bishops had mainly been summoned. By this time they were so thoroughly demoralized and discredited by their internal quarrels, that the thirty-six heretical prelates who were present took courage to offer a determined front, and, to the surprise alike of Emperor and Council, fixed a day for their departure, and left Constantinople, protesting against any further attempts on the part of the assembly. But the majority which remained, however reduced in numbers and authority by this secession, were relieved to feel themselves at liberty to conclude their task without any further discussion.

From the most authentic accounts it would appear that they

* The bad character of Nectarius's episcopate is fairly brought out by Tillemont, vol. ix. p. 488.

† This curious story, told by Sozomen, book vii. c. 9, is omitted by M. de Broglie.

‡ Tillemont, vol. ix. pp. 501, 502. It was on this occasion that Maximus came out with an orthodox book in order to procure the favour of the Emperor Gratian.

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confined themselves to issuing a series of decrees or canons. Of these the first strongly condemned in a mass the various heresies of the time. The second, third, and fourth, endeavoured to determine the jurisdictions and precedencies of the different bishops of the Empire, annulling the election of Maximus, and giving to the see of Constantinople a rank second only to that of Rome, on the express ground that Constantinople was a second Rome. This order is important as embodying the fact that the several dignitaries of Christendom took their positions not according to the sacred or apostolic recollections of their sees, but according to the civil rank of the cities where they resided. The exaltation of Constantinople was assuredly owing not to any apostolic dignity, but to its being the capital of Constantine, and the bishop of old Rome, in like manner, assuredly occupied the first place, not because he was the successor of Peter, but the bishop of the capital of the world.

It is curious that the work vulgarly ascribed to this Council, and by which alone it has achieved a certain fame in the annals of the Church, was, in all probability, not performed by it. In the common traditions * of ecclesiastical history, the third part of the Nicene Creed is said to have been added by the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople to resist a new heresy concerning the Third Person in the Trinity, and the Nicene Creed thus enlarged is designated as 'the Creed of Constantinople.' But this designation, though not quite as erroneous as that which speaks of the 'Apostles Creed,' and of Athanasius's Creed, or which describes this altered confession as 'the 'Nicene Creed,' is very nearly as destitute of foundation. There is no trace in the records of the Council of any such formal enunciation of any new Creed; on the contrary they appeal to the existing Nicene Creed as adequate for all theological purposes. Such too is the language of Gregory Nazianzen a few years after the meeting of the Council.† Such also is the language of the next General Council—that of Ephesus, which not only spoke of the original Nicene Creed as the only one in existence, but positively prohibited, under the severest penalties, the adoption of any new one. It is not till the Fourth General Council (eighty years after)—that of Chalcedon—that the Creed now called of Constantinople is recited under that name;

* 'Added by the Fathers of the first Council of Constantinople.' (Catechism of the Council of Trent, Article VIII.) Long after the Council, a chapel was shown in Constantinople, under the name of 'Concord,' where the creed was said to have been drawn up. (Tillemont, vol. ix. p. 495, where the whole matter is well discussed.

† See Hefele. (Concilien-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 11.)

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but then only under remonstrances and difficulties. Under the cover* of this sanction it gradually crept into use, in defiance of the prohibition of the Council of Ephesus, and has now been received by all Christian Churches, except those of the Monophysite and Nestorian persuasions, which separated from the general Imperial Church before the Chalcedonian decree had been issued.

In point of fact, the additions usually said to have been made at Constantinople appear in a work of Epiphanius written several years before, and M. de Broglie's explanation is probably correct—that they had belonged to some exposition of the faith which was already in use in some churches, and that the Council, partly from a just desire of following the moderate principles of Basil, and of abstaining from further dogmatism, partly from weariness of the whole business, acquiesced in these additions, without formally adopting them. With this would agree a tradition which ascribes them, not to the Council, but to Gregory of Nyssa, who was present, and whose great name, if he in any way took them up, would, more than any other single cause, have led to their popular acceptance, not only from his own learning and genius, but from the fame of his brother Basil, and from the influence—at any rate at the beginning of the Council—of his friend and namesake, Gregory Nazianzen. This tradition, moreover, which, whether borne out by historical evidence or not, has never been disputed on dogmatical grounds, is important as showing that the orthodox Eastern Church was not ashamed of receiving its most solemn declaration of Christian faith from one who, had he lived in our times, would have been pronounced by the leaders of the modern High Church party an incorrigible and excommunicated heretic. There can be no doubt in the mind of any one† who has examined his writings—and it is freely admitted, indeed urged, by theologians‡ without the slightest suspicion of latitudina-

* Tillemont, vol. ix. p. 424; vol. xiv. p. 442.

† See especially Catech. Orat, ch. xxvi. De iis qui prematurè abripiuntur, ch. xv. De Anima et Resurrectione (on Phil. ii. 10; 1 Cor. xv. 28.) The contrary has been maintained by a recent writer, Vincenzo, in four volumes, on the writings of Gregory of Nyssa. But this is done, not as in former times (Tillemont, vol. ix. p. 602), by denying the genuineness of the passages cited in favour of the milder view, but by quoting passages from other parts of his works, containing apparently contradictory sentiments. This might be done equally in the case of Origen, of Archbishop Tillotson, and of Bishop Newton, and to any one who knows the writings of that age proves absolutely nothing.

‡ Dr. Newman's Answer to Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon.

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rianism — that Gregory of Nyssa held the opinion, shared with him by Origen, and although less distinctly by Gregory of Nazianzus, that there was a hope for the final restoration of the wicked in the other world. And whether or not he actually drew up the additional clauses of the Nicene Creed, there is no doubt that Gregory of Nyssa was present at the Council, where, if ever, these latter articles were accepted—that he, if any one, must have impressed his own sense upon them—and that to him, and through him to the Council, the only clause which speaks at all of the future life ('I look for the Resurrection of the 'Dead, and the Life of the World to come') must have included the blessed hope that God's justice and mercy are not controlled by the powers of evil, that sin is not eternal, and that in the 'world to come,' punishment will be corrective and not final, will be ordered by a Love and Justice, the height and depth of which we cannot here fathom or comprehend.

We may add that the rest of the additions are in the same temperate tone. It was one of the constant charges of the hyper-orthodox party against Basil and Gregory that they were unwilling to define precisely and polemically the doctrine of the Third Person in the Trinity. Accordingly those who read the exposition of this doctrine as set forth in the original Greek* of these clauses will be surprised to see how wonderfully that subtle language has veiled the harshnesses and roughnesses that appear in the English or Latin† translation. What may have been the feelings of the followers of Macedonius, we know not; but we may be certain that no sect now existing, whether belonging to the so-called orthodox or the so-called heretical churches, could find any difficulty in accepting,

* Τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ κυρίον, τὸ ζωοποιὸν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον συνδοξαζόμενον· τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν Προφητῶν· compared with 'the Lord and Giver of Life who 'proceedeth from the Father and the Son,' &c. &c.

† M. de Broglie, with an inaccuracy or a partiality, exceedingly rare in his works, has represented this part of the Creed as containing the disputed clause of the *Filioque*, 'proceeding from the Father '*and the Son.*' Unimportant as this is according to our present notions, it was deemed of vital consequence in the middle ages by the Latin Church, and is still so regarded by the Greek Church. M. de Broglie therefore ought to have been the more careful to remember that it was not added till two centuries later, in the Latin versions of the Creed. An excellent account of its interpolation is given in M. Ffoulkes's second volume of 'Christendom's Divisions,' which, though by a Roman Catholic, is written with a laudable impartiality as regards the merits of the Greek and Latin controversies.

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in their original form, the simple, abstract, and general phrases, in which the nature of the Divine Spirit is set forth.

Again, the limitation (even though it be a needless precaution) of the Holy inspiration, the Holy Spirit spoke by the Prophets, is a remarkable instance at once of insight into the true nature of the Biblical writings, and also of the moderation of the highest minds of that age, compared with the fanciful and extravagant theories that have sometimes prevailed in modern times on that subject.

Yet, once more, the definition of Baptism ('I believe in one 'Baptism *for the remission of sins*'), which was sixteen years ago thundered forth at angry meetings as if decisive of the whole question then at issue on the intricate question of the mystical or moral effect of Baptism, is couched in terms so studiously general, as to include not only Christian Baptism, but the Baptism of John, from which, in the language of technical theology, no transcendental operations could be expected. Only by the most violent anachronisms and distortions of language can the scholastic doctrines of the sudden transformation of baptised infants be imported into words which embrace the doctrine of Baptism in the largest formula which the comprehensive language of Scripture has furnished.

With this last act of the Council of Constantinople, we fear, as we have said, ascribed to it without sufficient reason, yet which perhaps * may be fairly received as a monument of the parting influence of the illustrious man whom it had so shamefully treated, we take leave of the 'one hundred and fifty 'Fathers,' as they were technically called.

It was † the 9th of July, and the summer heats impended, which, though tolerable at Constantinople, would render the return of the Bishops to their several homes increasingly difficult. Theodosius, now that their work was over, felt that his was to begin, broke silence, and affirmed by an imperial decree the condemnation of the heresies which they had issued, and the rank of the bishops which they had established. Their proceedings were closed by a splendid funeral ceremony, in which the remains of Paul, the first Bishop of the imperial city, were transferred in state from Ancyra to a church ‡ in

* There was a lost 'tome' or volume which may have included the creed of Epiphanius or Gregory.

† Hefele. (Concilien-Geschichte, ii. 12.)

‡ The fame of the funeral was so great that a belief sprang up amongst the people, and especially among the ladies of Constantinople, that St. Paul the Apostle was buried in the church. (Sozomen, vii. c. 9.) It is a good instance of the growth of a legend from

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Constantinople built for his rival and successor Macedonius. Paul had been present at the Council of Nicæa as a child of twelve years old, in attendance on Alexander, Bishop of Byzantium, and this incident of his posthumous honours thus seems to link together the two first assemblies of the Christian Church.

We have thought it worth while thus to present a brief sketch of this curious episode of ecclesiastical history, partly because of the numerous illustrations which it furnishes of an age often little understood by those who talk most about it, partly from its fruitfulness in ecclesiastical illustrations. It shows to us the affinity of past ages with our own—the same small intrigues and petty disputes, the same flashes of true generosity and genius, uniting kindred souls, parted by centuries asunder. It introduces us to Gregory of Nazianzus, his vanity, his weakness, his eloquence, his honesty, his vehemence. It introduces us to Gregory of Nyssa, his latitudinarianism, his influence, his moderation. It gives us in the elections of Maximus, Gregory, and Nectarius, specimens of the mode in which bishops of those days were appointed and consecrated; a fawning, flattering partisan, with the fame and the discredit of a pagan philosopher; a retiring student elevated from one see to another, at a time when such translations had been declared unlawful; an unbaptised layman of pleasing manners, but of questionable character, suddenly transformed into a prelate, by a momentary impulse of popular or Imperial favour. It shows us the inside of a church at Constantinople—its tumults, its cheers, its execrations, the women in their galleries, the men in the area, the clergy in the chancel. It reveals to us the Emperor, professing to hold aloof from ecclesiastical matters, yet really controlling all. It shows to us the rising hostility of the East and West, the first recognition of the see of Constantinople, the first feelers after universal dominion in the court of Rome, the first signs of decadence in the venerable see of Alexandria. But the chief and most important lesson which it contains, and for which we cannot sufficiently thank the Prince de Broglie, is its picture of a General Council. The Council of Constantinople is not, like the Council of Nicæa, too sacred to be approached, nor, like those of Chalcedon or Trent, too complicated to be grasped. Here is a compendious description of a synod of ordinary materials, not stained by any great crimes such as those which have sullied the fame of the Councils

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the confusion of an obscure with a celebrated name. Many such doubtless have arisen.

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of Ephesus or of Constance, yet by the meanness and the frivolity of its proceedings calling down the invectives of the most eminent of its members in language which never can be forgotten. And this is set before us by M. de Broglie with a candour and vivacity which, whilst it justifies the ancient reproaches of Gregory Nazianzen, brings the whole scene before us from the higher moral judgment of the nineteenth century and from the unquestionable testimony of a devout son of the Roman Church, in a point of view as instructive as it is important:—

'Such' (we quote his summary of the story he has told so well) 'was the entire work of this Council which holds the second rank in the annals of the Œcumenical Assemblies of the Church. A work feebly carried out, hastily finished, preserved doubtless from error by the protection that the Holy Spirit affords to its least worthy interpreters, but of which the laborious formation, interrupted by deplorable failures, has neither edified the spectators, nor disposed the faithful to respect. At the time itself the effect of these decisions, faintly received in Asia, was altogether null, or rather distasteful in the West. Rome,* which had not been called to take part in it, neither recognised nor confirmed them. It was only at a later period, more than a century afterwards, that the zeal of attaching to some fixed date the proclamation of an immemorial dogma caused "the Creed of "Constantinople" to be placed by the side and in the train of the Creed of Nicæa. Without this tardy† adhesion of the Universal Church, the Fathers of Constantinople would only be known through the invectives hurled against them by the holy and poetic indignation of Gregory Nazianzen.'

This is strong language for the description of one of those venerated assemblies, which are sometimes regarded as the only bulwarks of the faith, by a sincere member of the Church

* This is somewhat overstated. The Council was called at the instigation of Pope Damasus.

† M. de Broglie endeavours to counterbalance these reflections by pointing to the deference paid by Theodosius to 'this distracted body 'of old priests, deprived by their own fault of the sole ray of glory 'that could light up their brows.' But two remarks more than qualify the deference of the Emperor on this occasion. First, Theodosius was an exceptional case; Constantine, Marcian, Pulcheria, Justinian, Theodora, took the most direct part in the proceedings of the Councils of their time. Secondly, even Theodosius, as we have seen, did in fact control the Council, by convoking it, by injecting into it new elements, and by forcing upon it a president to the great surprise of the majority of those convened. For the whole relation of the imperial to the ecclesiastical power in those times we may refer to the earlier article on M. de Broglie's work in Ed. Rev., vol. cxi. pp. 445–450.

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of Rome; yet, we think, our readers will acknowledge, not stronger than his own previous narrative fully justifies. If, in the matter of 'dogma,' the Council was 'preserved from 'error,' it was because, as we have seen, in that respect, they did nothing at all; and their abstinence from action or at most their adoption of the comprehensive formula already existing in the writings of Epiphanius or Gregory of Nyssa, was probably due to the moderation of the eminent man whom they cast out of his bishopric. Their numerous errors, of a far graver kind than any dogmatic mistake, in the matters of justice, mercy, and truth, are an incontestible proof of the accuracy of the statement of the English Article, that 'General 'Councils, forasmuch as they be an assembly of men whereof 'all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God, may err 'and sometimes have erred even in things pertaining unto 'God.'

But M. de Broglie's picture of the littleness and futility of this Council is doubly valuable from the time when it appears.

At the very moment in which we write two such Assemblies have been convened—not indeed according to the ancient usages of the Church 'by the commandment and will of 'princes'—but by two high ecclesiastical authorities, who have taken upon themselves to do that from which the Constantines and Theodosiuses of our times have wisely shrunk. The Bishop of Rome and the Archbishop of Canterbury * have each issued invitations to an Assembly of Bishops to meet, the one, it has been reported, on June 29th at the Vatican, the other on September 24th at Lambeth. Each, indeed, falls short of the dignity, however much the former of them may aspire to the name, of an Œcumenical Council. The Roman Assembly is to exclude all the Eastern and all the Protestant Churches, and the invitations to the Anglican Synod, although convoked in such general terms as would, if fairly interpreted, include at least the Bishops of Scandinavia, and perhaps those of the Greek and Roman Churches, are understood in point of fact to be addressed only to English, Scottish, and American Bishops. But each professes to aim at representing the voice of the communion from which the summons was issued, and each, according to the

* For a comparison of the two synods, with their relative advantages and disadvantages, and for the numerous difficulties involved in the prospect of the English gathering, see the Letter of the Bishop of St. David's to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the Episcopal Meeting of 1867,—a document which will well repay every reader who is capable of entering into an union of judicial wisdom with playful irony, such as is rarely seen in modern literature.

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designs of those who have promoted the respective gatherings, has analogous, if not similar instructions. The Roman Council is intended, if we may believe common rumour, if not by the venerable Pontiff himself, at least by his most influential advisers, to be called together partly for the sake of suppressing an obnoxious prelate, the Cardinal Andrea at Subiaco, partly in the hope of adding to the articles of the Roman Catholic faith two new dogmas, one on the Infallibility of the Pope, the other on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. The Anglican Council is intended—not indeed by the venerable Primate who has issued the invitations, but by the prelates* at whose request they were issued, and with whom the whole project originated—to be called together partly for the sake of suppressing an obnoxious bishop in South Africa, partly in the hope of adding two new dogmas to the faith of the Church of England, one on the Verbal Inspiration of Scripture, the other on the Everlasting Torments of Hell. Each has been convened within the space of a few short months, without any public exposition of the reasons of their assemblage, without any prescribed rules to guide their debates, and with the command—rumoured in the one case and openly avowed in the other—to despatch these momentous questions in the course of a few days.

It is obvious that in some important respects these Assemblies will meet under serious disadvantages compared with even the questionable Council whose proceedings we have just been discussing—which at least had the guidance and control of the Imperial Legislature, which knew beforehand what it was to transact, and which had two months to bring its labours to a completion, and moreover had at starting one of the most eloquent, temperate, and liberal men of the age to act as its moderator and president.

We could not wish a better study to those who have convoked our modern Councils than the lively description that M. de Broglie has given of the Council of Constantinople. They will there see how far such an assembly succeeded in its object and how far it failed; what were the causes of any success that it achieved; what also were the causes of its failure. They will see also what is and is not the prestige of any such assembly; they will see that no multitude of bishops, neither 144, as at Lambeth, nor 150, as at Constantinople, nor 1,000, as at Rome, can of themselves com-

* See the Address of the Bishop of Capetown to his diocese, in 1867, and the Appendix to the Sermon of the Bishop of Montreal on the Pananglican Synod, 1866.

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mand the confidence of the Christian world, or protect them against the just censures of the best and wisest of their contemporaries. They will recognise that in the judgment of their own time and of posterity, all the claims of numbers and of ecclesiastical titles go for nothing, compared with the charity and learning of a Gregory of Nyssa, in spite of his latitudinarianism; or the eloquence and moderation of a Gregory of Nazianzus, in spite of his want of worldly wisdom.

Let us hope that in both these assemblies, if indeed they actually take place, the lessons of the past may have some effect. If the prelates who meet, whether at Rome or in London, determine each to maintain his own independent judgment, and not to be led by party-feeling or fear of the majority; if they insist on deciding nothing against the parties accused or interested without hearing fully from themselves what they have to urge in their own defence; if the obnoxious cardinal is welcomed from the Sabine hills, and the obnoxious prelate from the pastures of Durban, to take their places in the deliberations of their brethren; if they strictly confine themselves to the rules of law laid down by the Church and country to which they belong; if they determine, in the spirit of Basil and the two Gregories, to do nothing which can circumscribe the existing liberties of the Church; if they use every means to avail themselves of the superior truth and grace which Providence has awarded to the nineteenth over the fifth century; if the Italian bishops will lend their whole energies to reconcile themselves with the wants of their country, and the English bishops to remove whatever barriers prevent their Church from becoming truly national—then they will have reaped for themselves a glory which few, if any of the Œcumenical Synods have attained. But if, unfortunately, they fall under the temptations which ensnared the Fathers of the ancient Council—if party-spirit prevails over individual conviction—if the absent are condemned and the accused not heard—if the opinions which are condoned in the prosperous are censured in those who are in ill-favour—if the control of the law is set at nought and the advance of science and the claims of charity are disparaged—if the proceedings are conducted in secret, and the objects proposed are unknown—if they are made the mere instruments of furthering the private views of some ambitious or some fanatical leader—then the utmost that can be hoped from such meetings is that they may be utterly void of fruit or effect; then, with so much the more force because charged with the accumulated experience of ages, will be awakened once more the reproach of Gregory Nazianzen, 'Councils and synods I greet afar off

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'—I never saw from a meeting of bishops anything but an 'addition of evils.'

Di meliora piis. It may be hoped at least from the English synod that its members will remember the truth so constantly urged by M. de Broglie, that the decisions even of Œcumenical Councils depended entirely for their value on the reception which they met from the outside world, not on the rank or authority or numbers of those who uttered them. What force the decisions of the Italian Assembly may have for the members of the Roman Catholic Church, it is not for us to say. But, as it is certain beforehand that the decisions of the English Assembly will have no legal force whatever, so also it is certain that in themselves, as viewed apart from the moral or intellectual character of each individual, they will have no more weight in fact, than they will have in law. To be fully aware of this condition of an ecclesiastical assembly is its only safeguard against itself. If the bishops convened in July and September could place this fact clearly before their eyes—if they meet simply for the friendly interchange of varied experience, in the full light of day, without respect of persons, determined to ascertain the truth only from the best sources, and to see things as they are seen by the great lay world without them—if they bear in mind the human infirmities besetting all such joint deliberations, into which the spirit of worldly policy and of faction must of necessity largely enter—then, although it is not to be expected that their meetings should lead to any striking results, they would at least avoid the scandals and just censures which have caused such gatherings to be viewed with suspicion, rather than with reverence, by those who would be most willing to pay honour and respect to the individual persons composing them.

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ART. V.—*The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India.* By J. FORBES WATSON, M.A., M.D., F.R.A.S., &c., Reporter on the products of India to the Secretary of State for India in Council. Printed for the India Office, 1866.

THE art of weaving, in all its perfection and its beauty, has existed in India from the earliest period of which there is any record. It is impossible either to estimate its antiquity, or ascribe its introduction to any particular era or person, nor does any tradition on the subject exist in the country. The hymns and ritualistic observances of the Vedas afford direct evidence that it flourished in the very earliest times, and is coæval with the dawn of law and religion. In the Institutes of Menu, compiled perhaps a thousand years before the Christian era, weaving is spoken of as a familiar handicraft; and it is evident that the people at large were clothed with 'apparel,' rich or plain according to their circumstances. That ancient legislator did not disdain to regulate the rights of dress, and to determine the splendour of a *trousseau*. In ch. iii. v. 27 we find, 'The gift of a daughter clothed only with a single 'robe, to a man learned in the Veda, is the nuptial rite called '"Brahma;"' and in v. 28, 'The rite which the sages call 'Daiva, is the gift of a daughter whom her father has clothed 'in gay attire.' Again, in the same chapter, v. 61, 'Certainly 'if the wife be not elegantly attired, she will not exhilarate 'her husband;' and v. 62, 'A wife being gaily adorned, her 'whole house is embellished. If she be destitute of ornaments, 'all will be deprived of decoration.' The wardrobes of ladies of that period were probably valuable, since we find it provided in ch. iv. v. 200, that 'such ornamental apparel as women wear 'during the lives of their husbands, the heirs of those husbands 'shall not divide among them.' And at the present day, though widows no longer wear the rich clothing they possessed during their husband's lifetime, it remains their own property, and they are at liberty to give it away in charity, or to the younger members of their families, or dispose of it as they please. What the ornamental apparel alluded to in the above quotation may have been, we have no means of ascertaining; but that it was woven cloth of cotton or silk there can be no doubt, since in ch. viii. v. 30 there is the following passage regarding the practice of weaving: 'Let a weaver who has 'received ten palas of cotton thread give them back increased 'to eleven by the rice water, and the like used in weaving. He

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'who does otherwise shall pay a fine of twelve panas.' It appears, therefore, that 'size' was used in the process as it is at present; and the quantity was limited to prevent adulteration of the material employed. Where clothing existed it would be necessary that it should be washed, and washermen are cautioned in ch. viii. v. 39 in these precise terms: 'Let a washerman 'wash the clothes of his employer by little and little, or piece 'by piece, and not hastily, on a smooth board of Salmadé wood; 'let him never mix the clothes of one person with the clothes 'of another, or obliterate the marks, nor suffer any but the 'owner to wear them.' And in ch. v. it is further directed that 'silk and woollen stuffs are to be washed, or purified, with 'saline earths, and cloths by washing or sprinkling.' We have thus evidence of the existence of silk, woollen, and cotton cloths; and in ch. x., among articles which Brahmins are prohibited to sell, 'all woven cloth dyed red, cloth made of Sana or 'Kshuma bark (whatever that may have been), and of wool, 'even not red,' are enumerated. No trace of linen, that is cloth made from flax, is to be found in Menu, or any of the earlier works of the Hindus; and it is probable that flax had never been made from the linseed plant for the manufacture of yarn for weaving. Hemp and jute no doubt were used for the same purposes as at present—ropes, and coarse sacking for grain bags, elephant and camel gear, and the like; but it is hardly probable that where a delicate and plentiful fibre, like that of cotton, existed, the coarser material of hemp or jute, ambari, and others used in India, would have been employed for dress. Cotton certainly ranked among the very earliest material employed by Indian spinners and weavers. This plant grows wild in many parts of India, and under cultivation has become what it is now, and perhaps ever has been, the main clothing of hundreds of millions of human beings. If shorter in staple, and perhaps somewhat coarser in quality, than the more highly and artificially cultivated American, it has yet its own peculiar advantages of greater strength, better colour, and a higher susceptibility of receiving and retaining dyes; while the finest textures produced from it, still defy the imitations of modern times and the employment of machinery.

In a paper contributed by Mr. Colebrooke to the Asiatic Researches, vol. v., upon the principal mixed classes which have sprung from intermarriages of the original tribes, and which is a compilation from the 'Rudrayamala' and 'Jati-'mala,' or enumeration of castes and professions, the origin of the 'Tantravâya,' or weavers, is thus stated:—

'"Murdhabhishicta" is descended from a Brahman by a girl of

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the Cshatriya class. His duty is the teaching of military exercises. The same origin is ascribed in the great Dherma Purana to the Cambhacára or potter, and to the Tantravâya or weaver, sprung from two mixed classes, begotten by a man of the "Manibanda," on a woman of the "Manicárá." We find also in the same paper the following passage in regard to the production and preparation of silk which, there can be little doubt, is as ancient an art in India as the preparation of cotton for the loom.

'The Pandracára, and Patta Satracára, or feeder of silkworms, and silk twister, deserve notice; for, it has been said that silk was the produce of China solely until the reign of the Greek Emperor Justinian, and that the laws of China jealously guarded the exclusive production.* The frequent mention of silk in the most ancient Sanscrit books would not fully disprove that opinion; but the mention of an Indian class, whose occupation it is to attend silkworms, may be admitted as proof, if the antiquity of the Tantra be not questioned.'

The antiquity of the Tantras receives support from the details of the Code of Menu, where special legislation is made for the conduct and position, in the great Hindu scale, of all mixed classes and handicraftsmen. The origin of the caste of the 'Tantravâya,' or weavers, may be fabulous or imaginary; but the fact that they existed at the period of Menu, or three thousand years ago, and far before that, in the dim ages of the Vedas, is beyond question by the frequent mention of woven fabrics in all ancient Sanscrit works; and it is a strong confirmation of the hitherto unchangeable condition of the artisan classes of India, that the weavers, as indeed for the most part other handicraftsmen, should form a distinct body in all localities of the country, pursuing, up to the present time, the same hereditary occupation as they did three thousand years ago, if not indeed much more. The fabrics they weave now, are probably not much altered in character from what they were in the time of Menu; and their looms, simple and apparently rude in construction, are, under their wonderful powers of manipulation and unwearying patience, capable of producing some of the finest, most elegant, and most costly fabrics in the world.

The characteristic of Asiatic costumes and manufactures is immutability. Unlike the European artisan, who seeks to humour the appetite of fashion by incessant novelty, the Oriental sets his loom after the manner of his forefathers, or

* The great Epic Poem the 'Ramayana,' possibly as old as some portions of the Vedas, and certainly twelve to fourteen hundred years before Christ, affords very distinct evidence of the existence of silk cloths. When the brides of Rama and his brothers returned home, their mothers-in-law 'sumptuously clad in silk, hastened to 'the temples of the gods to offer incense,' &c.

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rather with that unvarying constancy of instinct, which teaches the bird to build the same nest or the insect to weave the same web for countless generations. It is only by acting upon this principle that European manufactures can penetrate into Eastern consumption. Neither price nor quality will supersede inveterate tradition. The reason that so little progress has been made in the introduction of British goods in the markets of India, China, and Japan, is that but a small proportion of those goods have been adapted to the established tastes and customs of the natives. Either from ignorance or from indifference we have sought to clothe them in materials and garments foreign to their habits. The consequence is that the demand and use of British manufactures in the East, and even in our own Indian possessions, are surprisingly small and might be enormously increased. It is therefore a matter of national importance to study and ascertain what the traditions of India in respect to dress really are. This task has been most ably performed by Dr. Forbes Watson in the volume before us, and in the larger work which has been circulated by order of the Secretary of State for India. We call attention to the work and to the subject, not as a matter of mere curiosity, but as an inquiry of direct interest to the manufacturing industry of Europe.

It would be interesting to ascertain the style of clothing of the earliest civilised periods of India, and to compare it with what exists at present; but in none of the early works of poetry or the drama, in which descriptions of costume might have been appropriately introduced, is any degree of minuteness to be found. Allusion is made to 'saffron-tinted robes,' and to 'red-dyed garments,' in occasional passages; but even these are comparatively rare as regards men, and there is little more in respect to women. In the drama of 'Vikram and 'Urvasi,' written probably in the reign of Vikramaditya, B.C. 56, Puranavas, one of the characters, says of Urvasi, a nymph, who has fainted—

> 'Soft as the flower, the timid heart not soon
> Foregoes its fears. The scarf that veils her bosom
> Hides not its flutterings, and the panting breast
> Seems as it felt the wreath of heavenly blossoms
> Weigh too oppressively.'—Act i. sc. i.

Again:—

> 'In truth she pleases me: thus chastely robed
> In modest white, her clustering tresses decked
> With sacred flowers alone, her haughty mien
> Exchanged for meek devotion. Thus arrayed,
> She moves with heightened charms.'—Act iii. sc. ii.

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In the play of 'Mrichchákati,' attributed to King Sudraka of Ujjein, who reigned, according to the traditional chronology, in the first century before our era, and is certainly not later than the second century after Christ, we find the following passage, act iv. sc. ii. :—

'*Maitrena.* Pray, who is that gentleman dressed in silken raiment, glittering with rich ornaments, and rolling about as if his limbs were out of joint?

Attendant. That is my lady's brother.

Maitrena. And pray who is that lady dressed in flowered muslin?* a goodly person truly,' &c.

The following passage, taken from the 'Uttara Rama 'Cheritra,' by the same author, affords a better idea of male costume. Janaka, the father of Sita, the heroine, is describing the hero, Rama:—

. . . 'You have rightly judged
His birth: for see, on either shoulder hangs
The martial quiver, and the feathery shafts
Blend with his curling locks. Below his breast,
Slight tinctured with the sacrificial ashes,
The deerskin wraps his body, with the zone
Of Murva bound; the madder-tinted garb
Descending vests his limbs; the sacred rosary
Begirts his wrists; and in one hand he bears
The Pipal staff, the other grasps the bow
Arundati. Whence comes he?'

In the 'Sareda Tilaka,' a monologue of later date, but still of comparative antiquity, there is a curious and amusing description of the various women of India, distinguishing each by her nationality, if such a term be allowable; but here, too, the author fails of expressing anything definitive. We will, however, give a couple of specimens:—

'1. There goes the maid of Gurjara (Guzerat), blooming as with perpetual youth, having eyes like the chakóra, of the complexion of the yellow Rochana, and a voice musical as that of the Parrot. She wears anklets of silver, large earrings set with pearls, and *her bodice is buttoned below the hips* with gems.'

'2. The matron of Maharashtra proceeds yonder, her forehead stained with saffron, and with silver chains upon her feet; she wears a coloured *veil*, and a girdle round her loins.'

'3. A Chola female (south of India) approaches, whose cheeks are tinted with saffron, and whose *dress* is *embroidered* with the buds of the lotus.' †

* 'Phulla pàvar a-apa-uda, for Pushpa pravaraka, pravitra—dressed in a garment of, or with, flowers, which the commentator explains to mean worked muslin.' (*Translator's Note.*)

† The translations from the original Sanscrit in this and the

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'The bodice which buttons below the hips,' is certainly unknown at the present day, either in Guzerat or elsewhere in India; and as no single cloth, as a scarf, or the present Sari, could be buttoned, we can only presume that the garment was cut out and sewn in the fashion of a long tight-fitting robe, as in use among Persian women of the present time.

Since these descriptions avail little, it might be assumed that the sculpture which adorns every ancient Hindu temple in India would throw some light on the subject of costume; but here we are as much at a loss as before. The temples we allude to are certainly of no very great antiquity, and are probably considerably within the Christian era. Still it would be interesting to have specimens of the local costumes of a thousand years ago; and many temples in the south and west of India, as also in Guzerat and Orissa, &c. are known to belong to periods as early as A.D. 500. But here, too, we are foiled. Although groups of figures are numerous beyond description, their attire seems to be entirely conventional. Men, for the most part, wear head-dresses in the form of conical crowns richly covered with ornaments; their bodies are naked, and their breasts and arms show necklaces and armlets of very ornate patterns. From the loins to the knee, or middle of the thigh, they have in most instances kilts, as it were, also composed of ornaments; and many are altogether naked, both male and female, with a girdle of ornamental pattern round the loins. These figures abound among the sculptures of Ellora, and upon the Hindu temples of Dharwar and Mysore of the eighth to the thirteenth century; also upon the 'Chola' temples at Conjeveram, and elsewhere, probably of the same era. In the Jain sculpture the male and female figures are invariably naked; but ornamented in general with necklaces, bracelets, armlets, and zones, of exceedingly intricate and beautiful patterns, in imitation, probably, of the chased goldwork of the period.*

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other passages quoted are taken from the plays collected and published by the late Mr. H. H. Wilson.

* The architecture and ornamentation of the temples of Southern India have now been rendered accessible to European curiosity by the publication of the magnificent photographic representations of Beejapoor, Dharwar, Ahmedabad, and other cities, edited and described by Mr. James Fergusson and Colonel Meadows Taylor; a work for which we are indebted partly to the liberality of the Bombay Government, but far more to the munificence of some of the native Bombay merchants, who enabled these splendid volumes to be sold at a comparatively moderate cost. They are by far the most in-

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The best representations of ancient costume in India are the celebrated fresco paintings in the caves of Ajunta, many of which are still very perfect. In the Buddhist caves of Ellora some paintings in a similar style had been executed; but they were destroyed by the Mahommedans when they invaded the Deccan early in the fourteenth century, and it is extraordinary that those of Ajunta escaped their iconoclastic and fanatic zeal. They did escape, however; and for several years Major Gill, of the Madras army, was engaged by Government in copying them on their original scale. Some of our readers may perhaps remember these copies, which had been deposited in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, and perished in the late destructive fire there. It is difficult to decide the date of these paintings, which represent scenes in Buddhist history; and the series may extend from the first or second century before Christ, to the fourth and sixth century of our era. In either case they are upwards of a thousand years old, and, as such, are very much to our purpose. The only traces which now remain of them in England, are in Mrs. Spier's very beautiful and interesting work, entitled 'Life in Ancient India;' but a few notes made from the engravings of Major Gill's copies of these frescoes, will show their importance as a record of costume.

One very large picture, covered with figures, represents the coronation of Sinhala, a Buddhist king. He is seated on a stool or chair, crowned with a tiara of the usual conventional form; corn, as an emblem of plenty and fertility, is being poured over his shoulder by girls. He is naked from the throat to the waist; with necklaces, armlets and bracelets of gold. From the waist he wears a waistcloth or modern 'dhotee,' of a striped pattern, with one end arranged between his legs in plaits, the other end, or perhaps a separate piece, being passed across his chest, and falling over the left shoulder. His knees and legs are bare. Beside him, on either hand, is an attendant bearing a fan. Each wears a waistcloth from the loins to a little above the knee, and a scarf across the chest. A figure behind, on the king's right, with his back turned to the spectator, having a long straight sword by his side, wears a dhotee, with folds hanging in front exactly as worn at present, and one end passed over his right shoulder. Some persons approaching the king with

teresting and complete memorials of the sacerdotal and regal grandeur of Southern India which are in existence; and no work gives so striking an impression of the former splendour of those empires. For the purpose we have now in hand—the study of native costume—they afford of course materials of indisputable correctness and authenticity.

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offerings are in precisely the same costume, and one has a striped dhotee. Groups of soldiers, with long oblong shields covering the entire person, hold crooked swords, and have a waistcloth only, tied like a kilt, which does not reach to the knee. A band of musicians, playing hand-drums and pipes like those now in common use, all wear dhotees, the tie and sit of each being the same as those worn at present. All the women are naked to the waist; some of them have the end of the cloth, or saree, thrown across the bosom, and passing over the left shoulder. Spearmen on foot and on horseback have short waistcloths only.

In a picture of two male figures drawn with much skill and spirit, entitled a 'Philosophical Disputation,' both are naked to the waist, and wear the ordinary dhotee. They have long hair in ringlets, chaplets of beads, armlets and bracelets, and are sitting upon a raised seat covered by a checked cloth. A vignette represents an old man holding an infant Buddha in his arms. He has a scarf round his breast, which supports the child who is lying in it. In a picture of two holy men, one of them is touching the head of an elephant; he holds a cup in his left hand, and wears a long robe reaching to his feet, with very full loose sleeves; the other, who has a nimbus round his head, has an elaborate drapery in folds like that of a Greek statue. The faces of both appear to us Grecian, and neither of the figures is Buddhist.

In another large picture, full of figures, representing the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon and its establishment there, all the figures, male and female, are naked to the waist. Some have waistcloths or kilts only, others have scarfs, or probably the ends of the dhotees, thrown over their shoulders. A holy Buddhist floating through the air is a very graceful composition. The saint is being carried along in the attitude of adoration, attended by two naked females, one of whom has a gold zone ornamented, the other a necklace, ear-rings, and zone. The saint wears a waistcloth or dhotee only. In a representation of Buddha teaching, one of his arms, the right, is naked; the left arm appears partly covered by a sleeve, out of which the hand issues; but the drawing requires detail. Female figures in different attitudes around, are all naked; but have necklaces, ear-rings, and bracelets: and one, a girdle of jewels round her loins.

We have dwelt upon the costume depicted in these curious paintings thus minutely, because they are, as we have before observed, the only representations of the actual attire of an ancient period existing in India; and because they show that

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the ancient style of dress, or fabric of which it was composed, has changed very little to the present day. Dhotees may now be somewhat broader, especially the better kinds of them, and so reach to midleg or lower; but the mode of putting on or wearing this garment, the folds passing between the legs, and tucked into the waist behind, and the long plaited or folded ends hanging in front, were precisely the same then as now; and this also may be said of the saree, or women's garment, tied and worn after the same fashion. We shall describe these cloths as they are made and worn at present, as we proceed with the description of modern Indian costumes; but it may be safely inferred that what existed at the period of the Buddhist paintings at Ajunta had been the ordinary apparel of Hindus and Buddhists alike for centuries before, and that it had changed as little from the period of the Vedas and the Institutes of Menu to that of the Buddhists, as it has changed since.

It is a remarkable fact that in all these records of Indian costume there is no example of *sewn garments;* nor is there any evidence of the existence of 'tailors,' as artisans or handicraftsmen; it is even doubtful whether any such workmen were known to the Sanscrit language.

The word, suchi-karmavid, 'worker with a needle,' is perhaps the nearest approach to tailor; but a needle may have been used in many ways; for embroidery, for instance; for sewing trappings of horses and elephants, sackcloth, tents, and the like; and as there appears no word to express the actual trade of tailor, as a cutter out, fashioner, and sewer of garments, we may assume that sewn apparel was not used in India until a comparatively late period. It is quite possible, however, that the 'varma syutam,' mentioned in the 'Rig Veda,' was a mailcoat, sewn, and padded with cotton. On some of the earlier memorial-stones in the Dharwar temples there are combatants with gorgets, and, as it were, epaulettes of padded cloth; and a kind of cuirass about the body, probably of the same material, and of much the same fashion as used by native soldiers to this day. Their horses too have saddles or saddlecloths with headstalls and reins. The sewing of leather, and of padded cotton vests, gorgets, gauntlets, and thigh pieces, must therefore be very ancient indeed; and it is evident that such means of protection in battle were used from the fifth to the tenth centuries in Western India. In the Dharwar sculptures—the records of Chalúkyas, Hoi Sàlás, Belláls, and other local dynasties—although defensive armour occurs, there is no trace of sewn garments. One and all, the male figures have short waistcloths or dhotees, with an end in some cases cast over the shoulder;

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and the females are in the same costume, with this difference, both in the earlier memorial-stones and some of the profuse sculpture on the Temple at Hullabeed in Mysore (Dwara Samoodra, tenth to twelfth century, A.D.), that they wore bodices, tied in front, as Hindu women wear them at present. This, however, is no evidence; for tailors are in no case employed to make women's bodices, which are cut out and sewn exclusively by the women themselves, of all classes, in all parts of India. In the south of India no bodices are worn by any respectable females; 'it is only,' they say, 'courtesans, who are ashamed 'of them, who hide their bosoms.' Here, therefore, we find the most ancient form of female costume in India still in use; and the single cloth or saree, partly formed into a petticoat, with the end passing over the bosom and left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder and arm bare—as depicted in the Buddhist paintings at Ajunta without a bodice—is unchanged from that period.

This saree is, in fact, the national costume of almost all Hindu women, and occasionally of the Mahommedans, in India. In Oude and Rajpootana, the North-West provinces, and the Punjab, the voluminous petticoat introduced by the Mahommedans is worn by many Hindu women, whether secluded or otherwise; but this practice is confined to those northernmost provinces of India, and is unknown from Rajpootana southwards to Cape Comorin. Bengal and Orissa also adhere to the ancient national costume; and the article of dress only varies with local taste as to colour, length and breadth, and fineness or closeness of texture.

There is no female costume more elegant than a saree. It is an entire cloth, in many cases eighteen yards long and about a yard broad; and the texture varies from the finest and most open character of muslin in Bengal and the south of India, to the still fine but closer texture of the Deccan, Central India, and Guzerat. But sarees are of all qualities, to suit the very poorest as well as the very richest classes of society—the ordinary labourer and the princess. In the manner of tying and wearing this garment there is little difference anywhere. The cloth, which has one plain end, is passed round the loins, and the upper border tied in a strong knot; the cloth is then passed two, three, or even four times round the waist, to form a petticoat, which, if the saree be a proper breadth, reaches to the ground. A portion is then pleated neatly into folds and tucked in before, so as to hang down in front to the instep, or even lower. The remainder of the cloth is passed across the bosom over the left shoulder and head, on which it rests, the orna-

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mented ends falling partly over the right arm below the waist. In the south of India, however, the end does not pass over the head; it is drawn tightly over the left shoulder and bosom, and tucked into the waist behind, or on the right hip.* Most frequently, however, respectable women of the Deccan and the south wear a gold or silver zone, according to their circumstances, which, passing over all, confines the drapery to the waist in graceful folds. This zone appears unknown to the northward, and in many cases is beautifully wrought and extremely ornamental.

The bodice named chôlee, used everywhere except in the south, is cut square in the back with square pieces which meet in front, and are tied by the ends in a strong knot under the bosom. The only seams are under the arms; and the sleeve, which in some instances reaches below the elbow, and in others above it, is put into the hole left unsewn in the upper part of the square body piece. The construction of this article of attire is very simple, and every woman makes her own. Another form of bodice, named 'angia,' is entirely closed in front, and is shaped out to fit the bosom. It is tied behind in two places, one across the shoulders, the other below the line of bosom. This garment is, we think, of Mahommedan invention, as it is worn by Mahommedan women, and those Hindus only that have adopted the petticoat.

The costumes of Mahommedan women consist of petticoats, generally very wide indeed, and falling in heavy folds. Some wear an underpetticoat of fine calico as a protection to the costly stuff of which the outer garment is composed, or to escape friction. The stuff—satin, silk, or cotton cloth, is gathered into a strong band of tape, which is tied over one hip, and the plaits or gathers are carefully made, so as to allow the cloth to fall in graceful folds. Over the chôlee or angia bodice is a light muslin shirt, which continues below the waist, called a koortun: and over all a scarf of white or coloured muslin of fine texture, called doopatta, passed once round the waist, and thence across the bosom and over the left shoulder and head, like the saree, completes the costume. Where the laenga or petticoat is not worn, paijámas or trousers take their place. These are sometimes worn loose, as in Oude and Bengal; and elsewhere as tight as they can be made. The cutting out of these tight trousers is no easy matter, for they have several gores on the

* The ancient female costume of Egypt, a saree or single robe, appears to have been put on and worn in precisely the same manner, without a bodice.

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inside of the thigh; and are contrived so that they are flexible however tight, and do not hinder the wearer from sitting cross-legged. With the trousers, which are tied at the waist, are worn the angia or chôlee bodice, the koortun or shirt, and the doopatta or scarf. In full dress a Mahommedan lady wears the peshwàz or Persian robe, in which dancing-women usually perform. It has long tight sleeves, a tight body crossed in front, and a very voluminous muslin skirt, the most fashionable amplitude being about forty, or even sixty yards in circumference. This garment is often trimmed in a costly manner with gold or silver lace, and is only worn as a bridal dress or at domestic festivals.

We need not follow female costume further, for what there is in addition to that already mentioned, consists only in variations of the component parts; and male costume may now be briefly noticed. To every Hindu, of all parts of India alike, the dhotee is an indispensable garment. Should he even wear drawers or trousers, he will have a dhotee, large or small, underneath. The dhotee is a single piece of cloth, from two and a half to three and a half yards long by two to three feet broad, with ornamented ends and borders, which will be adverted to presently. It is put on precisely like the saree, but is generally worn in a single fold only round the waist. The plaited folds in front are made like those of the saree, and, if passed between the legs and tucked into the waist behind, the dhotee becomes a pair of drawers as it were, reaching to the knee or even below it, as may be desired. Dhotees are woven in pairs, and while one piece is worn as above stated, the other is thrown over the head and shoulders or passed across the chest only, like a shepherd's plaid, or the scarfs used for similar purposes which are observable in Greek and Roman draperies. It is probable, indeed, that the costume of the early Greeks may have been nearly the same as that of the Hindus; and the attire of a Brahmin with a shaven head, and the upper and lower dhotee worn as we have stated, resembles in many respects that of a Greek statue. We have already detailed the costume of the male figures in Buddhist and Hindu sculptures of nearly two thousand years ago; and except that the dhotee may now be somewhat broader and longer as a general rule, there is literally no change. It would be impossible, in fact, to invent anything more perfectly convenient than a dhotee, whether to sit in, to lie in, or to walk in. In long and rapid marches in India, officers who know the habits of native sepoys, have stripped them of their English-fashioned trousers, and taken them in dhotees marches of thirty or forty miles a day; ten of which

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would have been labour with the trousers. Whether the Mahommedans after their invasion, copying the dhotee, invented the loongee, which is the same fabric with a different pattern, or whether they brought the loongee with them, it is hard to say, but in use they are precisely similar.

Into other articles of male costume it is needless to enter. They are in all instances sewn garments, cut out by tailors and made by them; and there are, perhaps, as many varieties of vests and tunics—angrékas, joobbhás, coortás, chupkuns, mirzaees, and the like—as there are surtouts, paletots, cambridges, &c., fashioned by Mr. Poole. Many of these are worn by Mahommedans and Hindus alike; the only difference being that the Hindu ties or buttons his vest on the right side, the Mahommedan on the left. The use of these sewn clothes may probably have begun with the Mahommedan invasion or with the settlement of Mahommedans in Northern India. If they did not bring tailors in any number with them, there were at least, probably, some accompanying their camps, and among an ingenious people the craft would soon take root and spread rapidly. In Northern India many or most of the native tailors are Mahommedans; in Bengal, Mahommedans and Portuguese; while in the west and south of India they are, almost exclusively, Hindus and Portuguese. We do not mean to say, however, that Hindu tailors are not found everywhere; and these may be the descendants of the needle-plying handicraftsmen who, like the weavers, smiths, and carpenters, found a place in the enumeration of trades in Menu's 'Institutes' and the 'Yâgnyawalkyá.'

While, then, it is impossible to change the costume of the majority of Indian wearers of all classes from loom-woven garments, as sarees, dhotees, or loongees, to attire which is cut out and sewn together by tailors in the modern fashion, it is above all things necessary that our manufacturers, if they desire to compete with the Indian weavers, should consult the exact taste and requirements of the people; and, under careful observance of these points, we see no reason why they should not do so in a successful manner. But they must imitate, not invent. The people of India are not disposed to accept alteration of pattern in size or texture, of such garments; and the ornamentation bestowed upon them, while it evinces the patient labour and delicate manipulation of the Indian weaver, is throughout in admirable taste and keeping as to colour. In this respect, Dr. Forbes Watson's remarks, in his introduction to his work, are as valuable as they are strictly true. In reference to the specimens collected by him, 700 of which are bound up in the

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eighteen volumes which have been distributed to manufacturing cities in Great Britain, he observes:—

'The 700 specimens (and we again point out that they are all what is called working samples) show what the people of India affect, and deem suitable, in the way of textile fabrics; and if the supply of these is to come from Great Britain, they must be imitated there.

'It was thought, however, that something more than mere specimens was needed to enable the manufacturer to do this intelligibly. It was necessary he should know how the garment was worn, by which sex, and for what purpose; how, in short, the people were clothed, as well as the qualities of the fabrics they used. It was further necessary that he should know why certain arrangements of ornamentation were adopted, as well as the styles of ornamentation, and the materials employed.

'This work may, therefore, be regarded as an analysis of the contents of the eighteen volumes, and a classification of them according to function, quality, material, and decoration. Many important facts stand saliently out as the result of this analysis: such, for instance, as that by far the larger proportion of the clothing of the people of India is made of cotton; that there are certain colours or tones of colour which are favourites; that gold is largely used in the ornamentation of all sorts of fabrics, cotton as well as silk; and that in the decoration of every garment regard is always had to the special purpose that garment is intended to fulfil.

'It must not be thought that the taste of India takes delight in what is gaudy or glaring. No one will study the contents of these volumes and come to that conclusion. On the contrary, there will be found good evidence that Indian taste in decoration is in the highest degree refined. Such combinations of form and colour as many of these specimens exhibit, *everyone will call beautiful*; and that beauty has one constant feature—a quietness and harmony which never fail to fascinate. This also can be said of it—there is no waste of ornamentation, which is present where it should be, and absent where it should not be. The portions which are concealed when the garment is on the wearer, are rarely decorated; nor is there any of that lavish expenditure of ornament which so often purchases *show* at the expense of *comfort*. It is in obedience to this principle that the decoration of these loom-made garments is nearly always confined to one or both ends, or to one or both borders, according to circumstances.' (Pp. 3, 5.)

We need not enlarge upon these strictly practical observations, since they embody the essence, as it were, of what should be the object and aim of the English manufacturer in his imitations of native Indian fabrics. We question whether he could in every case, under the application of machinery, imitate the gold thread or other ornamentation of the woven garments, which are often very costly and elaborate; but in regard to those with coloured cotton ends and borders, which

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are the very lowest class, and to those with silk ends and borders, there can be no difficulty which might not be overcome. Many of the borders of loongees, dhotees, and sarees are like plain silk ribbons; in some instances corded or ribbed, in others flat. Again we find crimson borders with narrow stripes of blue, orange, or green, as edges to the central part; and while such ornamentation is plain in many instances, it is of diversified pattern in others. Ribbon borders of diaper pattern or bird's-eye, are very common. So also are zigzags, dentated, and other forms, which can be practically ascertained by reference to the number in Dr. Watson's lists and the corresponding number of the working sample, where its length, breadth, number of threads in warp and woof, and quality of thread, are all detailed. In the costlier garments woven in India, we find the borders and ends entirely of gold thread and silk, the former predominating. Many of the sarees, or women's cloths, made at Benares, Pyetun, and Boorhanpoor; in Guzerat; at Narrainpett, and Dhanwarum, in the territory of his Highness the Nizam; at Yeola in Khandésh, and in other localities, have gold thread in broad and narrow stripes alternating with silk or muslin. Gold flowers, checks, or zigzag patterns are used, the colours of the grounds being green, black, violet, crimson, purple, and grey; and in silk, black shot with crimson or yellow, crimson, with green, blue, or white, yellow with deep crimson and blue, all producing rich, harmonious, and even gorgeous effects; but without the least appearance of or approach to glaring colour, or offence to the most critical taste. They are colours and effects which suit the dark or fair complexions of the people of the country; for an Indian lady who can afford to be choice in the selection of her wardrobe, is as particular as to what will suit her especial colour—dark or comparatively fair—as a lady of England or France.

Another exquisitely beautiful article of Indian male and female costume is the dooputta, or scarf, worn more frequently by Mahommedan women than Hindu, and by the latter only when they have adopted the Mahommedan laenga, or petticoat; but invariably by men in *dress* costume. By women this is generally passed once round the waist over the petticoat or trousers, thence across the bosom and over the left shoulder and head; by men across the chest only; and it is curious perhaps, that no representation of this very common garment is given among his specimens in Dr. Watson's illustrations of female costume. In men's dress it occurs in several figures. Dooputtas, especially those of Benares, are perhaps the most exquisitely beautiful of all the ornamental fabrics of India; and it is

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quite impossible to describe the effects of gold and silver thread, of the most delicate and ductile description imaginable, woven in broad, rich borders, and profusion of gold and silver flowers, or the elegance and intricacy of most of the arabesque patterns of the ribbon borders or broad stripes. How such articles are woven at all, and how they are woven with their exquisite finish and strength, fine as their quality is, in the rude hand-looms of the country, it is hard to understand. All these fabrics are of the most delicate and delightful colours; the creamy white, and shades of pink, yellow, green, mauve, violet, and blue, are clear yet subdued, and always accord with the metal thread used, and the style of ornamentation, whether in gold or in silver, or both combined. Many are of more decided colours—black, scarlet, and crimson, chocolate, dark green, and madder; but whatever the colour may be, the ornamentation is chaste and suitable. For the most part, the fabrics of Benares are not intended for ordinary washing; but the dyers and scourers of India have a process by which the former colour can be discharged from the fabric, and it can then be re-dyed. The gold or silver work is also carefully pressed and ironed, and the piece is restored, if not to its original beauty, at least to a very wearable condition. The dooputtas of Pyetun, and indeed most others except Benares, are of a stronger fabric. Many of them are woven in fast colours, and the gold thread—silver is rarely used in them—is more substantial than that of Benares. On this account they are preferred in Central India and the Deccan; not only because they are ordinarily more durable, but because they bear washing or cleaning better. In point of delicate beauty, however, if not of richness, they are not comparable with the fabrics of Benares.

In all these classes of rich figured muslins, the Indian weavers will always be preeminent; and any attempt at imitation, with the material available to the English manufacturer, would be attended with disappointment. He has not the beautiful and pure gold and silver thread, nor perhaps could he make it; and without that, imitation—even suppose the patterns could be followed—would be abortive. There are, however, classes of 'dooputtas,' or scarfs, as well as of sarees, dhotees, and loongees, which appear to us quite within the scope of the British imitator. Those we allude to are, in scarfs—plain muslins, or muslins with figured fields and borders, without colour; plain fields of muslin with narrow edging of coloured silk or cotton (avoiding gold thread), and narrow ends. Such articles, called 'sehlas' in India, are in every-day use among millions of Hindus and Mahommedans, male and female.

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They are always open-textured muslins; and the quality ranges from very ordinary yarn to that of the finest Dacca fibres. One great necessity however is, that they should wash, and wash well; that the thread should remain clear, and should not assume a rough or downy appearance. A very little attention to the native *requirements* in these simple articles of attire would, we should think, ensure their perfect reproduction, and an enormous sale, since no doubt they could be woven more cheaply in England than in India.

We know that dhotees, sarees, and loongees have already been imitated to some extent, but not by any means in a manner satisfactory to the purchaser. The texture is not that required by the people; it is not that they are accustomed to. It is in general too close, too much like calico in fact, which of course makes the garment hot, heavy in wear, and difficult to wash. Again, the surface becomes rough, and, as it is generally called 'fuzzy,' in use, which the native fabric does not. Again, if the borders and ends are of coloured thread, they do not stand perpetual, that is daily, washing upon stones, and drying in the sun, which is unavoidable. The colours, whether in silk or cotton, fly; and the garment, which, if a native one, would preserve its colour and texture to the last rag unimpaired, becomes dingy and shabby before it is nearly worn out. Whether coloured sarees could be produced in England as sound in dye and as clear in tint as in India, we are much inclined to doubt from the result of the simpler fabrics the dhotees. But why not? the dye-stuffs used in India—madder, indigo, sanders wood, cochineal, and safflower, are in equal use here. If there is any speciality in the Indian methods of dyeing, surely it might be discovered. White sarees are now made for the Indian markets; but the consumption of these must be always very limited. Comparatively few native women of any class or degree wear white; if they do wear it, the dress has broad coloured borders and ends. But what all classes wear are coloured clothes; black, red, blue, occasionally orange and green, violet, and grey. All through Western, Central, and Southern India, sarees are striped and checked in an infinite variety of patterns which it would be impossible to describe in detail. Dr. Watson's work enumerates and gives particulars of many (pp. 44, 46); but they are for the most part fabrics of the smallest value, and therefore of the coarsest description to suit the lowest classes; and though valuable for imitation, to a certain extent as to colour and pattern, do not show the beautiful texture and arrangement of coloured stripes and checks which are

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produced not only in the localities named, but in other weaving localities of the south, west, and centre of India. Such, however, could be easily procured from Narrainpett, Dhanwar, and Muktul, in his Highness the Nizam's territories; from Gudduk and Bettigerry in Dharwar; from Kolapoor, Nassik, Yeola, and many other manufacturing towns in the Deccan; Arnee in the south, and elsewhere. Such garments form the daily wearing apparel of literally millions of the middle and upper classes; and here again if the native requirements of proper texture, attention to pattern, and above all, *fast colour*, be attended to, we see no reason why all such fabrics, into which gold thread seldom enters, should not be successfully imitated. It is as yet an untried and entirely unexplored field; but it is one in which, under the conditions stated, the largest amount of success might fairly be anticipated.

Cloth for bodices is made like sarees with coloured borders. In the cutting out of the bodice, it is contrived that each sleeve ends with the border, and that it runs round the bottom of the garment, if not entirely, at least to some extent. Bodices are also made of English white muslin, jaconot, or fine calico, and of chintz, provided the colour is fast; many are of silk and cotton mixed, others of silk only, or cotton only. We do not observe that Dr. Watson gives separate patterns of these; yet they form a very interesting and beautiful class of fabrics, of an infinite variety of colour and pattern, in many instances richer and more beautiful than sarees, which their texture most resembles.

In regard to silk sarees and 'pitambars,' or men's silk waistcloths, worn by Hindus at entertainments and festivals, as also in religious worship, we should think imitation almost impossible. It is not that our silk-weaving is not neater and more finished than the Indian; in those respects, and in beauty of colour when new, our manufactures far exceed theirs; but they are not so soft and pliable, nor so full and rich in texture, and the colour would speedily fail if exposed to the rough washing of India. Silk is a costly material in which to make experiments; but could these fabrics be successfully imitated as to texture and colour, an immense increase to our silk manufactures would forthwith ensue. Nor would it be necessary to use gold thread, though that usually accompanies silk in India; handsome ribbon borders, ends with *native* patterns, and plain, striped, checked diaper, or delicately figured centres, would be sure of success.

We have dwelt thus long upon garments which are woven in entire pieces, because they are those to which the attention of

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our manufacturers has been more particularly attracted by their Indian agents than any other, and in which they have already made attempts at imitation, with only partial success. Why should not they have ensured as large a demand for these as for white muslins, calicoes, bleached and unbleached, and plain yarn? Simply, we believe, for the evident reason, that they have not suited their goods to their customers. If they have woven tolerable sarees or dhotees, they have introduced English flowered borders, thus doubly violating the native taste and requirements. Manufacturers in England cannot be supposed to know that certain patterns suit particular occasions; some are lucky to the individual, and others the contrary. The astrologer, too, has frequently to decide on the colour and pattern of the day's costume. What chance would even well-woven roses and lilies have among these complications?

'If,' remarks Dr. Watson, 'we attempt to induce an individual or a native to become a customer, we endeavour to make the articles which we know to be *liked* and *needed*. We do not make an effort to impose on others *our own tastes and needs*, but we produce what will please the customer, and what he wants. The British manufacturer follows this rule generally; but he seems to have failed to do so in the case of India, or to have done it with so little success, that it would almost appear as if he were *incapable* of appreciating Oriental tastes and habits.'

We do not however quite agree with Dr. Watson in the latter portion of his otherwise just remarks. In many essential respects the English manufacturer has exactly supplied the native requirements. He sends plain and figured muslins, thin and thick calicoes, longcloths, jaconots, and the ever-present 'grey shirtings.' These are the very simplest forms of manufacture, and in them, with the exception of Dacca muslins, he has beaten the native weaver altogether. Can he not go further, and beginning with the simplest forms of sarees, dooputtas, dhotees, loongees, &c., silk or cotton, or mixed, ascend to a higher class of supply? He weaves cloth quite as fine as sarees, finer perhaps; but without the peculiar open texture and colour of the former. Why should he not attempt and succeed in both? The people of India do not ordinarily wear piece goods; these require to be cut and formed into garments, and we have shown that garments woven entire in the loom are the habitual costume of literally scores of millions, who, if their interests in price and quality, and tastes in *texture*, and *colour*, and *patterns*, were consulted, would be as constant customers for English coloured fabrics as they are for bleached jaconets and the eternal 'grey shirtings.'

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Our manufacturers should be careful lest other producers step in and wrest from them the supplies of these special articles, as has already been done in some respects in regard to other fabrics. Once, in her printed cottons, England was supreme in India. The cloth was good, the colour was good, and the patterns suitable; jackets, trousers, and petticoats would wash, and if worn in the sun would not fade. Gradually, within the last twenty years, the colours deteriorated, the cloth was highly glazed, and *looked* good, but was flimsy and weak; it would not bear washing, and when put into water many colours and whole patterns ran, faded out, or altogether changed colour. Thereupon the Swiss producers stepped in and furnished articles exactly suited to the Indian consumer. His taste and requirements were both complied with. The cloth of the Swiss chintz was sound, soft, fine, and unglazed; the patterns were delicate and appropriate; and the colours remained unchanged to the last rag. Could the gaudy, vulgar, glaring, oversized and overglazed English cloths compete with these? It was quite impossible to expect they should; and, *as a consequence*, British chintzes have, to a great extent, been supplanted by Swiss. If, therefore, the Swiss manufacturers were to imitate the sarees and loongees, dhotees, &c., of India in the same artistic and conscientious spirit, they would obtain a monopoly of the Indian market in, comparatively speaking, a very few years.

Another fabric which could, we should think, be easily produced by our manufacturers, since it requires no manipulation in particular, is the class called 'soussee.' If sarees are nearly universal for Hindu wear, soussee, made into petticoats and trousers, is as universal for Mahommedan women and men also; and it has this advantage over sarees, that the colours and patterns differ very little anywhere within the confines of India: whereas sarees, dhotees, and loongees, must be made to suit *particular localities*, and the patterns of one locality would inevitably be rejected in another. A kind of soussee is produced in France, blue striped, closer in texture than the Indian, perhaps, but belonging to the same class or category; and another called 'grivas,' in particular near Vichy, both excellent and fast-coloured fabrics, and both used for trousers and blouses. Indian soussees are always striped or checked, woven in narrow patterns, with coloured yarns, blue and white, black and blue, red and blue, yellow, white, and blue, green and chocolate, as detailed in Dr. Watson's list; and they are worn, fine and coarse, literally by millions of the people of the middle and lower classes. The twilled and checked

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fabrics mentioned by Dr. Watson, as woven for European use, are not employed by the natives; they are too stiff and heavy. Soussee, however, has the peculiar merit of being soft, neither very open nor very close; very durable, and whatever be the quality of its texture, of unalterable colour, which generally becomes clearer by washing; and if a successful imitation could be made of it, an almost unlimited demand would spring up. Among the very simplest forms of Indian textile fabrics it is well worthy of the immediate attention of our manufacturers.

Into the costly and superb fabrics of cloths of gold and silver (Kimkhabs), and the classes of washing satins (Mushroos and Hemroos) it is almost needless to enter; as even if European skill could imitate them by the hand-loom, it would be impossible to obtain the gold and silver thread unless it were imported from India. The native mode of making this thread is given by Dr. Watson; but we question whether, even by that simple process, the same result that is achieved by the Indian workman could be attained by any European. It is simply the effect of skilful and delicate manipulation. The gold and silver cloths, kimkhabs or kincobs, are used for state dresses and trousers, the latter by males and females; and ladies of rank usually possess petticoats or skirts of these gorgeous fabrics. Mushroos and hemroos are not used for tunics, but for men's and women's trousers and women's skirts; as also for covering bedding and pillows; they are very strong and durable fabrics, wash well, and preserve their colour however long worn or roughly used;* but they can hardly be compared with English satins, which, however, if more delicate in colour and texture, are unfitted for the purposes to which the Indian fabrics are applied.

The spinning of fine cotton yarn in India is an art of itself, of which Dr. Watson gives a long and very interesting account in relation to the manufacture of the celebrated Dacca muslin. While ordinary yarn for weaving is spun by the wheel,† the

* For example, a labada or dressing-gown in our possession, made of scarlet mushroo in 1842, is still perfect. It has been washed over and over again, and subjected to all kinds of rough usage; yet the satin is still unfrayed, and the colour and gloss as bright as ever.

† Spinning yarn for weaving is practised by all classes of women in India; even the highest amuse themselves with the spinning-wheel. Among the agricultural classes the occupation is constant, or fills up time not required for other household occupations. Dr. Buchanan, in one of his able statistical reports, estimates the annual produce of yarn hand-spun in one district alone at thirteen lacs of rupees—130,000*l.*

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muslin yarn is spun by the spindle only, and the following extract describes the process.

'The spindle is not much thicker than a stout needle. It is from ten to fourteen inches in length, and attached to it, near its lower point, is a ball of unbaked clay to give it weight in turning. The spinner holds it in an inclined position, with its point resting on a piece of shell, and turns it between the thumb and forefinger of one hand, while she at the same time draws out the single filaments from the roll of cotton in the other hand, and twists them into yarn upon the spindle. Dryness of the air prevents the filaments of cotton from being sufficiently attenuated or elongated, and is therefore unfavourable to the spinning of fine yarn. A certain degree of moisture, combined with a temperature of about 82 degrees, is the condition of the atmosphere best suited to the carrying on of this operation. The Dacca spinners usually work from soon after dawn to nine or ten o'clock, and from three or four in the afternoon till half an hour before sunset. The finest yarn is spun early in the morning, before the rising sun dissipates the dew on the grass; or, when this is wanting, and the air is unusually dry, it is not unfrequently made over a shallow vessel of water, the evaporation from which imparts the necessary degree of moisture to the filaments of cotton, and enables the spinner to form them into thread.'

As a proof of the fineness of the yarn thus delicately spun, Mr. Taylor mentions that one skein which was carefully weighed, proved to be at the rate of 250 miles in length to the pound of cotton. Dr. Watson gives the result of microscopic examinations of French, English, and Dacca muslins, in an elaborate table; and the following conclusions are arrived at. 1. That the diameter of the Dacca yarn is less than that of the finest European. 2. That the number of filaments in each thread is considerably smaller in the Dacca than in the European yarns. 3. That the diameter of the ultimate filaments or fibres of which the Dacca yarn consists is larger than the European. 4. That it appears from the investigation that the superior fineness of the Dacca yarn depends solely on the fact that it contains a smaller number of filaments. These causes, combined with the ascertained result, that the number of twists in each inch of length in the Dacca yarn amounts to 110·1 and 80·7, while in the English it was only 68·8 and 56·6, not only accounts for the superior fineness, but also for the durability of the Dacca over the European fabric; and as already a very great advance has been made in the spinning of yarn by machinery, it may be possible, perhaps, to raise the standard of quality, both in fineness and strength, to that of Dacca.

The manufacture of these very delicate muslins is, however, not confined to Dacca. At Nandair on the Godavery, and at

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Muktul, Dhanwarum, and Amerchinta, all towns in his Highness the Nizam's dominions, and Arnee, near Madras—muslin, which rivals that of Dacca, is made in considerable quantities, and is sold in Madras and Hyderabad, as well as supplied to the west and south of India. In these localities, the process of spinning by the spindle is the same as that of Dacca; but as the climate is dryer, the spinners, who are males as well as females, work in partially darkened rooms, the floors of which are watered to produce the necessary amount of moisture. The manner of dressing the thread, and weaving it, does not differ from the Dacca system in any great degree; and if the muslins are probably not so fine as the Dacca, they have an advantage in superior clearness and transparency. The hand-spinning of fine thread is not unknown in Europe; and the finest flax thread used for Brussels lace, according to Mrs. Palliser's account of it, is spun by women in darkened rooms. The manufacture of muslins of the qualities produced at Dacca, and indeed in Europe, must necessarily be always of a very limited character, and their use confined to very rich purchasers; and therefore competition on the subject in England would be comparatively useless. The English manufacturer already sends to India plain and striped doorias, mulmuls, 'agha-'banies,' and other figured fabrics, which have established themselves there, and which, both from their good quality and moderation in price, are acceptable to the numerous classes who make use of them.

We have already alluded to printed calicoes of European make which find favour in India, and Dr. Watson's collection gives specimens of purely Indian design and execution. In some instances the chintzes of Masulipatam and the south of India are as beautiful in design as they are chaste and elegant in colour, and present a striking contrast to the glaring, gaudy, and ill-conceived patterns which come from England. Printed cloths are worn occasionally, as in Berar and Bundelkhund, for sarees; and the ends and borders have peculiar local patterns. There is also a class of prints on coarse cloth, used for the skirts or petticoats of women of some of the lower classes in Upper India; but the greatest need of printed cloths is for palempores, or single quilts; and ruzaees, which are quilts padded with cotton. It might hardly be worth the while of our manufacturers to reproduce these articles; but if they attempt to do so, a close imitation of the native patterns, the texture of the cloth, and the permanent print dyes would be indispensable.

Without entering into details, we would beg to direct the

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attention of manufacturers to Dr. Watson's remarks in regard to 'size.' It is very probable, in connexion with recent complaints from India in respect to the mildewing and rotting of consignments of cotton cloths in the rainy season, that our manufacturers of grey shirtings and jaconots are already aware of the importance of the subject, and have taken measures to prevent the recurrence of oversizing, or using size which engenders mildew. Nothing has been commoner in native bazaars of late years, than to see unbleached cloths pitted over with dark spots, which are mildew. In these the thread becomes rotten, and breaks into holes; nor is it possible by any washing to get rid of the spots. 'This used not to be,' we have often heard remarked, and why it should occur we have no knowledge; let the cause be what it may, it is doubtless prejudicial to the interests both of producer and consumer in a very material degree.

In this notice we have purposely confined ourselves to the description and illustration of those articles of wearing apparel in India which can, more particularly than any other, be reproduced in our own country with comparative ease and certainty; and we have therefore left others almost or entirely unnoticed—turbans, for instance, which are often as fine as Dacca muslins. To have reviewed all, indeed, would have extended the limits of this article to an undue length. We cannot therefore enter upon the descriptions of Cashmere shawls, which is a manufacture peculiar to that province alone, and has only partially, and that in an inferior degree of quality, extended to the Punjab and to Delhi. But we do not, however, the less recommend study of the processes described, to the general reader and shawl manufacturer; to both they will prove of considerable interest, and they contain the fullest information. Why it is that the best Paisley and French shawls fail to prove as charming as those of Cashmere, we do not precisely know; but it appears to us, that while their texture is undoubtedly soft and fine, and the patterns wonderfully elaborate, there is a monotony of colour, and probably less durability of dye, than in the Indian. In these respects manufacturers have only to blame themselves; for whether in the arrangement of colours for effect, or in the use of dyes, they have examples enough for all purposes. It is to be regretted that the exquisite woven shawls of Cashmere grow rarer and rarer every year, and that their place has been usurped by the hand-embroidered fabrics, of lower value and of more showy and more vulgar patterns. It is a common impression we know in England that the latter descriptions are the most valuable on account of the hand-

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labour bestowed on them, whereas the fact is exactly the contrary. The hand-embroidered shawls display a skill and patience in execution which is almost incomprehensible; but for elegance and chasteness of design, and softness and finish in quality, they are far behind the woven shawls which are still preferred by the princes and nobles of India, and which, both as to pattern and colour, are unsurpassable. In the Punjab and at Delhi a comparatively new branch of manufacture has been established of late years, of which specimens are now frequently met with in England. These are the embroideries on Cashmere cloth and net, with floss silk and braid, which are known as Delhi scarfs; and tunics, jackets, and the like, mostly for European wear. We have seldom seen them used by natives of the country. The native designers who invent patterns for Cashmere shawls could hardly fail in those for monotone articles, and the richness and elegance of grey Cashmere cloth embroidered with a darker tint, of white with red, and of white, blue, black, or red braid, with yellow or white floss silk, is as perfect as can be imagined. The workers, we believe, employ entirely the wooden needles used in the hand-worked Cashmere shawls, which are made of hard wood slightly charred so as to maintain smoothness, and are described at p. 128 of Dr. Watson's work. A hole in the centre of the needle receives the yarn.

The article of carpets is not one in which our manufacturers are likely to enter into competition with Indian weavers; but were the patterns and dispositions of colour in the native articles better known, many useful lessons might be learned from them. What can be richer in effect than the pattern of which a chromo-lithograph is given at the close of Dr. Watson's work? The centre is a warm creamy white ground, on which is a delicate flowered pattern of yellow and red flowers, and dull dark blue leaves. Next this is a dentated border of vermilion and yellow; then a border of dull blue, with red flowers picked out with white, relieved by a narrower border of white and red; a broader border follows with a bolder pattern of white and blue picked out with yellow; and as a finish, the first blue grounded border is repeated. The effect is at once rich and completely harmonious throughout; and is perfectly adapted to the intention of the fabric, which is a small rug or perhaps a divan carpet in common use in India, and which, furnished with a pillow, is the usual place for sitting or reclining in Mahommedan families. Woollen carpets are rarely used by Hindus; and the manufacture is, we think, entirely confined to Mahommedans. The Warungul carpet-weavers are descendants of the original colony planted there by the

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first Mahommedan invaders of the Deccan in the early part of the fourteenth century, and have never been disturbed. The art they practise was most likely brought originally from Persia. There are many signs of an increased importation of these beautiful fabrics, which can be made to any size, into England. If not as delicate and elaborate as the Persian, they are at least far superior in execution, colour, and design to the coarse Turkey carpets so largely used.

In conclusion, we beg to tender our thanks to Dr. Watson for his beautiful and most instructive work, which we can hardly doubt will fulfil his intentions in its construction. He has evidently brought his personal Indian experience to bear upon a mass of material which, in less skilled hands, would most likely have proved wearisome and unintelligible. As he has arranged his details, they are as entertaining to the general reader as they are full of information and instruction to the manufacturer, upon points which no ordinary agent, nor indeed anyone except he had the means of ascertaining the exact requirements of the natives of India, of all localities and classes, could have pretended to supply. It is under Dr. Watson's experience that the India Museum has attained its present perfection of arrangement; and we have no doubt that when it is transferred to its proper position in the new India Office, it will take its place as a permanent exhibition of the arts and manufactures of our great Indian empire. The manufacturers of England, however, cannot, even as it is, be too grateful to Dr. Watson for what he has already done in the arrangement and distribution of seven hundred working specimens of native Indian fabrics. In the local museums of reference, Dr. Watson has provided material and means of imitation which were not only perfectly unknown before, but which could never have been collected by individual travellers, or agents accustomed only to live at the presidencies or among Europeanized native communities. What the English manufacturer has to do is to supply those millions of people who inhabit native states and English provinces far away from the great presidencies, where English manufactures have as yet entered sparingly, but into which under the present system of railways they can be poured without hindrance, and subject to the conditions we have laid down, only following Dr. Watson's plain and sincere directions—without stint or limit. We may never supplant the Indian handloom-weaver, but we may at least compete with him in many simple articles of attire, which, even if moderately successful, would give an impetus to our own productions of which it is impossible to estimate either the amount or the importance.

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ART. VI.—*The Life, Letters, and Speeches of Lord Plunket.* By his Grandson the Hon. DAVID PLUNKET, with an Introductory Preface by Lord BROUGHAM. 2 vols. London: 1867.

THE author of this very interesting book is a junior member of the Irish Bar, who should rise to eminence in his profession, if title by descent be a valid claim, for he is a grandson of Lord Plunket and of Chief Justice Bushe. Mr. Plunket from boyhood, to use the expression of his greatest ancestor, 'has had before him the images of these illustrious 'dead;' and he has judged correctly that a Life of Lord Plunket, and a record of his oratorical genius, compiled with care from authentic sources, would be still welcome to numerous readers. We regret, indeed, that a work of the kind was not written some years ago, when contemporary experience might have enriched it, and when the brilliant career of Lord Plunket was clear in the sight of living witnesses. The materials for his biography are now less abundant; the memory of his public services, and of his renown as a lawyer and orator, is fading rapidly into mere tradition. Hardly a member of the House of Commons, not one certainly of considerable mark, remembers his triumphs in that Assembly; and only a few of his professional brethren can recall the days when his fame in the Four Courts eclipsed all other lights of the Irish Forum. The great political questions—the Union with Ireland, and Catholic Emancipation—with which he was especially identified, have lost the passionate interest they once excited, and, accordingly, even Plunket's speeches on them must now appear comparatively lifeless. For these reasons this memorial of him comes too late in a certain sense; and yet we are glad that it has been published, for the condition of Ireland, that most serious of political problems, is unintelligible without a study of the period comprised in Lord Plunket's life. Such a career, moreover, as his was—a notable instance how honour in the State can, in spite of many opposing circumstances, be won by talent, industry, and good sense—will always be of interest to Englishmen; and every admirer of modern eloquence will be attracted to a work that contains specimens of Lord Plunket's speeches, in some respects to be classed among the best examples of English oratory. Nor has the present generation lost all personal sympathy with this eminent man; it may be said of him as of the late Sir Robert Peel, that 'this bright luminary has

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'not so far sunk into the twilight of past years, but that its 'radiance still cheers and warms the horizon it has left.'

We have read these volumes with interest, but in one particular our expectations have been disappointed. One characteristic of Lord Plunket was his command of a very original style, concise, vigorous, and idiomatic; and he had the faculty of lighting up a subject with most apposite and happy illustrations. We had hoped that these gifts would have been transmitted to his descendant, and that Mr. Plunket might have blended with them the genial humour and rhetorical art of Chief Justice Bushe, his maternal grandfather. But though this book deserves commendation, and is not ill written in any sense, it has no traces of the manner of Lord Plunket, or of Bushe's graceful and felicitous diction. One quality, however, of Lord Plunket's mind, and that one of no little importance, appears to have been inherited by his grandson. With oratorical genius and fervour Lord Plunket possessed an excellent judgment, and much sobriety and coolness of thought; and, though he lived in an age of passionate excitement, when many powerful and noble minds were hurried into extravagant courses, he never deviated from the path of prudence. Mr. Plunket, if we may judge from his book, is equally self-contained and sedate; his opinions are usually reasonable and moderate; and his views on the great political questions in controversy during Lord Plunket's life are with rare exceptions temperate and thoughtful. This is a merit of no ordinary kind, especially in a young Irish author, dealing for the most part with Irish subjects; and we have great pleasure in recommending this work as an intelligent and instructive biography. It describes Lord Plunket's career, and the historical events associated with it, clearly and well; it is always fair and candid in tone; and it is singularly free from the biographer's vice of general and unvarying adulation. Not the least valuable part of the book is the preface from the pen of Lord Brougham, containing a graphic and discriminating sketch of Lord Plunket's characteristics as an orator. This venerable and illustrious man, like Cicero in his Tusculan retreat, delights in recalling to a younger age the figures of the great public speakers among whom he was proudly eminent, and he has delineated with a skilful hand the peculiar excellences of a contemporary sometimes his antagonist, whose reputation rivalled his own, though his eloquence was of a different order.

Lord Plunket sprang from a Presbyterian family, for some generations settled in Ireland. In after years the successful lawyer adopted the ancient coat of the Fingals, and in his

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speeches on the Catholic claims he used to dwell with emphasis on the exclusion of this name from the Roll of the Lords; but it is improbable that he was connected by blood with the Norman-Danish House of the Pale for centuries established at Killeen in Meath. His grandfather was a Presbyterian clergyman, and his father pursued the same calling, first at Enniskillen, and then in Dublin, at a meeting-house known in those days as the Strand Street Chapel. Dr. Thomas Plunket, for such was his name, was a man of remarkable parts and acquirements, a preacher of a very high order, a master of sound and nervous English, well known in Dublin society as a critic of great local reputation. In his generation the glory of letters had not departed from the Irish capital; the fame of Swift and of Berkeley was recent; and literary merit was highly prized by the gay and frank though sectarian noblesse that thronged the levees of the Chesterfields and Dorsets. Dr. Plunket had many brilliant acquaintances especially among the Whig patriots, then growing into a formidable party; and through their influence, it is related, he secured a nook in the House of Commons—known long afterwards as Plunket's chair—from which he was wont to hear the debates and to discuss the merits of the different speakers. Lord Plunket was born in 1764, the youngest of a family of sons all of whom, but one who died in youth, became eminent in different professions. These volumes give us but little information of his earliest years and training as a boy, except that he went to a day-school in Dublin, and that his father directed his general education. But it is possible that Dr. Plunket occasionally took his son to witness the patriotic and eloquent contests, of which the Irish House of Commons was the scene from 1772 to 1778; and that Pery, Yelverton, Grattan, and Flood were the first models of the future orator. Lord Plunket, too, was doubtless indebted in some degree to his father's teaching for the mastery of terse and classical English—clear, scholarlike, and in the best taste—for which his speeches are justly remarkable.

Dr. Plunket died in 1778, and left his family in comparative poverty. For some years they lived in seclusion in a small house in a back street of Dublin running down by Ormond Quay to the Liffey. Plunket, however, found means to go to College, and in 1779, at the age of fifteen, he was matriculated at the University of Dublin. His regular academic career gave good promise of future success; though opposed to several able competitors, he carried off many college prizes; and in his third year he obtained a scholarship, then the highest distinction open

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to undergraduates. But he was less conspicuous in the Examination Hall of Trinity College than in another arena more suited to his natural genius. In 1747 Edmund Burke had founded the 'Historical Club,' a debating society in which, with others who became eminent in later life, he discussed questions of law and politics, and prepared himself for the great part he was to play at St. Stephens hereafter. The Club flourished in the air of a capital often agitated by political excitement, and never without rhetorical talent; and almost all the distinguished men who from 1750 to 1780 became famous in the Irish Parliament were at different times in the roll of its members. In 1770 the club was affiliated to Trinity College; received the name of the 'Historical Society;' and, having been the precursor and the type of the 'Speculative 'Society' and the two 'Unions,' survives after a hundred and twenty years in undiminished prosperity and vigour. In the latter part of the last century the Historical Society was at its zenith; it had become a nursery for the Irish Parliament, many of whose chief speakers attended its debates; and it was allied so closely to that assembly, that a gallery in the House of Commons was allotted to its members.

Plunket joined the Society in 1782, and though at this time a remarkable number of brilliant youths were among its ranks, he became quickly its acknowledged leader. His votes on the questions chosen for debate are still on record among the Society's papers, and are interesting as they throw light on his character. They are, for the most part, on the popular side; but though at this juncture the Irish world was running wild with political excitement, we infer from some of them that in youth he was as cautious and sedate as in manhood. While these volumes were passing through the press two specimens of his speeches of this date were discovered; though somewhat stilted and grandiose in tone, they contain several forcible expressions, and one is remarkable as it illustrates the high conception the future orator had formed of the art he was to excel in. Considering the speaker was only nineteen, the following passage is curious and striking:—

'When I say that every man amongst you may make himself an orator, I would be understood to mean this only in a certain degree. I would be understood to mean only that every man may so qualify himself as to be listened to on every occasion with attention and pleasure. To reach perfection in the art must indeed require an uncommon share of talents, a judicious store of learning, an active, an unremitting diligence. To animate a nation, to moderate the fury of an incensed, or to rouse the sleeping passions of an indolent

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people—these are the objects which call the powers of the finished orator into action, which require the collected experience of ages, the deepest knowledge of the secret springs and movements of the human heart—a fancy, a genius to give life to the great mass of learning, to convince, to charm, to transport the hearers beyond themselves, and at the same time a coolness and sagacity to give their heated passions the proper bent, and to direct their agitated minds to the proper object. It was this that hurried along the orator of Greece with that resistless vehemence which so long enabled him to withstand every effort, and to baffle every art of Macedonian force and Macedonian cunning. It was this which lighted up the obscurity of him of Rome into that* conflagration, which has remained, with undiminished force and splendour, the admiration and astonishment of all succeeding ages.'

Among other results of Plunket's successes at the Historical Society as a debater, was one of lasting advantage to him. He formed some friendships of great value among the brilliant and able young men who looked up to him as a chief and representative. His political views, and the course of events, soon separated him from Thomas Addis Emmett and from the enthusiast Wolf Tone; but he remained through life in the closest intimacy with Bushe, afterwards Chief Justice of Ireland, with Magee, the future Archbishop of Dublin, with Sir Lawrence Parsons, the opponent of the Union, and their influence on his career was fortunate. Plunket's politics, too, were determined probably through his position in the Historical Society. In 1782–3 he listened frequently 'from the students' gallery' to the animated debates of the Irish Parliament; and in that brief hour of national glory, he doubtless adopted the political creed of which he became sixteen years afterwards the undaunted and almost unrivalled exponent. At this juncture, the patriot party in the dominant oligarchy which for thirty years had contended against the rule of the Castle, had for a moment turned for support to the long down-trodden Catholic nation; and, in the agony of the American war, had extorted from England the abolition of many of the vexatious restraints that had held the island in colonial bondage. A large measure of Freetrade had been gained; the Penal Code had been partly relaxed; the Irish judicature had been emancipated; and while Protestant and Catholic Ireland rallied round the cannon of the volunteers, the Irish Parliament had been declared an independent and sovereign Legislature. It was a time of

* This striking, but rather strained expression, is not Plunket's own; it is taken from a remarkable description by Grattan of Chatham, Mansfield, and Anthony Malone.

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general unanimity and exultation; and many even of the thoughtful and wise believed that an age of happy promise was at length about to open in Ireland, and that nothing was needed for her regeneration but a reform of her corrupt and narrow Parliament, and religious freedom for her Catholic Helots. As Plunket night after night heard the voice of Grattan in impassioned accents proclaiming that 'Ireland was a united 'land, her sons no longer an arbitrary gentry, a ruined 'commonalty, Protestants oppressing Catholics, Catholics 'groaning under oppression'—we need not wonder that his political faith was a theory of an independent nation with self-imposed institutions and laws, and that 'the Constitution of '1782 was his rallying point in the debates of the Union.' His views also may have been influenced at this juncture by another circumstance. Before 1782 the Irish Presbyterians had suffered in some degree from the Penal Code; their partial emancipation had been one of the happy results of that revolution; and this must have had an effect on the mind of one born and bred a Presbyterian.

Having chosen the Bar for a profession, Plunket went in 1784 to keep terms at Lincoln's Inn. He was exceedingly poor; and more than once he was on the point of abandoning the calling in which he was to achieve distinction. But necessity made his industry fruitful; he read law assiduously and well; and though never remarkable for a knowledge of precedent, he became versed sufficiently in legal principles to enable his powerful and acute mind to deal successfully with any legal questions. The hardships of those days may have increased the stern sedateness of his disposition, and have given edge to the caustic irony of his somewhat hard self-repressed nature. In 1787 Plunket became a member of the Irish Bar; and with Bushe, Burrowes, and other friends, began pacing, in search for business, the quaint hall of the old Four Courts, an unsightly building at the back of Christchuch, very different from the stately pile that is now the temple of Irish Justice. The Irish Bar in those days reflected the reckless brilliancy of Dublin society; it abounded in parliamentary aspirants, in seekers for places, and briefless wits; and the grave young lawyer, fresh from Lincoln's Inn, described 'its 'ignorance and dissipation' with characteristic point and bitterness. As Plunket's fame in the 'Historical Society' had made him favourably known in Dublin, business flowed in upon him quickly; and after a brilliant career as a junior, he was made a king's counsel within ten years, a rise for those days exceedingly rapid. It is impossible to

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trace his progress accurately in the imperfect Irish Reports of the period; but his name will be found on several occasions in the forgotten pages of Lapp and Schoales; and it is said that though successful at Nisi Prius, he had most practice in the Court of Chancery, where he soon attracted the notice of Lord Clare through his industry and power of masterly reasoning. A single fragment of his speeches in those years has been discovered by the author of these volumes. It is part of an address to a parliamentary committee impeaching a return for Trinity College on the ground of the undue influence of the provost; and for a young man, four years at the Bar, it certainly is a remarkable performance. Its tone is fearless in the highest degree; it is full of stern and bold invective; and it displays much of the condensed strength, the scathing irony, and the idiomatic style of the writer's more mature efforts.

In 1798 Plunket entered the Irish House of Commons through the influence of the first Lord Charlemont. Being an advocate of the Catholic claims, he had at first declined the patronage of a nobleman who was opposed to them; but the difficulty was removed with credit on both sides; and Plunket ultimately converted his patron. The state of Ireland and of the Irish Parliament was at this juncture a mournful spectacle. The bright visions of 1782 had proved empty illusions, and dark shadows of misgovernment and oppression, of foreign invasion and domestic anarchy, were gathering over the ill-fated island. Irish independence had turned out a phrase; 'a system 'of tyranny,' in Grattan's language, 'had been replaced by a 'system of corruption;' and Ireland had long been ruled from St. James', as she was in the times of Walpole and Pelham. The Irish Parliament had not been reformed, nay its popular elements had decreased; and it remained an appanage of Protestant ascendancy, with a few honourable and patriotic men swamped by a majority bought at the Castle. Nor had Catholic Ireland been set free; the Irish Catholics still lay under disabilities of a most galling kind; and in the actual state of the Legislature their emancipation appeared hopeless. As for the material condition of the country at the time, it was such as it was described by Lord Clare, 'a plebeian aristocracy 'consuming the resources of three million slaves fed on roots 'and water.' Meanwhile the spirit of the French Revolution had penetrated into this distempered frame and was about to rend it violently asunder. A strange and ill-omened league had been formed between the Protestant Jacobins of Ulster and the Catholic Celts of the South and West; the French

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Republic had promised its aid; and a sanguinary strife of race and creed seemed, after the lapse of a century, imminent. England laid her grasp on her subject province, indifferent as to its weight or severity; and the Protestant aristocracy of Ireland flew to arms, to save themselves and the cause of what they felt was their mother country. While Ireland was separating into hostile camps, her feeble Legislature almost collapsed; and, in the presence of threatening revolution, of martial law, and of the rule of soldiers, the Irish Parliament, when Plunket entered it, had ceased to be a power in the State.

In the brief session of 1798, Plunket rose almost at once to the lead of the small minority of honourable men who still formed the Constitutional Opposition. Unlike Grattan, who had seceded from Parliament, he believed that a patriot's voice and presence could still be of use in College Green; and while he shone as an orator conspicuous he pursued a course in accord with his character. When the short-lived rebellion broke out, and the issue had been committed to the sword, he threw no obstacles in the way of the Executive; and he denounced the madness of Irish Jacobinism. Indeed, differing from many of his party, he detested what then were called 'French principles;' and though he rejected the extravagance of Burke, he condemned as severely as Burke himself the violence and ambition of the French Republic. On the extinction of the outbreak he played a noble part in protesting against the excesses of the loyalist faction, in checking the encroachments of arbitrary power, and in endeavouring to restore the Constitution; and he became so esteemed, that, on his return to Parliament, Grattan took his seat by his side, as the admitted leader of the patriotic party. In 1799 the Government began to agitate for the Union; and within a few months, as is well known, Ireland was incorporated finally with Great Britain. The measure was vehemently opposed by Plunket with unflinching boldness, and indignant eloquence. This certainly was a political mistake; and, judging from Plunket's thoughtful intellect, we might have supposed that he would have perceived how vain was the dream of Irish independence, how hopeless it was to expect the regeneration of his country from her corrupt Parliament, and that her best chance was the Imperial connexion. But, in estimating his conduct, we are not to forget that we are reasoning long after the event; and we should bear in mind how great is the force of national feeling and apparent national interest. In 1799, 1800, there were grounds to argue that the Union would cause such dis-

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content that separation would ensue; and as the Irish Parliament had passed some good measures since 1782, it might be inferred that it only needed complete reform to fulfil its mission. Nor can we wonder that one who had formed his political creed in 1782 should have thought that an independent Legislature would yet prove a national blessing; that a great leader in a popular assembly would not consent to its absolute extinction; that an eminent lawyer would oppose what, it was generally believed, would ruin his prospects. There was enough, too, in the evil means by which the Union was actually accomplished—the country terrified into sullen submission—independence proscribed and corruption prosperous—and official insolence revelling in its triumph, to provoke the indignation of honest men; nor can it be denied, that with its great advantages, the Union has led to some of the ills predicted by its ablest opponents. Absenteeism certainly has increased; society in Ireland is lower in tone; and, above all, Imperial majorities have more than once set at nought the wishes of the representatives of the Irish people.

But if Plunket, the statesman, was wrong on this question, as an orator he was really eminent. 'The orator's fire,' it has been remarked, unlike the poet's, 'dies in a moment;' yet, after the lapse of seventy years, Plunket's Union speeches have a living attraction. They are not closely reasoned dissertations like his speeches on the Catholic Claims, exhausting the subject, yet never tedious, and combining argument with the lofty declamation suited to a great and fastidious audience. They are deficient in comprehensive views, and somewhat narrow and provincial in tone; and their vehemence often sinks into scurrility. Yet they are fine specimens of impassioned reasoning, and of fierce, rapid, and telling invective; and they contain some examples of the peculiar gift of Plunket, arguing by the happiest illustrations. Citations must fail to convey a notion of their effect even on a modern reader, yet we may refer to a few passages. The following sketch of the tour of Lord Cornwallis to canvass for support for the Union reminds us of the rapid style of Fox, in this respect the greatest of masters:—

'It is painful to dwell on that disgraceful expedition. No place too obscure to be visited, no rank too low to be courted, no threat too vile to be employed, the counties not sought to be legally convened by their sheriffs, no attempt to collect the unbiassed support of the intelligent and independent part of the community, public addresses sought for from petty villages, and private signatures smuggled from public counties—and how procured? By the influence

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of absentee landlords, not over the affections but over the terrors of their tenantry. By griping agents and revenue officers. And after all this mummery had been exhausted; after the lustre of royalty had been tarnished by this vulgar intercourse with the lowest of the rabble; after every spot had been selected where a paltry address could be procured, and every place avoided where a manly sentiment could be encountered; after abusing the names of the dead and forging the signatures of the living; after polling the inhabitants of the gaol, and calling out against Parliament the suffrages of those who did not sign them till they had got their protection in their pocket; after employing the revenue officer to threaten the publican that he should be marked as a victim, and the agent to terrify the shivering tenant that his turf-bog would be withheld; after employing your military commanders, the uncontrolled arbiters of life and death, to hunt the rabble against the constituted authorities; after squeezing the lowest dregs of a population of near five millions you obtained about five thousand signatures, three-fourths of whom affixed their names in surprise, terror, or total ignorance of the subject; and after all this canvass of the people, and after all this corruption wasted on the Parliament, and after all your boasting that you must carry the measure by a triumphant majority, you do not dare to announce the subject in the speech from the Throne.'

In one of the debates a cry arose from the Treasury Bench 'to take down the words' of one of the leaders of the opposition. Plunket followed the speaker, and this passage, in which the exclamation is thrown back on those who uttered it in fierce reiteration reminds us of the celebrated burst of Fox in his speech upon the Westminster Scrutiny:—

'During the viceroyalty of this unspotted veteran, and during the administration of this unassuming stripling—within these last six weeks—a system of black corruption has been carried on within the walls of the Castle which would disgrace the annals of the worst period of either country.

'Do you choose to take down my words? I need call no witness to your bar to prove them. I see two right honourable gentlemen sitting within your walls, who had long and faithfully served the Crown, and who have been dismissed because they dared to express a sentiment in favour of the freedom of their country. I see another honourable gentleman, who has been forced to resign his place as Commissioner of the Revenue because he refused to co-operate in the dirty job of a dirty administration.

'Do you dare deny this? I say that at this moment the threat of dismissal from office is suspended over the heads of the members who now sit around me in order to influence their votes on the question of this night, involving everything that can be sacred or dear to man.

'Do you desire to take down my words? Utter the desire and I will prove the truth of them at your bar.'

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In affirming the argument that two independent legislatures were dangerous to the integrity of the Empire, Plunket made use of this fine illustration with characteristic beauty of expression:—

'The two Parliaments may clash! So in Great Britain may King and Parliament; but we see they never do so injuriously. There are principles of repulsion! Yes; but there are principles of attraction, and from these the enlightened statesman extracts the principle by which the countries are to be harmoniously governed. As soon would I listen to the shallow observer of nature who should say there is a centrifugal force impressed on our globe, and therefore, lest we should be hurried into the void of space, we ought to rush into the centre to be consumed there. No, I say to this rash arraigner of the dispensation of Providence, there are impulses from whose wholesome opposition Eternal Wisdom has declared the law by which we revolve in our proper sphere, and at our proper distance. So I say to the political visionary, from the opposite forces which you object to I see the wholesome law of imperial connexion derived—I see the two countries preserving their due distance from each other, generating and imparting heat, and light, and life, and health and vigour; and I will abide by the wisdom and experience of the ages which are past in preference to the speculations of any modern philosophers.'

After the Union Plunket returned to the bar. He had the mortification of seeing his inferiors raised over his head to the Bench of Justice in recompense for political subserviency; and for some time his conduct in 1800 laid him under a kind of ban at the Castle. Independence, indeed, has seldom been a passport to promotion in Ireland; and Plunket's philippics and attacks on Lord Castlereagh made him an object of dislike to the Government. But talents like his could not be kept down; and crowds of clients more than supplied the withdrawal of Crown favour and patronage. For many years after 1800 he was a great leader in the Irish Court of Chancery; competing with Saurin, Ball, and Burston, and afterwards with the Pennefathers and Lefroy, in the noble race for forensic honours. The reports of this period, though full and accurate, especially those of Lord Redesdale's time, contain little of the arguments of counsel; but the powers of Plunket as an Equity advocate are attested by clear and ample tradition. We have heard indeed from one still living—the venerable and eminent ex-Chief Justice of Ireland, the sole survivor of that legal generation—many interesting details respecting the style and merits of Plunket in the Court of Chancery. He was not very great as a case lawyer; nor was his method exactly adapted to Judges like Lords St. Leonards or Westbury, who do not care for general reasoning on a science of which

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they are perfect masters, and prefer an advocate to confine himself to the facts in issue and the latest precedents. But he was very effective with men like Lord Manners, and, in a lesser degree, Lord Redesdale; and, in some respects, he was a consummate advocate. He would usually commence his address by referring to some admitted maxims of Equity, and, linking them to subordinate principles, would bring them to bear on the facts of the cause; and he would then array the evidence around them with such force and admirable skill that a conclusion seemed inevitable in his favour. Nor was he less able in repelling the application of principles adverse to his positions, or in analysing decisions that told against him; he would discriminate particulars and draw distinctions with such a cautious yet seeming simplicity, that, it is said, Lord Manners was wont to exclaim—overcome and bewildered by Plunket's power—that he knew there was a fallacy in his arguments, but that he could not pretend to detect it. Add to this a style perspicuous and dignified, great force and often beauty of language, declamation and bitter sarcasm when needed, wit, not genial, but striking and caustic, and a manner, somewhat rigid and stern, but commanding respect and always earnest, and some notion may be formed of Plunket at the height of his fame in the Irish Court of Chancery.

Like Lord Lyndhurst, too, and Sir William Follett, Plunket did not confine himself to one branch of his profession; he was eminent in the Courts of Common Law, although his peculiar province was Equity. He went circuit for a considerable time; his power over juries at Nisi Prius is said to have been exceedingly great; and in examination, cross and direct, he was very effective. A Government could not afford very long to pass over a man of his stamp; and Plunket, after a period of disfavour, was chosen, in 1803, to reply for the Crown in the trial of Emmett, after the suppression of that enthusiast's rebellion. He had once been a friend of Emmett's brother, though estranged from him during many years, and unacquainted with Robert Emmett himself; this circumstance, and his powerful address in summing up the case against the prisoner, exposed him to a great deal of obloquy, and to a libel from the pen of Cobbett, for which damages were recovered in an action. We have read his celebrated speech on this occasion; though certainly severe and possibly harsh, it nowhere transgresses professional limits; and we quite agree with the author of these volumes that it reflects no discredit on the speaker. In truth its sternness should be ascribed to a principle Plunket never lost sight of—abhorrence of Jacobinism and kindred movements;

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and we cannot wonder that he denounced in no measured or dainty phrase, atrocious schemes after the fashion of Marat, and singularly like the Fenian conspiracy. In 1803, possibly on account of this speech, Plunket was made Solicitor-General for Ireland in the later months of the rule of Addington; and he was promoted to the rank of Attorney-General during the second Administration of Mr. Pitt. At this period the Catholic question, which Plunket had supported from youth, and of which he was to become a foremost champion, had been put off for an indefinite time; and Plunket felt that he could accept office under Governments, for the moment neutral on this subject. Oddly enough he stipulated 'that his place was not 'to be considered political,' and he filled it upon this express understanding.

When 'All the Talents' came into office Plunket was continued Attorney-General, and, through the influence of Lord Grenville, was elected in 1807 for Midhurst, the first seat of Charles James Fox. He was now associated with a Government he agreed with; and in the Session of 1807 he made his maiden speech in the United Parliament. The subject was the Catholic Claims; and Plunket was highly praised by Whitbread; but the report of this speech is very imperfect. On the break up of this short-lived Ministry, Plunket, acting under the advice of Lord Grenville, resigned the charge which in his case 'distinguished talents had made political,' and for many years was excluded from office. At the Bar, however, he was fully compensated for any losses on this account; and from 1807 to 1812 his only rival was Saurin, his successor in the Attorney-Generalship, a narrowminded but very able man, who possessed the remarkable turn for law peculiar to many of Huguenot extraction. During this interval Plunket declined more than one offer to re-enter Parliament; but having made a professional fortune, increased by a large bequest from a brother, he was put in nomination for the University of Dublin, and was chosen its member at the end of 1812.

For fifteen years after this period Plunket was very eminent in the House of Commons. These volumes describe his career minutely; but we can only glance at its salient features. From youth he had 'pitched his Whiggery low;' and, though in the excitement of the Union debates he had made use of violent language, he was as attached as Burke to the Constitution, and as disinclined to hasty innovation. Unlike Fox and that statesman's adherents, he had viewed the French Revolution with abhorrence; he considered the despotism of Napoleon as its monstrous but legitimate product: and he had a particular

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dislike of democratic movements, and of anything savouring of French Jacobinism. These convictions made him a follower of Lord Grenville; in Parliament, whether in opposition or in office, he adhered to the counsels of the house of Stowe; and a long and interesting correspondence in these volumes shows how confidential were his relations with its honourable and high-minded leaders. Plunket rose quickly in the House of Commons, where his eloquence from the first was appreciated; and he became one of the most conspicuous and respected members of the Grenville party. Acting with this connexion, he was often in opposition to Lord Liverpool's Government; yet, on some occasions, he gave it support even before its change in 1822; and he spoke in favour of recommencing the war in 1815 with marked effect; he opposed Parliamentary Reform for a time; he vindicated Lord Sidmouth's coercive policy; and even in the shameful affair of Peterloo, he justified the accused magistrates, and resisted the motion for an inquiry. In these instances he no doubt differed from Lord Grey and the mass of the Whig party; yet the memory of the stirring debates that arose, in which, able as Plunket was, he found an antagonist worthy of him in the venerable author of the preface to this book, has, we think, led Lord Brougham into error when he says that it is 'wholly untrue' that Plunket was 'ever' one of the Whig connexion. He was not, certainly, in a strict sense, a Whig of the school of Lord Grey at that time, but unquestionably he became so afterwards; and even at this juncture, as a follower of Lord Grenville he was much more of a Whig than a Tory. If we look, too, from the questions of the hour to real and essential principles of politics, it cannot be doubted that Plunket deserves to rank among the ornaments of Whiggism.

In this partial opposition to the Whigs, Plunket not only followed Lord Grenville, but acted consistently with his known principles. Yet he was condemned loudly by many of the Whigs as a deserter to the camp of the Tories—a tolerably clear proof, we should think, what party claimed and possessed his natural allegiance. How keenly he resented the imputation appears from an interesting correspondence now, for the first time, we believe, published. Having been informed by an officious friend that Lord Grey, towards the end of 1821, had charged him with 'the zeal of an apostate,' Plunket wrote indignantly to Sir John Newport, and denounced Lord Grey in no measured language. Lord Lansdowne happily intervened, and not only satisfied Plunket that Lord Grey had never made use of the words, but assured him that at the very

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time that nobleman had resolved to offer him office in the event of the Tory Cabinet breaking up, and Lords Grey and Grenville forming a coalition. Lord Lansdowne's letter is an admirable specimen of well-bred and honourable peace-making, but we have room for only two or three sentences:—

'My long knowledge of Lord Grey's open, frank, and sincere character—a merit which those who deny him every other would not refuse him, precludes, in my opinion, the possibility of his having concealed from me at such a moment, and in a communication which was in all other respects as confidential as I am sure it was sincere, those sentiments respecting you, if he entertained them, which the letter to which you allude would appear to have implied. My conviction is, that it is impossible he can have written to that effect either immediately previous or immediately subsequent to the time to which I am referring; and that it is impossible that he can have done so, even under the immediate impression of the difference in opinion when it occurred, considering as I do, the expression stated as every way inapplicable to the disinterested line of conduct which has marked the progress of your public life.'

From the commencement of his career in Parliament Plunket paid attention to general politics; and he was one of the very few Irishmen who have gained the ear of the House of Commons on questions not connected with Ireland. Yet his mind was devoted to his country; and this subject affords the best criterion of his position and capacity as a statesman. For some time he disapproved of the Union; and he often dwelt on the impolicy of crossing the wishes of Ireland by mere majorities; but, as years passed, his sentiments changed, and he more than once said that Irish questions were 'treated 'generously' in the Imperial Parliament. On the great question of the Catholic Claims he had been from youth on the side of liberality and justice; and his views on it were peculiar and striking. Brought up a strict Presbyterian of Ulster, he had become a member of the Established Church without any loss of Protestant sympathies; he disliked the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, and distrusted the Irish Catholic priesthood. But he had a genuine love of religious liberty and of the Constitution with its equal rights; and he wished to remove the disabilities of sect which had been an accident of the Revolution, but contrary to its essential spirit. Hence he vindicated, as a security of Protestantism, the maintenance of the State Church in Ireland, and he desired to see the Irish priesthood in some measure under the control of the State; but he advocated the emancipation of the Catholics, as called for by constitutional right and the natural development of the principles of 1688. He enforced these views with consummate

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ability; and, if in our day they seem rather narrow, and even in his own they were less generous than those of Fox, Lord Grey, and Grattan, they were not unworthy of a great Constitutional lawyer. It should be observed too, that no politician perceived, perhaps, so clearly as Plunket, how the exclusion of the Irish Catholics from the State was a source of constant danger and weakness; none certainly dwelt so much on a topic proved by experience to have been well chosen; and none enforced it with equal ability. On the other Irish questions of the time Plunket held moderate and sober opinions. Disliking lawlessness and violent movements, he condemned equally the Orange faction and the agitation of the Catholic Association; and he was, perhaps, too jealous of the expression, in a popular form, of Irish grievances, though no one was more alive to their justice, and more willing to advocate their redress in the regular constitutional manner.

But if Plunket was not the most liberal of statesmen, he stood foremost among contemporary orators. In successive Parliaments in which Grattan, Brougham, Canning, Mackintosh, Romilly, Peel, and Russell contended for preeminence in debate, he had no superior as a public speaker. Comparing him with his greatest rivals, he wanted the imaginative force of Grattan; he was not so graceful and brilliant as Canning; he was inferior to Mackintosh in breadth and depth, and to Romilly in power over the heart; and he had no pretension to the extraordinary versatility and discursive energy of Henry Brougham. He spoke seldom, and on few subjects; his manner and gestures were somewhat provincial; and his voice though full was harsh and monotonous. Yet his oratory was of a very high kind; in perfect mastery of the topics it touched; in fulness and accuracy of information; in reasoning, not rapid and vehement but earnest, vigorous, and sustained; in the dignity and propriety of its diction, and in the occasional beauty of its illustrations, it has not been excelled in the British Senate. At this period the eloquence of Plunket had lost something of the fire of youth, but it had improved in real energy and power, and whatever he touched was handled by him with such knowledge and force of argument, his opponent's positions were so overwhelmed and his own established in such strength that he seemed to have exhausted the debate; and no speeches of the day, perhaps, possessed equal weight and authority. Whenever Plunket addressed the House it might have been said of him with Cicero—'Quanta gravitas in vultu, 'quantum pondus in verbis, quam nihil non consideratum exibat 'ex ore.' In his own line of argument no public speaker ever

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approached him; and when in grave and attractive language he showed how our polity rejected the principle of exclusion of whole classes from citizenship; when he exposed the impolicy, the futility, and the peril of disabilities on the grounds of religion; when he proved that the Catholic cause was associated with the real principles of the Revolution; and when, with noble and stately declamation, he claimed from England the acquittance of a debt of justice too long withheld from Ireland, the effect was always impressive and striking. Many years after 1829 Sir Robert Peel distinguished Plunket as the ablest advocate of the Catholic claims, and declared that his speech of 1821—perhaps the greatest of his oratorical efforts—had, in his day, been hardly equalled.

A few extracts may even yet convey a faint notion of the eloquence of Plunket. This passage on the delicate question of the extent of the right of public meeting in his speech on the affair of Peterloo, is a good specimen of his grave style, and reads like a page of Hallam:—

'The right of the People of this country to meet for the purpose of expressing their opinions on any subject connected with their individual interests or with the public welfare is beyond all question; it is a sacred privilege belonging to the most humble as fully as to the highest subject in the community; they had a full right to the expression and to the free communication of such sentiments; to interchange them with their fellow-subjects to animate and catch fire from each other. I trust that to such rights I shall never be found an enemy; but I must say that these rights, like all others to be exercised in civil society, must be subject to such modifications and restrictions as to render them compatible with other rights equally sacred. Every subject of this realm has an undoubted right to the protection of the laws, to the security of his person and property, and still more to the full assurance of such safety. And I have no hesitation in asserting that any assembly of the people, held under such circumstances as to excite in the minds of the King's loyal and peaceable subjects reasonable grounds of alarm, in this respect was an illegal assembly and liable to be dispersed as such. I think it important that it should be understood that these rights are restricted not merely to this extent—namely that they must not assemble for an illegal purpose; that they must not assemble with force and arms, and they must not use seditious language; that they must not revile the laws or public functionaries; but, beyond all this, that they must not assemble under such circumstances whether of number or otherwise as to excite well-grounded terror in the minds of their fellow-subjects as to disturb their tranquil and assured enjoyment of the protection of the laws.'

The following passage is a fine instance of his favourite argument that the relics of the Penal Code, without affording

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security to the Protestant, were a source of constant danger to the State by excluding the Catholic from its pale:—

'Our ancestors when they saw, or thought they saw, a necessity for dishonouring the Roman Catholic, adopted, as a necessary consequence the policy of impoverishing and barbarising him. When they degraded him, they felt that their only safety was to steep him in poverty and ignorance. Their policy, good or bad, was consistent, the means had a diabolical fitness for their end. Is it not a perfect corollary to this proposition, is it not the legitimate converse of this truth, that if you re-admit them to wealth and to knowledge, you must admit them to ambition and to honour? What have we done? We have trod back their steps; we have rescued the Catholics from the code which formed at once their servitude and our safety. And we fancy we can continue the exclusion from civil station which superinduced that code. Theirs was a necessity, real or fancied, but a consistent system; we have voluntarily abdicated the means of safety, and we wilfully and uselessly continue the causes of danger. The time to have paused was before we heaved from these sons of earth the mountains which the wisdom or the terrors of our ancestors had heaped upon them; but we have raised them up and placed them erect, are we prepared to hurl them down and bury them again? Where is the madman to propose it? Where is the idiot who imagines that they can remain as they are? The state of the Catholics of Ireland is, in this respect, unparalleled by anything in ancient or modern history. They are not slaves, as some of their absurd advocates call them, but free men, possessing substantially the same civil rights with their Protestant brethren, and with all the other subjects of the Empire. Do you believe that such a body, possessed of such a station, can submit to contumely or exclusion? The less valuable, in sordid computation, the privilege, the more marked the insult in refusing it, and the more honourable the anxiety for possessing it. Miserable and unworthy wretches would they be, if they ceased to aspire to it; base and dangerous hypocrites if they dissembled their wishes; formidable instruments of domestic or foreign tyranny if they did not entertain them! The liberties of England would not for half a century remain proof against the contact and contagion of four millions of opulent and powerful subjects who disregarded the honours of the State, and felt utterly uninterested in the Constitution.'

We quote from the speech of 1821, the *résumé* of the constitutional argument in favour of the Catholic claims, and a panegyric on their greatest advocates, which stirred the House of Commons to unwonted admiration and enthusiasm:—

'Backed then by the known principles of the Constitution, growing out of the nature and essence of our free monarchy; backed by the history and well-authenticated objects of the Reformation, by the public declaration of Queen Elizabeth, and of her ablest ministers; supported by the declarations of the 5th of Elizabeth expressly

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stating the oaths required were tests of loyalty and not of religion, and admitting the Roman Catholic peers on the ground of their known loyalty, independent of the oath; supported by the admitted practice of one hundred and twenty years from the first of Elizabeth to the thirtieth of Charles the Second; having the clear evidence of history to show that the innovation then made grew out of circumstances accidental and temporary; supported by the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement which provide the proper remedy for the temporary evil by a perpetual and fundamental law securing the Protestantism of the Throne; supported by the positive refusal of the House of Lords in the fourth and fifth of Queen Anne to treat it as a fundamental law; by the fact of its not being ventured to be proposed as a final regulation at the Scottish Union though the Test and Corporation Acts were so proposed, and even successfully; with the provision in the articles of that Union, which, while it defines the articles that are to be held fundamental, declares that the oath and declaration shall continue to be taken only until the British Parliament should otherwise provide; and with the express provisions of the legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland, at the Irish Union, to the same effect; supported as I am by the records of Parliament, and the undeniable facts of history, by the Acts of the last fifty years, which, if the principle was a sound one, would have been a continued outrage on the Constitution; with the authority of the illustrious men who were contemporary with that system of conciliation:—Dunning, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Windham, Sheridan, enlightened statesmen who saw their way, and engaged in this work of restoration on no light or superficial views, but on careful results, as wide and deliberate as they were liberal and noble, and who were well aware that if this course were to end in anything short of the full renovation of civil rights, it would have been, not a plan of policy, but a paroxysm of frenzy; supported by these great names, and not encountered by one which has had sufficiency to float along the stream of time; with these authorities, I ask, have I not redeemed, I had almost said triumphantly, the pledge which I threw down, when I arraigned the principle of exclusion as founded on a radical ignorance of the essence and stamina of our Constitution? Triumph, Sir, I cannot feel when I miss the ornaments of this house, when there is painfully obtruded on my mind the recollection of the losses which this cause and this country has more recently sustained; of Mr. Whitbread, the watchful and incorruptible sentinel of the Constitution; the more than dawning talents and virtues of Mr. Horner; the matured excellences of Sir Samuel Romilly, a light extinguished, which threw a steady lustre, not merely on his profession and his country, but on all the interests of mankind; of Mr. Ponsonby, the constitutional statesman, who led the ranks of opposition with disinterested honour, equally revering the constituted authorities and the people's rights; my ever-lamented friend Mr. Eliot, noble in his nature as he was liberal in his sentiments, a model of what aristocracy ought to be, a bond between the people and the Throne; Sir Arthur Pigot, the genuine representative

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of the sound, honest, constitutional English lawyer; above all, when I revert to this last* and heaviest disaster, this dark and overwhelming calamity, on which I dare not trust myself to speak, I feel anything but triumph; I feel that in passing before the images of these illustrious men there is a funereal gloom thrown on this great procession in which we are moving to offer up our bad passions upon the altar of freedom and of concord.'

Plunket became Attorney-General for Ireland for the second time in 1822, when Lord Grenville's followers joined the Government. These volumes contain a good deal of correspondence between Plunket and his chief on this subject, but we can only refer our readers to it. At this juncture the deep-rooted ills in society in Ireland had come to a crisis, and the country was filled with disorder and misery. After twenty years of a Tory régime, the Protestant oligarchy, dominant at the Castle, and unrestrained by public opinion, had made themselves completely ascendant, and held the island in wretched subjection. They dictated to the Irish Administration, monopolised the patronage of the State, filled the highest and lowest seats of justice; and through their dependents spread far and wide the influence of a grinding oppression. Their power had probably increased since the Union; and those who know how Ireland is now ruled find it difficult to understand what, fifty years ago, was their odious system of class misgovernment. On the other side, the Catholics of Ireland, trampled under the feet of their insolent masters, and exasperated by the continual refusal of the Imperial Parliament to do them justice, had become a mass of sullen discontent, more than ever alienated from sympathy with Great Britain. They had been abandoned by the Catholic aristocracy who dreaded their revolutionary projects; and under their priesthood and O'Connell, they had banded themselves into organised leagues, the objects of Protestant terror and hatred. Between the tyranny of the dominant caste and the opposition of the subject nation, the Constitution had no real existence; and Government in Ireland had been, for years, a scheme to enable a favoured garrison to keep down a reluctant people by every expedient of fear and repression. Of late, moreover, the condition of Ireland had been aggravated by economic disturbance. Rents had risen greatly, and the population had doubled under the stimulus of the war with France; and, in the reaction after the Peace, the agricultural classes had suffered severely, the pressure on the land had become terrible, and poverty had suddenly and largely increased. Already in the condition of

* The death of Grattan.

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the occupiers of the soil, and of the masses of pauperism below them, were seen the signs of that state of things which the tragedy of 1846 brought to light, and which, even at this time forms the saddest of questions for British statesmen.

The following letters, hitherto unpublished, one from the pen of an Irish ex-Chancellor, the other* from that of an Irish Attorney-General, illustrate strikingly this misgovernment of Ireland under Orange and Tory rigour. The spectacle of the late head of the law appealing simply to brute force, and of the sworn minister of justice perverting the Bench for political ends, shows what, in Ireland, at that time, was the value of constitutional freedom. Let those who feel impatient that Ireland has not yet settled down into peace, recollect that this state of things existed within the memory of our own generation, and, if we may judge from recent disclosures, has not even yet quite disappeared, so far as regards the Orange magistracy. Lord Redesdale wrote thus in 1823:—

'Twenty years of mismanagement have so increased the evil to be overcome, that I fear force alone can subdue the bad spirit which almost universally prevails. It is idle to talk of ameliorating the condition of a people not obedient to law, until they shall first have been made obedient to law. The government of a wise dictator, wise and well-judging, assisted by a great armed force ready to execute his will, is now become necessary to the peace of Ireland. A Cromwell at the head of such an army as he had, not subject to the control of a Cabinet in England. Where is to be found such a man? Where is to be found such an army?'

This was the message of Saurin to Lord Norbury:—

'Dear Lord Norbury,—I transcribe for you a very sensible part of Lord Rosse's letter to me: "As Lord Norbury goes our circuit, and as he is perfectly acquainted with the gentlemen of our country, a hint to him may be of use. He is in the habit of talking individually to them in his chamber at Philipstown, and if he were to impress upon them the consequence of the measure, viz., that however they may think otherwise, the Catholics would, in spite of them, elect Catholic members, if such were eligible; that the Catholic members would then have the nomination of the sheriffs, and, in many instances perhaps, of the judges; and that the Protestants would be put in the back-ground, as the Catholics were formerly,—I think he would bring the effect of the measure home to themselves, and satisfy them that they could scarcely submit to live in the country if it were passed." . . . If you will judiciously administer a little of this medicine to the King's County, or any other members of Parliament that may fall in your way, you will deserve well.'

* This letter, however, was made the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry.

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The state of Ireland engrossed the attention of the Lord-Lieutenant, the Marquis Wellesley, who, mainly owing to the Grenville influence, had been entrusted by the Cabinet with the inauguration of a new Irish policy. That illustrious statesman applied himself to breaking down, with no gentle hand, the edifice of Protestant ascendancy; he discouraged by every means in his power the old system of class misrule; and he exercised his great social influence in putting an end to sectarian distinctions. He urged, too, on the Cabinet the necessity of granting Catholic Emancipation at once, and of purchasing O'Connell at his own price, as the first conditions of peace in Ireland; and he sketched the outlines of many of the reforms since happily carried out in the country. In this wise policy he was seconded by Plunket, who heartily sympathised with any measures in the interests of the Catholics of Ireland that could gain for them the rights of citizenship. Lord Wellesley's relations with his Attorney-General seem indeed to have been of the most gratifying kind; he consulted him as an intimate friend, and he expressed the highest admiration of his character. The following tribute from that great man is the highest eulogy that can be passed on Plunket:—

'I am deeply sensible of all your kindness towards me; and I trust that it is superfluous to assure you of my everlasting gratitude, and true, unalterable affection. Your generous attachment is one of my great consolations in this troublesome and thankless station, and much as I rely on the matchless powers of your understanding, my main confidence rests on the purity, warmth, and kindly tendencies of your heart. Throughout whatever the space of life that may be allotted to me (which I think and hope cannot be long), I trust that I shall be comforted by your private friendship, and supported and honoured by an indissoluble union and concert of public principle and sentiment.'

Lord Wellesley's enlightened Irish policy did not, however, as is well known, receive the approval of the whole Government. The Cabinet, in Lord Liverpool's phrase, was divided into Protestants and Roman Catholics, and the one section wished to continue the old system of the domination of class, while the other advocated the claims of justice. The Lord-Lieutenant was but half supported; but his chief difficulties seem to have arisen from the disunion in the administration at the Castle, and from the machinations of the Orange faction. The Chancellor and Chief-Secretary of Ireland at least sympathised with this clique; its representatives were active and powerful; and Lord Wellesley and the Attorney-General were not only crossed in their liberal course, but were beset by continual

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intrigues, and exposed to every kind of misrepresentation. How keenly Lord Wellesley felt the want of thorough support from the whole Cabinet, and the calumnies of his Orange enemies, may be estimated from this letter to Plunket, in strange contrast with the decorous gravity and moderation of his official communications:—

'I am left without support or countenance to submit to the kicks of the ass and the dirt of the monkey. The suppression of my despatch on this great question is an ignominy, an insult not to be endured. It is a sequel of the same plan of extinction, which on the questions of the Statue, the Riot, the Orange, and Ribbon confederacies, by concealing my opinions, reduced me to the condition of a villain and a slave on a mock throne, and rendered me an object of ridicule and contempt to a country which would have hailed me with respect and gratitude, if I had not been crushed by pretended candour at Whitehall. . . . . I am, indeed, most unhappy here — degraded, vilified; an object of scorn and detestation, without protection, or even care; anxious to leave the country; able to save it, so far as relates to my own powers; frustrated, baffled, and betrayed by all my own agents; encompassed by traitors even at my own table; the whole machinery of my own government working to my destruction.'

As the faction found that, although able to irritate and interfere with Lord Wellesley, they had not sufficient power to displace him, their animosity increased in violence. The Lord-Lieutenant was denounced by Protestant ascendancy, through its various grades from prelate and noble, to the petty squireens and yeomen of Ulster who drank the pious and immortal memory, and was characterised as an oppressor and an apostate. At length an explosion of these sentiments took place in the theatre in Dublin; and a party of Orangemen, after indulging in the vociferations familiar to the class, threw a bottle at the Lord-Lieutenant's box, which narrowly missed the head of Lord Wellesley. A prosecution was commenced for this outrage; and it is significant of the state of feeling at this time, that Plunket proceeded by information, knowing well that the Grand Jury of Dublin, in consequence of their Orange sympathies, would, though selected from the upper class, throw out an ordinary Bill of Indictment. Plunket's speech at the trial is well reported, and is a remarkable forensic effort. The passage relating to William III., whose character, as a lover of liberty, he wished to place in its true light before the bigoted jury he was addressing, is well known as a piece of eloquence, and is exceedingly just and discriminating. The following brief description of the outrage

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will enable our readers to appreciate the temper and spirit of Irish Orangeism:—

'Previously to the play handbills were struck off, containing expressions insulting to the Lord-Lieutenant, such as "Down with the Popish government," and other expressions insignificant and contemptible, except as evincing deliberation and concert. These handbills were brought to the theatre, and disposed of by the members of the conspiracy; several were thrown by McCulloch from the lattices on the Lord-Lieutenant's box, and others from various parts of the theatre. It will be found that from the opening of the theatre the general system of insulting and offensive expressions was commenced; groans were raised for "the Popish Lord-Lieutenant," and cries of "No Popish government." There were also groans for the House of Wellesley. They did not confine themselves to the noble lord at the head of the Government, they extended to the Duke of Wellington and the other branches of his illustrious family. Not satisfied with that, these advocates of religion gave "a clap for the Calf's Head," an allusion to a monstrous outrage committed in or near Ardee, by some ruffians who profaned a Roman Catholic place of worship by placing such a thing upon the altar. They applauded also Sheriff Thorpe, with the Calf's Head. There was a groan for "the bloody Popish Lord-Lieutenant." I cannot remember all the terms of outrage which were used. Some persons not connected with the gang cried out "Shame, shame;" of these some were severely beaten, and one man had a narrow escape by getting from the upper into the middle gallery, and several were alarmed and left the house. When the Lord-Lieutenant came in there was a general expression of approbation from the audience, which for some time bore down the hisses of the conspirators. But when an opportunity arose a violent hissing and groaning were set up. These things went on until "God save the King" was played, at that time the bottle was thrown.'

The Orange party in Ireland were indignant at Plunket's conduct on this occasion. They made the cause of the rioters their own; and complained with hypocrisy and effrontery that the Attorney-General had violated the Constitution, in prosecuting by the mode of information. Their principal instigator was Saurin — the rival and predecessor of Plunket, and the author of the letter we have quoted—who for years had been preeminent in the junta that, under successive Tory Governments, had misruled Ireland through a sectarian oligarchy. A Parliamentary inquiry took place, and the triumph of Plunket was complete; for he proved not only that a Dublin Grand Jury would probably have ignored a Bill of Indictment, but that Saurin had often adopted the procedure he now had the audacity to condemn.

Ere long, however, the attention of Plunket was directed to

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something very different from the calumnies of a discredited faction. In 1824 the Catholic Association sprang into being, and had soon enclosed three provinces of Ireland in its formidable and extraordinary organisation. Formed by the alliance of a great demagogue with the priesthood of an oppressed people, it attracted the masses into its sphere, and all ranks and orders of Catholic Ireland were brought gradually within its influence. Five-sixths of the nation were banded together in a confederacy of the closest kind, which had its local directors everywhere, and its centre of government in the capital; and this mighty league obeyed implicitly the orders of O'Connell and his satellites. The object of the Association was to compel the Legislature to concede the long-neglected Catholic claims, and for this a machinery was put in force unknown hitherto in our constitutional history. A Convention openly sat in Dublin and sent its proclamations abroad; agitation was reduced to a system by meetings held at selected places; funds were collected as regularly as taxes, and were paid by the poorest with enthusiasm; and the ordinary administration of justice was supplanted by improvised tribunals. At the same time, the people, withdrawn by these means from the control of the State, were marshalled as their leaders thought fit; all acts of violence and crime were forbidden, and anything like sedition repressed; and Catholic Ireland, with her strength collected, and baffling resistance in its repose, demanded as if with one voice that justice should be no longer delayed.

It was natural that this portentous phenomenon should irritate and alarm the Government. A Bill was brought in to put down the Catholic Association and its leaders, and Plunket was charged as Attorney-General with conducting it through the House of Commons. His speech is exceedingly ill reported; but enough remains to show that, however he sympathised with the Catholic cause, he feared and disliked the formidable power arrayed by its champions against the State. The Bill passed, but completely failed, O'Connell having eluded its provisions; and the Catholic Association, like a gigantic Proteus, appeared again in a new shape, as menacing and dictatorial as ever. In a speech delivered some time afterwards when a policy of justice had conjured the phantom, Plunket thus described the Catholic Association:—

'There exists at this moment, or did exist when this measure of grace and justice was announced—for it fled like a troubled spirit at the dawn of civilisation—but there exists sleeping or waking a power beyond the State; not a transient tumultuary movement, not a casual rising against the peace, but a permanent confederation,

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resting on the sympathies of the great body of the people, indissolubly combined for the attainment of just objects which they never can abandon, sucking into its vortex everything that is involved in the common grievance, or which chooses to attach to it by interest or passion, bidding for all the rank and property and talents and enthusiasm and virtue, and for all the folly, and sedition, and madness scattered through the great mass of society; which shall predominate according to the character of its leaders; holding all the parts of society in solution, uncertain what may be raised to the top or what to the bottom; exciting the occupiers of the soil, putting aside the proprietors, arming itself with all the energies of religion, or defying its wholesome influences as best may suit the exigencies of the hour. These are the terrible ingredients of that unnatural power which your exclusive system has engendered.'

The tardy and ungracious concession of the Catholic claims must be ascribed immediately to this agitation, though, owing to the efforts of patriotic statesmen, justice could not have been delayed very long. Yet it is not to be denied that the question seemed to have lost ground after 1824; at the general election of 1826 there was a good deal of the 'No-Popery' cry; and most politicians in England and Ireland were persuaded that the Catholic Association was doing irremediable mischief to the cause. These volumes contain a long correspondence between Canning and Plunket on this subject. The following, written by Canning in 1825, show how little he anticipated the result:—

'The late most unfortunate and ill-advised conduct of the Roman Catholic leaders in Ireland, and the mischievous co-operation with their intemperance, of the fury and violence of the Roman Catholic ultras, lay as well as ecclesiastical abroad, are fast producing their natural fruits, in a most decided alienation of the English public mind from any favourable or even patient consideration of the Catholic Question. I was considered last year as a gloomy estimator of the general feeling of England upon that question. I believe I was then nearer right than, I am sure, I wished to be. But I really do not think that the most sanguine friend of the question can *now* entertain a doubt that the sentiment which I then imagined to exist, though dormant, is at last roused into an activity, which would make the agitation of the question in Parliament this next session *useless for any other purpose than that of excluding its supporters from the next House of Commons.*'

In 1827, when Canning became Prime Minister, Plunket was raised to the peerage and nominated to the office of Master of the Rolls in England. Owing, however, to the jealousy of the English Bar at what it thought an alien's intrusion, the appointment was reluctantly cancelled; and Plunket was transferred to the presidency of the Court of

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Common Pleas in Ireland. He sat there for a short time only; and though he was a capable chief, his judgments are not particularly able, except in one remarkable cause, in which, to secure substantial justice, he argued, with extraordinary force, on the side of a palpable legal paradox. During this period he witnessed the triumph of the great cause he had so long advocated. His last speeches on the Catholic Question in the House of Lords are among his best. Thenceforward his oratory seemed to decline; in truth he had mastered this subject thoroughly, and he was less familiar with any other; and though he spoke with effect on Reform, he was far inferior to Brougham or Lyndhurst. Lord Plunket was chosen to be Chancellor of Ireland, when the Grey Administration came into power; and, except during the brief interlude of the first government of Sir Robert Peel, he held the Irish seals until 1841. During these years his figure recedes altogether from the political stage: he seldom attended the House of Lords; and his few speeches were of little merit. It is not necessary to say much of his capacity as a Chief Judge in Equity. Lord Plunket was always less a great lawyer than a reasoner on law, and a powerful advocate; and he was rather too old when raised to the Bench, and too long removed from professional practice. As a Chancellor he did not increase his reputation; he was *par negotiis neque supra;* and though it is true that most of his judgments were upheld on appeal to the House of Lords, and even that in one or two cases his views were sustained against those of Lord St. Leonards, this is an unsafe criterion of judicial excellence He was very inferior to that great master or to his contemporary Lord Cottenham, in knowledge of equity and real property law; and he displayed little of the extraordinary power of Lord Brougham in penetrating and applying the principles of jurisprudence.

In 1841 Lord Plunket reluctantly retired from office; and notwithstanding all that has been said, he would have done well to have resigned before. His fine intellect had not decayed; but he had become rather morose and inactive; and his years had already far exceeded the term allotted to man by the Psalmist. He fixed his residence at Old Connaught—a country-seat near the edge of the hills that slope down to the sea at Bray—and there, surrounded by his family and friends, he lived separated from all public affairs. For some time he retained his faculties; he saw occasionally a good deal of company; and we remember distinctly in 1843 with what caustic wit and happy expression he commented on the men of his day when pointing out to an evening party the remarkable

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merits of H. B. He took also a great deal of interest in the monster meetings of that period, and in the state prosecutions that followed; and it is said that he would frequently drive to the range over the valley of Dublin and thence gaze on the dome of the Four Courts, the arena of his professional glories. By degrees his mind seemed to lose its powers, till all that remained of the great orator was second childishness and mere oblivion. Yet, as often has happened in similar cases, the old man, though almost dead to the present, would seem to live again in the past, and babble over passages of the classical lore that had formed his taste and inspired his eloquence. Lord Plunket died in 1854; and though he had long been removed from the scene, the Bar of Ireland unanimously erected a monument to his illustrious memory. In the hall of the Four Courts, not far from the tribunal where he first won distinction, and opposite to the effigy of Sir Michael O'Loghlen—the leader of several eminent Catholics who have filled with honour the Bench of justice opened to them by a memorable effort—the statue of Plunket is fitly placed, a just tribute to departed greatness; a memento to the forensic aspirant of what may be achieved in his noble profession by genius, prudence, and high character.

In Lord Plunket the professional man overshadowed and, as it were, dwarfed the statesman; and he never had time to devote his attention exclusively to the science of politics. Yet he had distinct political views, taken probably from the writings of Burke, and he maintained them with remarkable consistency. A deep reverence for the British Constitution, a desire to see it applied to Ireland freed from the restrictions of past intolerance, and a detestation of popular license were the guiding principles of his public conduct. He vindicated the settlement of 1782, and opposed the Union on constitutional grounds; he rested the Catholic claims on arguments drawn from the facts of the Constitution; and he denounced Jacobinism with earnest conviction. He was naturally thus a follower of Lord Grenville; and, rightly or wrongly, he trod in the path of that high-minded and upright statesman. If his political faith was too jealous of the forces that are the springs of progress, it was moderate, and in some particulars liberal; it was admirably fitted to a Conservative age advancing towards an era of freedom. As a judge and exponent of our laws, Lord Plunket was not in the first rank; in these respects he was surpassed by contemporaries in his own country; and he was inferior to several of the ornaments of the English Bar and Bench in his day. His eloquence is his true title to fame, and it was of a very high order. He was in every sense a

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consummate advocate, intrepid, powerful, logical, convincing, hardly equalled in the art of subduing a single judge by the force of argument. His oratory in Parliament was similar in kind; if it did not attain the extreme perfection of rapid argument inspired with passion, and was wanting in pathos and emotional fervour, it was cogent, exhaustive, and telling in its effects, and it abounded in striking declamation enlivened by occasional flashes of sarcasm and wit. Mr. Plunket has hardly done justice to this last-mentioned quality of his grandfather, and in conclusion we beg to offer him an anecdote not recorded in his book. An aide-de-camp of Lord Wellesley's had recently published his travels in the East under the title of 'A Personal Narrative of a Journey from Bagdad, &c.' 'What does he mean,' said the Lord Lieutenant, 'by a *personal* 'narrative?' 'He means, my Lord,' said Plunket, 'the same 'that we lawyers mean when we say that *personal* is the 'reverse of *real*.'

ART. VII.—1. *Commercial Reports received at the Foreign Office from Her Majesty's Consuls in* 1867.—*Report by Mr. Consul Crawford upon the Port Wine Trade of Portugal.* February, 1867.

2. *The Wine Trade Review*, 1866-67. London.

3. *Wine, the Vine, and the Cellar.* By T. G. SHAW. London: 1863.

4. *Reports from the Select Committee on Import Duties on Wines, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, &c.* 1852.

5. *Report on the Cheap Wines, &c.* By ROBERT DRUITT, M.D., &c. London: 1865.

THOMAS CAMPBELL the poet was wont to relate, that in the days of his grandfather, the inhabitants of this northern corner of Britain, not yet reduced to degeneracy and corn-spirits by wine duties and the Union, 'fenced in garden, field, 'and paddock with claret staves.' The comparative use or disuse of wine in countries which do not produce it, is one of the most curious and striking examples of the power exercised by fiscal legislation over the habits of society. One of the great products of nature and necessaries of life may either be supplied in abundance to every part of the world by free trade, or restricted by taxation and bad laws until it comes to be

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regarded as a luxury and doled out like a medicine. For a century and a half wine has ceased to fill its proper place in England; it is even now almost unknown to the mass of the people; the average annual consumption per head had sunk to a bottle and a half; and thus the richest nation on the globe had contrived by self-imposed laws to deprive itself of the noblest and most healthful beverage that exists. Nay worse; the pernicious effect of these laws has been, that the article consumed and imported as wine, ceased to be wine at all, and became something else; and that the people of England when they spoke of wine, applied the term to liquors in which the honest juice of the grape had but a small part. Under these duties England became the smallest wine-consumer in the world; her wine was dear, her wine was bad, and above all sophisticated, until it had lost all the best original qualities of its nature.

Such was the state of the wine trade, and of our cellars, when the negotiation of the Commercial Treaty with France, so ably conducted by Mr. Cobden, brought the question to a prompt solution. It had previously been thoroughly ventilated by the Select Committee on the Wine Duties of 1852; and in order to carry into effect the provisions of the French Treaty, Mr. Gladstone recommended Parliament to reduce and re-adjust the duties on wines and foreign spirits. His first proposition, on the 10th of February, 1860, was to reduce the duty on brandy from 15*s.* per gallon to 8*s.* 2*d.*, the colonial duty. The duty on all wines in bottle of whatever strength, and on all wines having 26° and upwards of proof spirit, was to be 2*s.* per gallon; on wine having 15° and under 26° of proof, 1*s.* 6*d.* per gallon; and on wine less than 15°, 1*s.* per gallon. The maximum of 40° proof, beyond which no liquid was to be admissible as wine, remained unaltered. It was soon found, however, that this graduated scale of duties was extremely unpractical and inconvenient. A further change was made in July, 1860, when the duty on brandy was raised to 10*s.* 5*d.* per gallon: and in 1862 the wine duties were fixed at 1*s.* per gallon on all wines below 26° of strength; 2*s.* 6*d.* on wines from 26° to 42° and on all wines in bottle; from 42° to 45°, 3*d.* per gallon extra, and above 45° the duty on mixed spirits is charged. In 1866 the distinction on wines imported in bottle was abrogated. This was the first attempt to give what are termed the 'light wines' a chance in the British market; before this bold stroke of the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, all but the highest-priced wines of France and Germany were practically excluded from our market by the fiscal barrier of a 5*s.* 9*d.* duty per gallon, which in many cases

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was several times the value of the wine itself. Consequently the moderately-priced natural wines of Europe never reached the tables of our middle classes, and it was only when they took their holiday trip abroad that they became practically aware of the fact that in many parts of the Continent wine was as cheap as beer, nay sometimes as cheap or cheaper than water. It certainly was a shock to their preconceived notions that what they had been accustomed to look upon as a luxury, other nations at their very doors treated as a necessary of life. It was predicted by the old-fashioned wine merchants, that the liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer's policy would not succeed, that the people of this country would not drink the poor sour trash that satisfied our friends across the water; if they took wine they would have wine such as the full-bodied vintages to which they had been accustomed: in short, any stone that was at hand was cast at the policy of the statesman who, following in the steps of his great leader, completed the gift of cheap bread with cheap wine.

Like many other predictions inspired by interested motives, these have already, within six years of the time when they were made, totally and signally failed. Taking the wines of France as the typical natural light wines of Europe, the start they have taken since the inauguration of the new policy is perfectly astonishing. In the year 1859, under the old duty of 5*s.* 9*d.* per gallon, we imported the very moderate quantity of 695,913 gallons, but last year the quantity had increased to 3,365,802 gallons, showing an augmentation in the seven years of 383 per cent. on French wines alone. If the increase should go on at anything like the same rate, the revenue, instead of suffering a loss, will very speedily more than recover itself; indeed we anticipate that when the other natural vintages of Europe become better known, and find their way here, the new low wine duties, like the penny post reform, will yield an increasing return to the Exchequer.

By the light of this successful experiment, the reader may see the meaning of the abundance of claret staves that a century and a half ago formed so useful an item in Scottish agriculture. Two hundred years ago, claret was the wine of the country—as indeed it has been of other countries in northern latitudes up to the present time—and probably would have remained so, were it not for the fiscal burthens placed upon it by the Government towards the latter end of the seventeenth century. In the year 1669, when the duty on all wines was only 4*d.* per gallon, 20,000 tuns of French, and 25,000 of Rhenish, Portuguese, and Spanish wines, were imported into

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this country, making a total of 45,000 pipes, when the population was only five millions. In those days all classes but the very lowest were familiar with the cup of pure wine, which we may truly say 'cheers but not inebriates,' and it flowed at the taverns just as bitter beer or gin does now; it was the daily drink of all conditions of men of even moderate means; at the meal it was taken as a beverage, and not merely as a bonnebouche at dessert, or for the purposes of intoxication, as in the dull Hanoverian or Georgian era.

In 1678 the duty was doubled, and successive additions were made until the year 1697, when the first step was taken towards the imposition of a differential duty on French wines in favour of those of Portugal: the Methuen treaty of 1703 gave the final blow to the light wines of France, much to the disgust of the wits of the period, who poured all the vials of their wrath upon the strong sweet port they were forced by British statesmen to drink instead of the light exhilarating claret. We can only realise to ourselves the absurdity of this forced change of beverage by fancying a modern Chancellor of the Exchequer putting a duty on beef and mutton for the encouragement and protection of pork.

Claret was, however, drunk in Scotland to a much later date; in fact, the restriction which obtained in England against it by reason of the differential duty did not affect this country until after the Union; indeed, long subsequently to that period the smuggling of French wines into the northern part of the kingdom was carried on in the freest manner, every portion of the community winking at the running of cargoes into the numerous creeks and bays which indent the Scottish coast. Home's well-known epigram has been quoted too often to be repeated here; it expressed a national sentiment which has not yet died out; and in justice to the great wine merchants of Edinburgh and Leith, it must be added that they have never been wanting in a good supply of claret, superior to any which was drunk in other parts of the island.

The first port wine introduced into this country did not come from the Alto Douro district at all. It was not sweet and strong as we know it, but it had a clarety-burgundy character, very much like some of the pure vintages drunk by the Portuguese at the present day. The fiery potations now consumed under that magic name are the result of a long process of manipulation, of 'fortifying,' of 'colouring,' and 'sweetening,'—of degrading, in short, good wine to a supposed standard demanded by the British taste, but which has at length resulted in its almost total banishment from refined tables, and

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its descent to a ruder class of consumers, who have caught up the tastes of the upper ten thousand just where they have left them off. The middle classes, or rather the lower portion of them, have followed suit, and port and sherry have for a long time been the only wines they are practically acquainted with. Both of these wines are adulterated to an extent few people would believe. Omnibus-passengers a year or two ago, were startled by seeing advertisements on the roof touching 'the 'pure standard of natural sherry.' Why, said every man to himself, is not all sherry natural? How can the juice of the grape be anything but natural! The wine merchant who invented that advertisement was the greatest enemy to the 'trade' it ever had, for it set people thinking. Let us see what this natural wine really is. Pure and uncontaminated, from the grape, it never makes in Spain more than 28 per cent. of spirit, the average according to Mr. Shaw being but 22 per cent., consequently the lowest cannot make more than 16 per cent.; and as this wine would be selected to make common sherry, from its poverty it would require at least 20 per cent. of spirit to bring it up to the regulation strength. In the case of port wine the addition of spirit is done with a double purpose. As the Englishman is supposed to like a strong sweet wine, the only possible means of obtaining those two antagonistic qualities is to stop the fermentation of the must by the addition of spirit before all the sugar it contains is changed into alcohol: by this means a sufficient quantity of saccharine matter is retained, to suit our supposed taste. This artificial wine so dosed with spirit is never touched by the Portuguese, nor, indeed, by any nation of Europe excepting ourselves. The true growth of the Alto Douro district would come in under the 1*s.* a gallon duty as containing less than twenty-six degrees of spirit, but it would not be recognised as that wine Englishmen have been accustomed to receive from Portugal for this last century and a half. Hence the outcry of the wine merchants for the admission of all wines containing as much as 42 per cent. of alcohol at a uniform 1*s.* duty. The reason which weighed with the late Chancellor of the Exchequer for not listening to this demand seems to us cogent enough. A liquid that contains almost as much spirit as the 'Cream of the Valley' or the Old Tom one buys over the publican's bar cannot in any strictness be called wine simple and pure. It may or may not be true, as Mr. Oswald Crawford, our Consul at Lisbon, states in his annual Report to the Government, that it would not pay to re-distil this spirit from port wine on its arrival in

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this country. The distillation of spirit from wine mixed with spirits would be an illicit process, which could not be carried on without great risk of detection by the Excise; and we have before us calculations to prove that the operation could not be profitable or compete in price with cheap German spirits, which can be manufactured for 1*s.* 6*d.* per gallon. But Mr. Shaw says in a letter to the 'Times' of January 17, 1865, 'I 'see in the "Moniteur Vinicole" of the 24th inst. the descrip- 'tion of a wine of the Herault, dark and strong containing '24·4 of alcohol, costing 4*s.* the hectolitre, or 8*s.* 4*d.* the hogs- 'head, exclusive of the cask.' Now this wine fortified up to 42 per cent. of proof spirit could be landed and sold here at 4*l.* 12*s.*, or 4*s.* per dozen duty paid. In other words, a liquid not much inferior in strength to the spirituous compounds of the public-houses could be sold at 4*d.* per bottle. The sugar, colouring, and seasonings, &c., which would be required to give a bite to such liquor, would be so trifling in value that they have not been taken into account. Here, then, we have a rousing cordial which would only require some taking name to make it compete in flavour and vastly undersell in price many of the decoctions now sold under fancy names at spirit vaults. Hence, it will be seen, these wines, or, as they may be more justly called, mixed spirits, would materially interfere with the excise duties, by entirely turning the flank of the 10*s.* 5*d.* duty at present charged on proof spirit. It may be denied that any such drams, to call them by their right name, would find favour with the spirit-drinking public, but where there is once a craving for alcohol, the physician knows well that the palate is not very particular. A singular instance of the fact that the presence of spirit in any liquid is sufficient to teach people how to extract it for illegal purposes, has been afforded by the discovery on the part of the Inland Revenue, that wood naphtha mixed with spirits of wine, and known as mythylated spirit, which is permitted by the Excise to be used in the arts and manufactures, is disguised with sugar, ginger, fenugreek, and sold under the name of 'Indian 'Brandee,' 'Pure real Islay Mountain,' and, better still, by the name of 'the Teetotaller's Night Cap.' So that the Excise are by no means so certain as Mr. Crawford seems to be, that wine fortified up to 42 per cent., if admitted at the 1*s.* a gallon duty, would not make a serious encroachment upon the revenue. It is, we believe, this consideration which has interrupted the negotiation of the Portuguese Commercial Treaty. There is no objection on our part to admit any *wine* at the uniform 1*s.* duty; but wine charged with a large in-

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fusion of corn or potato spirit cannot come under that denomination. The distinction between the two commodities is perfectly clear: wine is the product of vinous fermentation; spirits are the product of distillation. When spirits are mixed with wine beyond the proportion represented by the present line of 26°, which is alleged in some cases to be necessary, it may fairly be regarded as a distinct article, and pay a higher duty accordingly. The English wine merchants affirm that it is absolutely necessary to dose their wines with spirits. In plain terms, we do not believe them; for how comes it to pass that this abominable practice is notoriously peculiar to wines prepared for the English market?

Our quarrel with the dosing of wine with spirit has a much deeper reason than the loss of revenue: it is an intolerable adulteration, and is the mother of innumerable sophistications in other wines, which corrupt our taste and render us the laughing-stock of Europe. Mr. Crawford, when he defends the mixing of large quantities of spirit with port wine, is certainly running counter to the ideas of all intelligent writers upon the wine question, including the late Baron Forrester, whom he goes out of his way to disparage now he is dead. Consul Johnson, writing from Oporto to Lord Palmerston respecting port-wine adulterations in the year 1850, said: 'That the 'wines of the Upper Douro, if well fermented, need more 'than a very small quantity of additional spirit, is very doubtful. 'Certainly good wines sent from Oporto to Brazil keep, not-'withstanding the length of the voyage and the heat to which 'they are exposed, without half so much additional brandy 'as those qualified for exportation to England contain;' and he significantly adds, 'it is probable that a great part even 'of this smaller quantity is unnecessary.' The most amusing feature of this alcoholic adulteration arises from the fact, that we provide the weapon with which we are assailed. Mr. Oswald Crawford talks about the brandy that it is necessary to add, to protect the wine, but the Portuguese prefer to use the far cheaper potato spirit, of which we sent them, in the year 1865, 1,465,193 gallons. If 20 per cent. of this cheap neutral spirit is returned to us as port wine, at port-wine charges, we see the price we pay for our love of 'fortifying' and spoiling what is naturally a fine and exhilarating wine. We are told that even our spirit is too good and too dear for our Peninsular friends, and that they are now declining our tolerably pure spirit for the coarse and imperfectly distilled Prussian beetroot spirit, which can never mix properly with any wine, whatever time may be allowed for the process.

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We really do not know what value the Government places upon these Consular Reports. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer frames his Budget upon them he must often be sorely puzzled by the diverse statements he receives upon mere matters of fact. For instance, Mr. Crawford, writing in January 1867, says:—

'The other statement of Mr. Forrester, that port wine was adulterated with treacle, elderberries, and jeropega was contradicted by every gentleman in the trade at the time he brought the charge—that is, in 1844. It may or may not have been well founded at the time; but it certainly is not the case now. Mr. Forrester says that elderberries gave a taste and smell to the wine quite unmistakeable, and a dark purple colour, which is very different from the rosy colour of true port wine. This I understand to be perfectly true; and as the demand for very high colour, as I have said, no longer exists, the statement made to me that only about 1 per cent. of the port wine now made is stained with elderberry, and that wine of a very inferior quality, may be accepted as truthful.'

But Mr. Lytton, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, at Lisbon, writing at the same date, says respecting this same elderberry adulteration:—

'All port wine hitherto exported for the English market is largely mixed with brandy, and is composed *almost quite as much of elderberries as of grapes*. . . . This is the composition of all the port wine hitherto drunk in England. No pure wine, no wine not thus specially adulterated for the English taste, was allowed by the Government committee of tasters to pass the bar of the Douro for export to England before the year 1865.'

Now as no connoisseur in port who prides himself on laying down his wine ten years or so before he drinks it can have younger wine than this in his cellar, this statement from her Majesty's Secretary of Legation is calculated to make him uncomfortable. We are inclined to think ourselves that the Legation has made an over-statement, for if 'famous old port,' say of Sandeman's shipping of the year 1834, is only half elderberries, what a price is paid for a made wine that no one would touch at home; and what a farce it is to entomb in cobwebs magnums of this liquor, with the idea that it is precious beyond price. When cellars of this old wine are brought to the hammer and fetch 190*s*. a dozen we can understand that it pays well to plant hedges of elderberry trees in the wine districts. Mr. Crawford tells us that Portugal exports dried elderberries to Spain and France in large quantities, especially to the former country. We see no reason to doubt it. The trick of adulteration, when it proves

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so profitable, is very easily caught by other nations. It is at least consolatory to know that Portugal, clearly seeing that her absurd restrictions on the export of wine, originally instituted to enhance the price, like the old coal vend in England, are ruining the Oporto trade, has at last thrown the trade entirely open, hoping to recover by free-trade some of the advantages she once enjoyed in the English market. Whatever treaty our Government may enter into with that of Portugal, however, there can be little doubt that port wine will never again enjoy any advantage over the vintages of other countries.

Before we part with port wine we must have one word to say with respect to the absurd price demanded for this wine at hotels. It is never charged in the bill at less than six shillings a bottle; and what the nature of hotel port wine is we all know. A writer in the 'Pall Mall Gazette' tells the following anecdote:—

'A friend of mine who was staying for some time in Reading, where the Militia were exercising, had occasion to go into a backyard of one of the hotels, where he saw an old crone stirring a black mixture in a huge caldron, which looked like a compound of blacking, blackberries, and sloes, plucked from the neighbouring hedges. "What are you brewing there, my good woman?" said my friend. The old witch, stirring up the compound with a thick stick, replied naively enough, "Port wine for the Berkshire Militia."'

The truth is that the two classes of traders who should be most interested in increasing the consumption of wine, hotel keepers and wine merchants, are precisely those who labour most effectually to restrict it by ridiculous prices and impure wines. We know of cases in which wine costing sixpence a bottle at Bordeaux, and exported from thence at that price, has been sold for six shillings in an English country inn!

Sherry, like port, as at present drunk in England, is a highly manufactured article. Mr. Shaw, who now advocates the admission of this highly alcoholised wine at the low rate of duty, does not give it a very high character in his book. For instance, he says:—

'One can no more drink in Spain the sherry usually consumed in England, than they can in Oporto the usual English port. About six gallons of spirit are put into a butt of sherry after fermentation, and generally about four gallons more previous to its being supplied. It is almost quite pale at first. The very dark-brown is made at St. Lucar in the following manner:—Twenty or thirty gallons of must (unfermented juice) are put into an earthen vessel, and heated until not more than a fifth part remains, when it looks and tastes like treacle. This is turned into a cask containing more must which

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causes it to ferment, and the result is a very full luscious wine, which, if originally good, becomes after many years invaluable for giving softness, richness, and colour to others. Large quantities of this product, when new, are used to colour and to cover the harsh thinness of poor qualities. It is for this reason that it is called "the Doctor," and many a butt that comes to England to be sold as "Curious old Brown," at an immense price, has to thank the old boiled mosto stocks for its character.'

The truth is, that with the exception of the Amontillado, Montilla, and Manzanilla wines, no pure sherry comes to this country. These wines, as a rule, are imported pretty pure. What gives the peculiar flavour to Amontillado is a mystery that has not yet been solved. We have been told by more than one wine merchant, that samples of wine that have been left uncorked have taken on an Amontillado flavour in the most unaccountable manner. In Spain it appears to be a caprice—if we may use so unscientific a term—one cask out of a hundred, with no apparent cause, ripening into the highly-valued flavour. In the Report on the wine duties in 1852, Dr. J. Gorman, who had been long resident in the wine districts of Spain, gave some very valuable evidence touching the making up of sherries for the English market. He boldly stated that 'no natural sherry came to this country;' and on the chairman repeating in astonishment, 'None at all?' he replied:—

'(5718) None whatever, it rarely happens; no wine house will send it you; your demand is for wine to suit an artificial taste, and you send out your orders, that is the wine merchants in England; and they confine their exports there to certain marks, numbers, classes, and qualities of wine, and the article you get is a mixed article.' '(5719) You gave it as your opinion that we get none of the highest-priced sherries? No natural wine; if they gave you the natural produce of Xeres, it would not suit you, in all probability you would say it was an inferior wine; therefore your taste is artificial.'

Again on being asked—

'(5726) What is the difference between the strength of the genuine wine and the strength of the artificial wine drunk in this country? If the fermentation be carefully conducted you will have alcohol in proportion to the quantity of saccharine matter contained in the grapes or mosto. The innate or natural alcohol of the wine rarely exceeds 15 per cent. The quantity of natural alcohol which all good sherry wines contain is about 12 per cent. The strength of the mixed wine will depend upon the quantity of the brandy which the exporter may deem necessary to add in addition to its innate strength.' '(5727) Certain adventitious alcohol is put in to prepare

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it for the market. There should be none whatever; that is an adulteration.'

Now most of the low-priced sherry that comes into our market is fortified up to 42 per cent. of spirit, or 25 per cent. more than is necessary to sustain wine that has been thoroughly fermented. It is absurd to say that properly fermented wine will neither keep nor travel. The same pretence of not keeping is urged in favour of adulterating other wines besides those of the Peninsula. In paragraph 524 of the Report we have been quoting, we find the following singular corroboration of Dr. Gorman's statement in the evidence of Mr. H. Lankester:—

'Are you aware of the existence of an impression in the trade that there is something in the air of the Thames fatal to the quality of the wines (Greek and Italian), not now imported into our ports and which prevent their importation? I am aware it is so stated that they are not suitable for the use of this country, *but those wines will go round the world, and do go round Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope, and get consumed in Java and other places, but they do not stand coming up the Thames, it is said.*'

We may add, after this decisive evidence, that Greek wines have at length found their way up the river very well, and are found to be in excellent condition afterwards. The Italian Government are putting the matter to the test with their own wines, having ordered that samples of all vintages shall be placed on board Government ships, and consigned to their consuls abroad, who will report to the Home authorities the condition in which they arrive.

But to return to the system of falsifying wines, Why, we ask, should adulteration by spirit be allowed at all? Is it less a falsification than mixing chicory with coffee, a fraud we strictly prohibit? If the evil stopped with the two forms of wine Englishmen have hitherto considered to be the only two worthy of their notice in the wide world, it would be bad enough, but there is the still greater evil behind, that it makes these manufactured wines the standard by which we judge all others. If they are not 'hot, sweet, and strong,' like these standards, they are nothing. There is, as we heard a Kentish baronet say the other day, with a great deal of truth, '*nothing in them.*' *Vin ordinaire* of any country is vulgarly termed 'belly-aching stuff,' sour trash that will not suit an Englishman. Now, as Dr. Druitt has very truly said, in his Report upon cheap wines—

'that wine, like all drinks used by healthy-grown men, is slightly

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sour. . . . A certain amount of sourness belongs to all wines, and we have it naked in the well-fermented wines of France and Germany (claret, burgundy, hock, &c.).'

This question of acidity, or rather we would call it this sub-acid smack, is not in the least understood by the ordinary English wine drinker; but all chemists and physicians know well that sweetness is but too often the mask which is artificially put on a favourite wine, to hide its natural and wholesome acidity.* Dr. Lankester tells us in his lectures on food that—

'Acidity of the stomach more frequently arises from the decomposition of sugar than anything else; and wines which have sugar enough to cover their acidity have been taken to prevent this state of stomach, whilst acid wines which contain no sugar have been avoided. Neither tartaric, acetic, nor any other acid has a tendency to favour the development of more acid in the system. . . . Sugar hides the flavour of acids; so that a sweet wine may really contain much more acid than an acid wine. It is well known that gout comes on our port-wine drinkers. Port wine contains more sugar than any of the wines ordinarily drunk in England. Sugar alone will not produce this disease, but sugar with alcohol, as in ports and sherries, will produce it. Sugar is found in the same state in beer. Gout is found amongst port, sherry, and beer drinkers, whilst it is almost unknown amongst spirit, claret, and hock drinkers.'

But this natural sub-acid taste our wine merchants will not permit us to acquire. The mixings that take place in the docks and in wine-merchants' cellars are so much a matter of course that the trade think nothing of it, but if their own bakers or grocers were discovered adulterating in the same way, they would call them by very hard names indeed. Mr. Cyrus Redding, who has written a very good book upon wine, gives us an insight into the way very common ports are made, which places in the shade the stories told by the late Baron Forrester, and which Mr. Consul Crawford endeavours to explain away. Here is a receipt out of the 'Victuallers' Guide,' which we quote from his evidence before the Wine Duties Committee:—

'Forty-five gallons of cyder, 6 of brandy, 8 of port wine, 2 gallons of sloe stewed in 10 gallons of the liquor pressed off. If the colour is not good, tincture of red sanders or cudbear is directed to be

* In Burgundy a mischievous practice has gained ground of late years of adding sugar to the wine: the consequence is that wines thus prepared are less likely to stand and less wholesome than the wines of Bordeaux. But pure Burgundies are not inferior to any wines in Europe and will support a long sea voyage.

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added. This may be bottled in a few days. That sells as port in this country? It sells as port. Has it anything of the flavour or appearance of port? I imagine not. It is done at the small public-houses? Many publicans do it, I imagine.'

But it is not only the small publicans who play these tricks. All the refuse wine, red or white, old samples, heeltaps of bottles, half-tasted glasses, are thrown down and passed away into the collecting-barrel—just as the cook throws any kind of meat and soup liquor into his stock pot—and with the addition of a little spirit and colouring matter it comes out very good eighteen shilling port. Mr. Shaw has shown us how 'curious old brown sherry' is made already by the aid of 'the doctor.' Can any one believe that the veritable properties of wine will exist or outlive such treatment as this? As well may the picture-dealer overwhelm the delicate and tender half-tones of a sketch by Copley Fielding by smearing and daubing it over with brown varnish, as we may permit the wine merchant to obliterate the delicate vinous properties that dwell in all pure wines of even tolerable quality by the admixture of such decoctions. It is, we think, very questionable whether wines of different vintages, but of the same country, should be mixed at all as is now universally done in bond for home consumption. Chemically they cannot perfectly agree, and in order to keep the peace among them more alcohol is poured in to play the constable. But there can be no question whatever of the atrocity of pouring all kinds of wine, white and red, of all countries and all ages, sweet and sour and bitter, into vats as is now done in the docks, adding spirit to them to keep them from perishing, as they do with preparations in our museums, and then exporting them to other countries. But do they always go to other countries? The evidence of the authorities of the Customs at the Docks tell a very different tale. Mr. Cole, Comptroller of the Customs in the London Docks, among numerous other examples of heterogeneous mixtures of wines vatted in these docks, gives us the following, dated October 16th, 1850:—

'Spanish wine, 1,529 gallons; of Fayal wine, 544 gallons; of French wines, 4,492 gallons; of Cape wines, 689 gallons; of Portugal wine only 117 gallons, with 154 gallons of brandy, the result obtained being 7,525 gallons, minus 8 gallons loss; and the grand result is 7,533 gallons of port wine thus manufactured.'

All of this was exported. We do not know whether in this case in port-wine casks, but in other cases it was notoriously so; the wine, if by courtesy we may so call it, was sent to one of the Channel Islands, the ship merely touching at the port

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and returning in a few days with her cargo as port wine. In many cases fabrications of this kind come here from Cette, but by this ingenious process, by a boomerang sort of movement, the fictitious port comes back to our own land as the genuine production of Oporto! The same process is still going on, but in consequence of the reduction of the duty on the lighter French and other wines consumed in such concoctions, the temptation to such frauds is greatly enhanced, an increased profit thereby accruing to these audacious speculators in mixed wines.

Leaving out of the question the fraud that is perpetrated by passing such stuff off for port wine, let us apply ourselves to the assertion of those who are guilty of these mixings, that they are quite as harmless as the blendings of the grocer when he mixes Mocha coffee with Jamaica coffee, or a certain portion of green with black tea, or of the publican when he draws you a pint of half-and-half; but there is this essential difference in the intrinsic nature of the two articles so mixed. In the case of tea or coffee, or beer and ale, there is no time for the fermentative principle to take place in such infusions to disturb their character ere they are consumed. Once give the wine merchant the power of making up his wines to suit his own pocket, instead of the tastes of the public—and the ignorance of the public will give him full play to do what he likes. Confound the pure wine taste with various additions, and the problem is reduced to the absurdity exposed in the following advertisement which appeared in the 'Times' of the year before last:—

'Partner wanted.—A practical distiller, having been experimenting for the last seventeen years, can now produce a fair port and sherry, by fermentation, without a drop of the grape juice, and wishes a party with from 2.000*l.* to 3,000*l.*, to establish a house in Hamburgh for the manufacture of wines. Has already a good connexion in business. Apply to ———.'

No doubt much of the 'Hambro' sherry' which was introduced here a few years ago was of this character. We are glad to learn that this made-up wine is no longer largely sold as such, some parcels of this so-called wine having been stopped by the Customs by the charges laid upon them as mixed spirits. We have thus one vile adulteration the less openly circulating amongst us; but a considerable portion comes in, and is sold to a few houses, who mix it with the cheap sherries sold at the grocers, and of which it forms a very large proportion. Elbe sherry—the clever fellows who introduced it might just as well have said, Arctic Circle pine-apples—has also disappeared

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from the scene. But why should we permit ourselves to be ruled by a name? It is well known that all the cheap ports are made up of other wines in wine-merchants' cellars. Spanish red, Benicarlos, Roussillon, &c., are all good wines of their kind, but they can only get into circulation under the one name we are familiar with—that is, at least, among the class who take anything for wine upon trust, and nothing by knowledge.

The fact is that the vitiated taste for artificial wines keeps the natural wines out of the English market. Dr. Gorman stated with truth to the Committee of 1852, 'If your taste was 'directed to natural wines, Spain alone could supply this coun-'try with hundreds of thousands of butts of beautiful choice 'wines which are not known in the market.' (5721.) Within the latitudes 35° and 47° the whole of Europe is capable of producing fine wine. Portugal grows a hundred wines that we do not know even the names of. Some of these, Mr. Olivarez tells us, are to be sold for 6*d.* a dozen bottles. Here are some of the wines, Arinto, Tozal, Thomar, Colares, Lavradio, Terno, Carcavellos, &c., all pure well-fermented wines requiring no spirits to keep them. The wines of Hungary have established a footing amongst us. 'Carlovitz' and 'Erlauer' are familiar names in our mouths. Ofner is a capital wine, and Tokay is no longer the rarity it was a few years ago. The wines of Italy are unknown abroad, with the exception of the Sicilian Marsala and Zucco, manufactured by English houses and on the Duc d'Aumale's estate near Palermo; but the Italian vintages and the art of making wine there have been so much neglected, that the natural wealth of the country in this respect, as in many others, is unexplored.

Greek wines, the latest of the strangers we have welcomed from abroad, possess great natural strength—the highest of any pure wine—together with very delicate flavour. Dr. Druitt has done much by his excellent work on cheap wines to bring these capital vintages into notice, but it is to Miss Bremer that the public are indebted for the earliest account of them in modern times. In her pleasantly written volume, 'Greek and 'the Greeks,' speaking of the wines of these islands, she says:—

'The wines of Santorin will keep good year after year. They are sent to Turkey and Russia; Odessa in the Black Sea is one of their chief markets. I have visited a great wine cellar excavated within the mountain, and have there tasted sixteen or eighteen different sorts of wine, all prepared from the wines of Santorin. I was most pleased with the wine of Bacchus—very like that of Naxos—with the taste of nectar, and the colour of pure gold; so also

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the wine of night (St. Elie), which is colourless; and has obtained that name from the fact of the vintage taking place during the night, and from the grapes being hidden under the leaves of the vine, and not exposed to the influence of the sun, by which means the wine is not coloured by it.'

This St. Elie, a white wine, possesses very fine qualities, finer than anything but the purest Amontillado sherry, at a price within the reach of all. The red Keffesia, again, is very like a fine burgundy, but with more body. The red and white Hymettus are charming wines, much stouter, and yet more delicate than the light French wines at the same price. The stoutness of these wines is very likely to recommend them to Englishmen's palates, but it is the stoutness of real vinosity, the wine flavour being covered by no adventitious spirit. Thera, for instance, is very like Madeira. The wines are grown in the volcanic soil of the island of Santorin, the best of all soils for good wine. It must be remembered that the really fine wines cannot be grown upon land that will grow corn. Sandy, slaty, hill-sides, shales, the debris of the older rocks, the sites of extinct volcanos, &c., afford the best soil for vineyards, whilst the fat loam which most abundantly produces wheat will not grow a delicate wine. It would seem as though Providence, in arranging for the great staple articles of sustenance by which man lives and rejoices, has so ordered things that they never shall encroach upon each other's domains.

It has been denied that wine will ever come into consumption among us as it does upon the Continent. That it will ever displace beer among the working classes, we freely grant; but above that class there is a very large number of persons residing in our great towns who cannot habitually drink beer, and who would prefer good wholesome wine at a cheap rate. Moreover, many of those who now drink wine take it as a common luxury after dinner. There are very few who drink it as a beverage. Possibly the large number of Englishmen of all classes who will visit Paris this year will find the bottle of *vin ordinaire* flanking their dinner-plate, as a matter of course, in every restaurant, and some will not dismiss it on their return home. That it is by degrees creeping into our dining-houses is certain, and within these last few years London has seen a sight it has not witnessed since the days of the Restoration—claret and burgundy drawn direct from the barrel at the wine-shops, as much as four pipes a week being the ordinary consumption of one house in the Strand. As long back as 1852, before the admittance of the light wines at the one shilling duty, Mr. Short's bar in that street was daily thronged by

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customers for all kinds of wines; but from that time the consumption has increased amazingly. In his evidence before the Wine Committee in that year, being asked if he thought wine would replace beer, he made the following remarkable statement:—

'Even as it now is, if you were to see my bar, and see the people come in and drink wine; they take a glass of wine, bricklayers' labourers, coal-heavers, journeymen carpenters, and men of all grades, come in and take their four-penny glass of wine and go out and say, "Mr. Short, what a beautiful glass of wine that is," and they go out sober. You never see anybody drunk in my house; we have 1,000 people a-day in it, and not a drunken man among them.'

There is a still larger establishment for the sale of light wines at the Shades, London Bridge, and they are now indeed scattered throughout the metropolis. We have no doubt that the increased sale of wine will be the greatest blow to dram-drinking that has ever been given, and Mr. Gladstone may consider that the treaty with France has placed him in the first rank among the apostles of temperance. Since the evidence was given before the Committee of 1852 many of the most respectable grocers in London have turned vintners. Before the introduction of the new tariff the wine trade was in the hands of a few houses, and wine was considered a matter for laying down in large quantities; the wine merchants of the old school were not even retailers. A man fagged with hard work would not have dared to go into one of these grand establishments, as he may now into the grocer's shop next door, and get a bottle of cheap light wine to take home for his dinner; it is true he gets sad trash as long as he confines himself to our 'old crusted port at 1*s.* 9*d.*,' or real Xeres sherry at the same price, but claret and burgundy he may obtain far cheaper, and we see that Gauphine, a strong red wine of the Hérault, is now sold at 9*s.* a dozen. These he may indulge in with safety, but we would recommend him to receive with caution so-called festival wines, champagne above all things, from such quarters. It should be remembered that any wine may be made sparkling by the aid of a little liquid barley sugar, which sets up a fermentation in it and fills it with carbonic acid gas. This being the case, common coarse wine much more potent than any that comes from the champagne district is so treated, and the consequence is that the drinker, believing that he may indulge in it liberally, finds that he speedily becomes less steady and collected than he would wish to be. We are told, indeed, that some of the better class champagnes are adulterated with brandy to suit the English

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market; and a tale comes across the Atlantic to the effect that our American cousins are using refined petroleum for a similar purpose! In Hamburgh, in one of the public gardens known as Schmidts Tivoli, an enterprising public purveyor has erected a magnificent syphon fountain from which flows champagne at twopence per glass! It is scarcely necessary to say that not a hundredth part of the wine that goes forth with showy labels and with well-known names ever comes from the champagne district at all. Knowing as we do that the vineyards of Epernay, Fleur de Sillery, &c., are limited in acreage, how can we account for the astounding number of wines so labelled in the shop windows. It would require a province to grow anything like the quantity offered for sale every day in the grocers' windows alone. An official investigation has established that France exports to England 4,000,000 bottles, to India 5,000,000, keeps at home 2,500,000, sends to Germany 2,500,000, to Russia and the North 2,000,000, and to Belgium 500,000 bottles, with some smaller quantities to other countries. The Americans assert that they drink 7,000,000 bottles more than is mentioned in this allowance, and knowing as we do that champagne is the favourite Russian wine, it is ridiculous to suppose that they are satisfied with four times as much as Belgium:—

'Surely there must be something very charming in this popping' (to use the words of a New York Journal), 'which is so small an affair when made at the mouth of a ginger-beer bottle, and is so astonishingly musical above the names of Bar le Duc and Epernay, that people should go on from year to year smacking their lips with satisfaction over every species of imitative mixture, generally repenting with equal regularity in the horrors of a sour stomach and a racking headache on the ensuing day.'

We are afraid that in the old country we get the headache and the sour stomach from imitative mixtures altogether wanting the magic pop that beguiles Brother Jonathan: we fear, father and son, in the matters of wine are equally imposed upon.

But it is not with these fancy wines that we have to deal with in considering the ordinary qualities that may be drunk with the dinner, after the manner of the French, and indeed most continental nations. Even the prices we have quoted are exorbitant—Chancellor's claret included—compared with what good wine can be purchased for abroad, and it must be remembered that we ought to get wine as cheaply here as in any place in the world. Our insular position enables us to have the wine conveyed very cheaply to all our ports. We are told, indeed, that many of the stout wines of the south-east of France can be

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brought cheaper from Marseilles by sea to English ports than they can be conveyed to Paris. France alone produces 17,000,000 hogheads of wine per annum. The natural wines of Spain could yield us 100,000 pipes, Portugal the same amount, full-bodied vintages which could be put upon the table at one shilling per bottle, after yielding to the wine merchant forty per cent. profit. Hungary could spare us 600,000 gallons annually. Sicily, the land of wine, could yield us any amount of red wine. Much indeed of what goes to make port could come in much cheaper than the lowest-priced clarets France has yet sent us. With these vintages at our sea-doors wine should be sold as cheaply as bottled beer, and we have no doubt that in course of time it will be. Of course we do not refer to any of those wines that are treated as articles of luxury, and which will command high prices at all times. Old port will always be dear for the reason that it must remain in bottle for years before the adventitious spirit it contains has amalgamated with the wine and sobered down, enabling it to develope its fine ether which gives bouquet.

M. Pasteur (whose researches on Spontaneous Generation were discussed in our last Number), at the instigation of the Emperor Napoleon, has investigated the value of heating wines in water baths, and he finds that it gives them all the qualities derived from age—in fact it ripens them, gives them age, and destroys those germs of parasitic vegetation which lead to the destruction of the finer qualities of light wines, and prevents their travelling. The heating of wine is as old as the time of Pliny, and it has been long the custom to boil the wine in Italy and Greece, but no one has investigated the question scientifically until the French savant undertook the inquiry. He says there is a peculiar parasitic growth which attacks all wines of low alcoholic strength. After much experimenting he found that by heating wine in bottle to 130° Fahrenheit these germs were destroyed in a couple of hours, and were not liable to be affected again. What is more to the purpose, bottles half filled and covered with the parasitic mould so heated were rendered sound and good. In short, he affirms that he has cured the tendency to grow sick and turn sour of the light wines of France, and that wine so treated may be left exposed to the air without taking any damage. The commissioners appointed to test his experiments gave a decision highly in favour of his process. If time should back the opinion of these gentlemen, one of the greatest obstacles to the consumption of the light wines of France in this country would be obviated—it will be as easy to leave a bottle half filled without fear of its becoming sour, as it now is

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with the far stouter wines. If M. Pasteur is right, Madeira need no longer go a voyage to the East Indies at an enormous expense—it will double the Cape in an hour or so, by the ingenious process of the Frenchman. Wine in cask can be treated in the same manner, and it may be drawn afterwards leisurely, the oxygen of the atmosphere having no further action upon it. If this is all true, Oporto wine—we do not mean port—can be treated in the same way, and all excuse removed for the heavy doses of alcohol it now receives. Moreover, it will acquire the mellowness and ripeness of years at once. We should not be surprised to find, however, if art should be able to accomplish so much, that mellowed port would cease altogether to attract the attention of connoisseurs. There are some people who like a thing irrespective of its real value, for the reason that few others can afford to have it; they will even delight in defects if they are in any way allied to rarity and great age. There is a period, an antique period, at which old port acquires what is known in the trade as the 'pig-'dung stink,' which is prized by old gentlemen who keep old cellars far above the most fragrant bouquet any pure wine ever possessed. We may here remark by the way, that bouquet, whenever it is met with in young wine, is an adventitious addition. There are certain essences sold to perfume new wine and give it the aroma of age. All the ætherous qualities which the wine-taster feels for so delicately with his nose, are given off by age. Young wine, with the exception of Muscat, possesses no trace of the delicate perfume of the grape from which it is made, these fine odours are wholly dissipated by the process of fermentation, and only reappear after the wine has been many years in bottle. If it were otherwise, we fear they would be anything but pleasant. The process of pressing the grape with the naked feet—one of those remnants of barbarism which the wine-makers still defend and maintain—would certainly not impart to it any aroma that would be pleasant, especially to Cape wine, where the blacks do the work.

'I was at dinner one day,' says Dr. Druitt, 'sitting next to the late Archdeacon ——, from the Cape. I asked him the reason of the earthy taste in the Cape wine. He said, "My dear Sir, if you ever were at the Cape, and were to see the black fellows in the vineyard in the vintage time and how they make the wine, you would think earthy a very mild term indeed to apply to it."'

As regards wine generally, we may not go quite so far as Mr. Prestwich, one of the jury, who, speaking of some Hambro' sherry in the Great Exhibition of 1862, said that it 'showed a

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'marked improvement in the applied chemistry.' Yet the more we hear of the doings in vineyards, as well as cellars, the more we are led to believe that we cannot depend upon many wines for being pure. It is a well-known fact, that even in Portugal and Spain, only one year out of every four is favourable to a good vintage. In cold seasons the grapes will not ripen, consequently there is too much acid in the must, and too little sugar. Nevertheless, we never hear of no wine being made on that account:—

'In a good season' (says Mr. J. J. Griffin in his work on 'The 'Chemical Testing of Wine and Spirits'), 'the grape juice possesses about 20 per cent. of sugar, and from 350 to 500 grains of acid in the gallon. The scientific correction of the sour must of bad seasons consists in increasing the sugar and diminishing the acid till both agree with the proportions contained in the must of good seasons. The acidity is reduced by water to the proper amount in the gallon, and sugar enough is added to produce alcohol sufficient to cover the acid. The addition of water does not enfeeble the bouquet!'

According to this statement, it is quite clear that in certain seasons we do not get even the constituents of natural wine from the vineyard. This should certainly teach us not to depend upon our supply of wine from any particular country. A bad season in one wine-producing nation, may be a very good season in another; the weather is never the same all over Europe. If our wine tastes were a little more catholic, this knowledge would lead us to buy only in the good market, leaving the 'adepts in applied chemistry' to their own devices. But there is even a cleverer trick than that of making good wine out of sour grapes; and that is the process of making wine without grape juice at all. We are not referring to the Hambro' advertisement, but to a process that is carried on in the vineyards of Chameray, in Burgundy, according to the discovery of M. Petiot, a wine grower. It is certainly ingenious. We give the method of manipulating in the words of Mr. Griffiths:—

'The grapes passed between wooden rollers (we are glad to escape the foot-treading process), and freed from the stalks, are pressed into an upright vat, which has a false bottom. The must is now allowed to flow out while very little pressure is made upon the mass. The must so collected is treated in the manner described above. To the grapes left in the vat cold water is added to the volume of the must previously drawn away. The grapes are covered and allowed to soak in the water for two days, being frequently stirred. The water dissolves various soluble materials in the mark or grape skins, including the substance which gives to the wines their special taste and odour, and which it appears adhere strongly

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to the grape mark. At the end of two days the liquor is withdrawn and tested for sugar and acid. It usually contains but 2 or 3 per cent. of sugar, and must have 17 or 18 per cent. added; usually also it is deficient in acid, and must have as much tartaric acid dissolved in it as testing shows to be needful. It is then set to ferment.'

But even a third wine is made in the same manner from the grape skins, the only difference being that much more sugar and acid has to be added. Like the Irishman's knife, that had a new handle and a new blade, so little of the original grape juice can have been left that we do not see why the process should not be carried on indefinitely, the tannin of the grape being chemically added, and the bouquet which the 'addition 'of water does not enfeeble,' given by means we have before alluded to. We sincerely trust M. Petiot will send none of his burgundy to England; or, at all events, that we may never have the ill-luck to drink it. Ordinary burgundy—and there is plenty of it—is very capital wine, cheaply produced; and we feel quite sure there is no necessity to resort to such questionable processes as this clever proprietor indulges in, possibly in consequence of some infirmity in his vineyard. Very possibly he has taken a hint from the proceedings of his fellow-countrymen at Cette, where adulterations have become the daily habit of the town, and where the 'applied chemistry' is treated upon a manufacturing scale. Poor Angus Reach, in his 'Claret and Olives,' gives us a picture of the wickedness going on in this Mediterranean port, that should make us beware of anything in the shape of wine that hails from it—that is, if we know it:—

'"*Ici*," will a Cette industrial write with the greatest coolness over his Porte Cochère,—"*Ici on fabrique des vins.*" All the wines in the world, indeed, are made in Cette. You have only to give an order for Johannisberg or Tokay—nay, for all I know, for the Falernian of the Romans or the nectar of the gods—and the Cette manufacturers will promptly supply you. They are great chemists, these gentlemen, and have brought the noble art of adulteration to a perfection which would make our own mere logwood and sloe-juice practitioners pale and wan with envy. But the great trade of the place is not so much adulterating as concocting wine. Cette is well situated for this notable manufacture. The wines of southern Spain are brought by coasters from Barcelona and Valencia; the inferior Bordeaux growths come pouring from the Garonne by the Canal du Midi; the hot and fiery Rhone wines are floated along the chain of étangs and canals from Beaucaire. With all these raw materials, and of course a chemical laboratory to boot, it would be hard if the clever folks of Cette could not turn out a very good imitation of any wine in demand. They will doctor you up bad Bordeaux with violet powders and rough cider, colour it with cochineal and turn-

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sole, and outswear creation that it is precious Château Margaux, vintage of '25. Champagne, of course, they make by hogsheads. Do you wish sweet liqueur wines from Italy and the Levant? The Cette people will mingle old Rhone wines with boiled sweet wines from the neighbourhood of Lunel, and charge you any price per bottle. Do you wish to make new claret old? A Cette manufacturer will place it in his oven, and after twenty-four hours' regulated application of heat, return it to you nine years in bottle. Port, sherry, and Madeira, of course, are fabricated in abundance with any sort of bad cheap wine and brandy for a stock, and with half the concoctions in a druggist's shop for seasoning. Cette, in fact, is the very capital and emporium of the tricks and rascalities of the wine trade, and it supplies almost all the Brazils, and a great proportion of the northern European nations, with their after-dinner drinks. To the grateful Yankees it sends out thousands of tuns of Aÿ and Moet, besides no end of Johannisberg, Hermitage, and Château Margaux, the fine qualities and dainty aroma of which are highly prized by the transatlantic amateurs. The Dutch flag fluttered plentifully in the harbour, so that I presume Mynheer is a customer to the Cette industrials; or, at all events, he helps in the distribution of their wares. The French West Indian colonies also patronise their ingenious countrymen of Cette, and Russian magnates get drunk on Chambertin and Romanée Conti made of low Rhone and low Burgundy brewages, eked out by the contents of the graduated phial. I fear, however, that we do come in—in the matter of "fine golden sherries at 22*s.* 9½*d.* a dozen," or "peculiar old crusted "port at 1*s.* 9*d.*"—for a share of the Cette manufactures; and it is very probable that after the wine is fabricated upon the shores of the Mediterranean, it is still further improved upon the banks of the Thames.'

The wine that is still most largely consumed in England is sherry, which being fortified, and making far over 26 per cent. of spirit, does not come in under the one shilling duty, the rate being two-and-sixpence. It has been used in England much longer than is generally imagined, according to Mr. Ford, who says:—

'Sherris sack, the term used by Falstaff, no mean authority on this matter, is the precise "Seco de Xeres," the term by which the wine is known to this day in its own country. The epithet *seco*, or dry—the *sack* of old English authors, and the *sec* of French ones—being used in contradistinction to the sweet malvoisies and muscadels, which are also made of the same grape. The wine, it is said, was first introduced into England about the time of Henry VII., whose close alliance with Ferdinand and Isabella was cemented by the marriage of her son with their daughter. It became still more popular among us under Elizabeth, when those who sailed under Essex sacked Cadiz in 1596, and brought home the fashion of good sherris sack.'

Mr. Ford thinks the more modern liking for sherry was brought

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about by Lord Holland on his return from Spain, at the beginning of the century. Mr. Cyrus Redding, however, says the fashion of drinking this wine was set by the Prince of Wales. It could not have been very long ago, as Mr. Redding tells us in his evidence: 'I can almost remember the time; I remember 'when Lisbon, and Madeira, and Vidonia were the only table 'white common wines.' Yet what an age ago it seems when we talk of Lisbon or Vidonia—it seems like speaking of the roasted swan or any of the dishes of the middle ages. The universal use of sherry would seem to militate against our position that highly alcoholised wines are declining in public favour, but on a second view of the case we find some explanation of this apparent discrepancy. Sherry is taken undoubtedly very largely at dinner — we might almost say universally—but it is very often considerably diluted with water; hence the steadiness with which it maintains its position in the British market. Last year no less than 5,511,302 gallons were consumed, or 41·35 per cent. of the whole quantity of wine consumed in the country. Large as this amount is, and giving evidence as it undoubtedly does, that sherry wines are greatly in favour, there are yet some consolatory points about the returns in a temperance point of view. This percentage shows a decline upon the three previous years; not only has the use of the wine reached its culminating point, but—like its fellow port—the lion and the unicorn that have long fought for British favour, if not for the crown—it shows certain signs of going down hill, and eventually of being 'beaten out of town;' the decline being 2 per cent. since the year 1863. Its prevalent use is undoubtedly as a luncheon wine; 'A glass of sherry, 'sir,' is the subject of the charming little picture now so popular in the shop windows, 'a glass of sherry and a sandwich 'for sixpence.' This wine is triumphant about one o'clock, but among the higher classes it is certainly on the wane. We scarcely dare say it, but we fancy the ladies have something to do with maintaining from a rapid fall the highly alcoholised wines of Spain. They almost universally take either sherry or champagne at dinner, and if they take a glass after dinner, we observe it must be one of the old-fashioned wines of early habit. They take but a glass, and that they like strong and sweet. It is but rarely that a lady takes claret; they prefer a confection to a simple wine flavour; at all events, they do not care about what the lords of the creation term a dry wine.

But having reference to the very large consumption of sherry among the people, it must not be supposed that it is all Spanish wine that is sold under that name. Very large quan-

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tities of Marsala, Cape, and other white wines are mixed with products of Xeres, and under the magic name of sherry are unsuspectedly consumed as the genuine article. We fancy that Diogenes would require his lanthorn to find 'the natural 'standard of sherry.' We find it pasted up on the tops of the omnibusses, but nowhere else. If we could only get at the real constituents of the Spanish white wine that has so long ruled in England, we should undoubtedly find that a very large portion of the cheaper sorts were made up of light wines of other countries brought to the requisite standard of strength by potato spirit. In strictness a large proportion of such wine should go to swell the quantity of light wine which has made such an extraordinary advance in our consumption since the lowering of the duty. Mr. Ford, in his 'Gatherings from Spain,' plainly says:—

'The ruin of sherry has commenced from the number of second-rate houses which have sprung up, which look for quantity, not for quality. Many thousand butts of bad Nubla wines are thus palmed off on the enlightened British public, after being well brandied and doctored. Thus a conventional notion of sherry is formed, to the ruin of the real thing; for even respectable houses are forced to fabricate their wines so as to suit the depraved taste of their consumers.' 'Sherry (he says in another place) is a foreign wine which is drunk by foreigners; nor do the generality of Spaniards like its strong flavour, and still less its high price . . . More of it is swallowed at Gibraltar, at the messes, than in either Madrid, Toledo, or Salamanca. . . . The men employed in the sherry vaults, and who have, therefore, that drink at their command, seldom touch it, but invariably, when their work is done, go to the neighbouring shop to refresh themselves with a glass of innocent Manzanilla.'

Richard Ford (all honour to his pleasant memory) had the honour of introducing this pure light wine to Englishmen, no mean achievement; for of all difficult things the most difficult, especially in England, is to introduce a new wine taste. Manzanilla is preeminently a light dry wine, and its introduction to British tables is another proof that we are not irredeemably wedded to made-up spirituous decoctions.

There is no doubt that the wine of Oporto is slowly but steadily dropping out of use, going to the same limbo to which Lisbon has long been banished. In 1859, 2,201,306 gallons were consumed at our tables, equal to 30·97 per cent. of the whole quantity consumed; but year by year this percentage has declined, until last year it had fallen to 22·57 per cent. It is quite clear that the disappearance of the once favourite port is only a matter of time, and, if we may prophesy, a not

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very long time. The late Baron Forrester spent his life in showing that in order to obtain port we were destroying very fine vintages for the sake of manufacturing a very inferior-flavoured and adulterated drink. The result has been that all true wine flavour is destroyed and a standard set up such as the juice of no grape can produce. To use the words of the agents of the British wine merchants of Oporto, as far back as 1754, who say that according to our tastes 'it (port 'wine) should feel like liquid fire in the stomach; that it should 'burn like inflamed gunpowder; that it should have the tint 'of ink; that it should be like the sugar of Brazil in sweetness, 'and like the spices of India in aromatic flavour.' The persistence of this vitiated taste in a minor degree, it is true, is the only explanation that can be afforded for the absence from our tables of a number of Portuguese wines that we might have expected to have received upon the reduction of the duty in 1860. Portugal possesses immense resources in good natural wines of a quality stouter than the clarets of France, but possessing their fine qualities, which are alone sufficient to supply the whole of England.

We have no doubt that in Portugal and in other countries, when the real taste of the British consumer has been formed and ascertained, abundant means will be found to supply the demand. But the taste in wine which has existed in this country for the last 150 years was an artificial creation of restrictive duties and prohibitive laws. That taste is now undergoing a rapid and complete change. Old habits have, no doubt, a great influence on all such matters, and it will require one or two generations to teach an Englishman to drink wine like the rest of the world. But gradually freedom and nature will have their way, and meantime we are now happily at liberty to select from all the vintages of the earth those which are best suited to our palates, our purses, and our climate.

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ART. VIII.—1. *The Life of Josiah Wedgwood, from his Private Correspondence and Family Papers, in the possession of* JOSEPH MAYER, Esq., F.S.A.; F. WEDGWOOD, Esq.; C. DARWIN, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.; Miss WEDGWOOD, *and other original sources; with an Introductory Sketch of the Art of Pottery in England.* By ELIZA METEYARD. 2 vols. London: 1865.

2. *The Wedgwoods: being a Life of Josiah Wedgwood, with notices of his Works and their Productions; Memoirs of the Wedgwood and other Families; and a History of the early Potteries of Staffordshire.* By LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F.S.A., &c., &c., &c. 1 vol. London: 1865.

3. *Wedgwood.* An Address by the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE. London: 1863.

THE potter's art has in all ages been so universally practised that there is probably no nation, whether barbarous or civilised, which could not contribute some interesting pages to a general history of pottery; whilst in almost every country it would be found that the state of this art at any particular time is a tolerably fair test of the degree of civilisation to which its people had attained. Sir Samuel Baker says:—

'Nearly all savages have some idea of earthenware; but the scale of advancement of a country between savagedom and civilisation may generally be determined by the examples of its pottery. The Chinese, who were as civilised as they are at the present day, at a period when the English were barbarians, were ever celebrated for the manufacture of porcelain, and the difference between savages and civilised countries is always thus exemplified: the savage makes earthenware but the civilised make porcelain—thus the gradations from the rudest earthenware will mark the improvement in the scale of civilisation.'* (*Albert Nyanza and Nile Basin.*)

To this rule, however (allowing even that it should not be too strictly applied), England presents so remarkable an exception that it will be well, before considering the great potter whose biographies form the subject of this paper, that we should present our readers with a slight sketch of the state in which his art had lingered in this country from Celtic times to his own.

The specimens of Celtic pottery which have been found in

* We presume that Sir Samuel Baker takes 'porcelain' to mean a very fine earthenware, otherwise Luca della Robbia, Palissy, and Wedgwood would only rank as savages.

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various parts of England were probably made in the immediate neighbourhood of the places of their discovery, since neither the habits of the people who made them, nor the means for carrying goods about the country, render it likely that they should have been used as articles of barter or merchandise. It is not surprising therefore that considerable differences should be exhibited in the execution of the various pieces since brought to light, which for other reasons are supposed to belong to the Celtic period. A state of constant warfare, and the want of proper materials, might oblige one tribe to form hastily with the hand rude vessels which were dried in the sun, while another, more happily circumstanced, would be turning their pots upon a wheel and hardening them in the fire.* In spite, however, of these differences, the Celtic pottery, which consists mainly of sepulchral urns, drinking-cups, vessels for food and incense-pots, exhibits those strong resemblances in form and ornament which give to a manufacture a national character.

The Romans, on gaining possession of the country, introduced not only their pottery, but also the art of making it. They established kilns in Kent, in London, in Essex, Buckinghamshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire; also in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Shropshire. It is almost certain that they established potteries in Staffordshire, at which the red ware known as English Samian was made, although no kilns which can positively be assigned to the Roman period have as yet been discovered in that county. The wares produced in these different districts had each its own distinctive character—that produced at Upchurch, near the Medway, was black, hard, light, and well burnt; often exhibiting beautiful forms which could only have been obtained by the wheel or lathe. It was ornamented with vines, dots, or semicircles, drawn with a pointed instrument. The pottery made at Castor, in Northamptonshire, was also of good shape and ornamented with scrolls and figures in relief generally of the same colour as the body, but occasionally white, and laid upon the glaze. Other pottery, more or less resembling the Upchurch and Castor wares, which are the

* With respect to the generally received opinion that Celtic pottery was baked in the sun we venture to express considerable doubt, for these two very simple reasons—first, that unless the climate has very much changed there could have been no sunshine sufficient for the purpose; and, secondly, that had they been so dried they would certainly have got damp again during the hundreds of years they have lain underground, and would have fallen to pieces.

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best known, has been found in various Roman sites; as also various specimens differing much from those wares both as to colour and glaze, which undoubtedly belong to the same period, but of the origin of which nothing certain is known.

The order, the civilisation, and, above all, the good roads which the Romans established in England, enabled pottery to become an important article of commerce—a fact which may be proved, if proof be wanted, by the size and number of their kilns, by the discovery of wares known to have been made in particular spots scattered through various and distant districts, and by the riveted specimens (of which there are several in the Museum of Practical Geology*), showing that earthenware was of sufficient value to be worth the trouble and expense of mending.

After the departure of the Romans from England, the potter's art appears soon to have relapsed into the barbarous state from which they had temporarily raised it. The few specimens of Anglo-Saxon ware which have come to light, consist chiefly of cinerary urns rude in shape and ornament, and probably made as occasion required near the places where they have since been found. The subsequent abandonment of paganism and its funeral rites; and later still, the introduction of Roman manners and customs, caused an extensive change in the forms of pottery. Pitchers, jugs, porringers, and dishes, came into general use; but the Normans, who could build splendid cathedrals, and fill their windows with stained glass, which we are still striving to imitate, appear to have bestowed no thought upon the methods by which their pottery might become 'a 'thing of beauty.'

* In alluding to the very interesting little collection of pottery and porcelain in this museum, we must express our regret that it is not better arranged for the convenience and instruction of those who wish to examine it. Many of the specimens are placed so high as to be almost out of sight. They have no descriptive labels but merely tickets affixed to them, giving a reference, consisting of two sets of letters and a number, to a catalogue which has been for some years out of print. This catalogue, which was compiled by the late Sir Henry de la Beche and Mr. Trenham Reeks, contained a great deal of useful and interesting information on the subject of porcelain and pottery, and should certainly be reprinted. It may be questioned, however, whether it would not be better, after selecting such of the specimens as are required for the illustration of practical geology, that the collection in Jermyn Street should be transferred to the South Kensington Museum, which must eventually become *the* 'ceramic' museum of England. The same course might also be advantageously adopted with respect to the small collection of mediæval and renaissance pottery in the British Museum.

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Except in the case of tiles, in the making of which this country shone preeminently, English pottery appears to have remained in this anomalous state, unaffected by the progress in other arts and manufactures, throughout the Middle Ages almost to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The English Mediæval pottery is generally of a coarse and brittle ware covered with a green or yellow lead glaze, ornamented with rude scrolls or with reliefs stamped on the body like the impressions of seals. Some specimens of grotesque figures or caricatures serving as jugs or bottles have been discovered which are evidently of English Mediæval manufacture, but they are very scarce, and are certainly not of a character to show that English potters could compete with their foreign contemporaries. The well-known skill of the tilewrights, and the occasional mention in old wills and inventories of jugs and other articles in pottery which appear to have been valued by their owners, have been sometimes adduced as proofs that the English Mediæval pottery must have been better in quality and design than is generally supposed; but as there is nothing to show that such articles were of native manufacture, and as all the specimens of English ware which have hitherto come to light are of the rudest kind, we are forced to adhere to the unpatriotic opinion that till the middle of the seventeenth century all 'objets de luxe' in this line were imported from abroad. Whilst, however, we think it just to claim but a very low place for the early English potters, we must carefully avoid falling into the commonly received error that when Josiah Wedgwood began 'to work at the potter's wheel the manufacture of 'earthenware could scarcely be said to exist in England.'* That it was not such as England, considering her rank among civilised nations, ought to have produced, will be readily conceded by our readers, when we remind them that Luca della Robbia executed some of his finest works about the year 1440; that the Urbino ware reached its greatest perfection about a century later; that in France the so-called 'Faïence de Henri II.' must have been made between 1515 and 1547; and that Palissy was established by Catherine de Medici in a workshop close to the Tuileries about 1560; that the best period of the beautiful Flemish stone ware was from 1540 to 1620, though it had long before attained a high reputation; and that Spain had never forgotten the lessons in pottery which she received from the Moors. But that earthenware was continuously manufactured in England, and more particularly in Staffordshire,

* Smiles.

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from the earliest times, both Mr. Jewitt and Miss Meteyard have distinctly proved; it will be well, therefore, in order to give both Wedgwood and his immediate predecessors their due places, to notice some of the discoveries and improvements made by the latter.

By about the middle of the seventeenth century the importations of Oriental, Dutch, and German wares had succeeded in exciting the public taste and the curiosity of potters, who set to work to analyse the materials and discover the processes by which these manufactures were produced.

'The history of the majority of these experiments,' says Miss Meteyard, 'is lost, and even the names of the places where they were carried on; but experiments of this nature were made at a pottery in Southwark both during the reign of Charles I. and during the Protectorate; at York in 1665 by a gentleman of the name of Place, who expended much money in his experiments, from which resulted the production of a fine kind of stoneware. A few years later John Dwight or rather De Witt, a member of the famous Dutch family of that name, took out two patents, one in April 1671 and another in 1684, the latter being but an amplification of the first in respect to "the mistery of transparent earthenware, comonly "knowne by the name of porcelaine or China and Persian ware, as "also the mistery of the stoneware vulgarly called Cologne ware." Dwight had made his first experiments in Oxfordshire, where his family had settled, and as early as 1640 had succeeded in making a few pieces of imperfect porcelain. But his success, though secured by patent, and his experiments, though continued over a long period, never went beyond this point. Having removed his pottery to Fulham, where Dutch pot-works seem already to have been established, he gave ultimately his whole attention to the fabrication of earthenware, which, from specimens remaining, was, in body, glaze, and colour, precisely like the old grey Delft stoneware. Dwight was a well-educated man, had been secretary to three successive bishops of Chester, and was patronised by the two last Stuart kings, as well as by William III. Of the two former he modelled busts; but the most interesting relic of this experimental potter is a beautiful half-length figure of one of his own children who died in infancy. It lies asleep upon a pillow; the hands, holding flowers, rest on the breast. The whole is modelled in fine grey clay in which on the rear is graved "Lydia Dwight, dyd March 3, 1672." Dwight's experiments in relation to porcelain seem to have been somewhat famous in their day, as Aubrey in his "Natural History of "Wiltshire," wonders upon finding "clay as blue as ultramarine and "incomparably fine without any sand," if "it might be proper for Mr. "Dwight for his making of porcelain."' (Vol. i. p. 108.)

Had his artistic productions been more numerous they could not have failed to raise English pottery to a degree of excellence worthy of the time at which they were made. A few

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specimens, however, in the possession of Mr. C. W. Reynolds, who bought them at Fulham from the last representative of the Dwight family, are all that are known of his finer works. Among these specimens are the pieces mentioned above, and five brown statuettes of Jupiter, Neptune, Mars, Meleager, and Saturn. These are admirably modelled, and somewhat resemble in style those produced at a later period by the Doccia manufactory. It is of course possible that more of Dwight's artistic works may come to light, but at present we can only suppose that these were rather experiments to prove the capabilities of the ware than productions intended for sale. There is at any rate nothing to show that they exercised a beneficial influence upon English pottery in general, or that they in the smallest degree helped Wedgwood on the road to fame.

In 1680 a very simple accident revealed to the English potters a secret which they ought to have learnt long before from the Dutch wares imported into this country. A maid-servant at the farm of Mr. Yates, near Burslem, was preparing in an earthen vessel a salt ley for curing pork; during her temporary absence the liquid boiled over, the sides of the pot became quickly red-hot, and when they again grew cold, were found to be covered with an excellent vitreous glaze. The circumstance attracted the attention of Mr. Yates, who related it to a neighbouring potter, who at once made use of the discovery and imparted it to others. This salt-glaze soon to a great extent superseded the lead-ore glaze hitherto in use, and was employed in the manufacture of 'crouch ware,' in which all the ordinary articles of domestic use produced at Burslem were made.

In 1688, two brothers, John Philip and David Elers, descendants of a distinguished German family who had settled in Holland, came over to England with William of Orange. John Philip Elers was, according to Mr. Jewitt, 'a good chemist 'and an excellent mechanician, and was held in much esteem 'by Boerhave;' while 'Martin was a man of considerable 'ability and learning, and was appointed ambassador to several 'courts.' These two remarkable brothers settled in Staffordshire, and having discovered at Bradwell a vein of clay from which a fine red ware closely resembling that of Japan could be produced, hired the land and a farm-house, and erected a pot-work. The proceedings of the two foreigners naturally produced among the neighbouring potters a good deal of curiosity, which was considerably heightened by the extraordinary secrecy with which they carried on their business.

'They employed about their works the most stupid boys and men;

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they hired an idiot to turn the thrower's wheel; they locked these people into their respective departments of labour, and searched them strictly when dismissed. All outer doors were kept closed, many windows were blinded; when out-door work was done, it was as much as possible beneath the shadow of the trees, and eventually they went so far as to hire another farm-house or cottage at Dimsdale in their neighbourhood, as a depôt for the sale of goods. Even this was situated a short distance from the main road, and thither across the fields they carried their finished ware by night. It is also said that an earthen pipe was laid between the two places, through which warning was given to those about the pot-work when any person approached who seemed to be an intruder.' (*Miss Meteyard*, vol. i. p. 134.)

These precautions were, as might have been expected, perfectly useless. Two men, Twyford and Astbury, succeeded in obtaining employment under the Elers brothers, and discovering the secrets of their manufacture; the former by an air of indifference and carelessness, the latter by assuming an appearance of idiotcy, which he is said to have kept up for two years.

A similar instance of unsuccessful secrecy occurred at the Royal Manufactory at Meissen. We read in Mr. Marryat's 'History of Porcelain and Pottery' (p. 244), that the establishment there

'was a complete fortress, the portcullis of which was not raised day or night, no stranger being permitted to enter under any pretence whatever. The precautions used to secure this object were carried to an extent almost ridiculous. Every workman, even the chief inspector, was sworn to silence. This injunction was formally repeated every month to the superior officers employed, while the workmen had constantly before their eyes in large letters fixed up in the workshops the warning motto of "Be secret unto death," and it was well known that anyone divulging the process would be punished with imprisonment for life in the castle of Königstein. Even the king himself, when he took strangers of distinction to visit the works, was strictly enjoined to secrecy. One of the foremen, however, escaped from this potter's prison and went to Vienna, where he assisted in establishing a manufactory from which the secret spread over Germany.'

Miss Meteyard is very justly severe upon Astbury for his dishonest stratagem, which has, as she says, been related by many previous writers, but blamed by none. This fact may to a certain extent be pleaded in palliation of his conduct. The mystery practised by the Elers was a sort of challenge to the world to discover their secret. Astbury probably considered that in pottery, as in love and war, all things were fair; and if writers who had no interest in the matter could mention his conduct without blame, we may feel sure that the Staffordshire

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potters would have highly praised, as a patriotic act, the trick by which he had outwitted two foreigners who had come down with a secret process to beat them all at their own trade.

Disgusted at the discovery of their secret and the consequent diminution of their profits, the brothers Elers left Staffordshire, and are said to have gone to Chelsea, where they assisted in improving the manufacture of porcelain, established there in 1698 by some Venetian glass-makers, and which in 1750 had attained to a high point of excellence. Mr. Jewitt, however, who derives his information from a descendant of the Elers family, says that after leaving Staffordshire 'John Philip 'Elers settled for a time at Battersea or Vauxhall, and from 'thence removed to Dublin, where he embarked in commercial 'speculations. David Elers became a merchant in London, 'and dying unmarried was buried in Battersea.'

If Astbury was wanting in honourable feelings, he was at all events by no means deficient in ability as a potter; he made good use of his stolen knowledge, and added to it more honestly acquired discoveries, which proved of great service to the art he practised. Among these were the adoption of Devonshire pipe-clay, and of calcined and pounded flint, for the improvement of the colour and body of his ware. The accident by which the employment of flint was suggested to him has been often related, but as it is probably unknown to many of our readers we will give it in Miss Meteyard's words:—

'In 1720 during one of his journeys to London the horse Astbury rode became affected with a disorder in one of its eyes; he therefore upon arriving at Banbury consulted the ostler of the inn at which he stayed. The man, well skilled in simple remedies, fetched a nodule of the flint common in the neighbourhood, burnt it to a red heat in the fire of the room in which the traveller sat, and after plunging it into water reduced it easily into a fine powder. A portion of this he blew into the horse's eyes to their immediate relief and present cure. Astbury watched this process; and being attracted by the whiteness of the calcined flint and the easy method by which it had been reduced to powder, it occurred to him by one of those happy inferences which, empirical as they are, have been so fruitful of results in relation to scientific advance, that the same substance might be found useful as a material in pottery. Willing to try the experiment, he had some flints collected and forwarded by waggon to Shelton, where, upon his return they were fired in a kiln after the ware was baked, and then pulverised in a mortar. This powder he mixed with pipe-clay and water, and tried it as a wash for hollow ware. The result exceeding his expectations, he eventually introduced calcined flint into the body of his white ware, with the best possible effect, both as regarded a larger amount of vitrification and a purer colour.' (Vol. i. p. 147.)

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The success of this experiment naturally led to much grinding of flints which produced a fine dust seriously affecting the health of the men employed in it. To remedy this evil Thomas Benson, a painter sent down from London to decorate Earl Gower's house at Trentham, in 1726, constructed a mill like that used for grinding colours, an invention which, like too many others, proved of immense benefit to those who adopted it, and the ruin of the unfortunate inventor.

From the date of Benson's improved method of flint-grinding the Staffordshire potteries appear to have increased in number and importance. The best of the wares then produced was of a creamy white, the forms and ornaments of which seem in some cases to have been taken from silver plate, and to which the name 'Elizabethan' has, for we know not what reason, been most erroneously given. Another ware much sought after at this time was the mottled, made in imitation of marble agate or tortoiseshell. We mention these two more particularly as they were the materials upon which Wedgwood began the work which he has sometimes been said to have entirely originated.

In 1750, Enoch Booth adopted the process of firing his ware once, and then dipping it into a fluid glaze.

'The thrower's wheel which, up to 1750, had retained its ancient simplicity, was improved in form and accelerated in movement by an ingenious mechanic of the name of Alsager. The turning lathe was generally employed; the proportions which bring flint and clay into perfect combination had been ascertained; more care was bestowed in levigating and mixing the raw materials; the firing processes were better regulated; the hovels were tiled and made larger; the kinds and proportions of marl in forming seggars which best withstood the highest temperatures were more accurately known; and a greater division of labour, and more method in processes having been introduced in the larger "pottery banks," production was accelerated and its results more to be depended upon than heretofore. 'Such was the condition of the great staple of northern Staffordshire in 1730, the date of Wedgwood's birth, and up to the period when he commenced business at the Ivy House in Burslem in 1759.' (Vol. i. p. 165.)

Before proceeding to a review of Wedgwood's life and labours, we shall make some remarks upon the two biographies, the names of which are placed at the head of this article, and from which we have extracted much of the information given above upon the early pottery of England.

Miss Meteyard's is by far the most important of these rival works. It has been compiled not only from the ordinary sources of information, but from the valuable collection of

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letters and other documents relating to Wedgwood, which Mr. Joseph Mayer of Liverpool had been for many years gathering together. Miss Wedgwood and Mr. Darwin also placed their collections of Wedgwood's letters at Miss Meteyard's disposal. Her work may, therefore, be accepted as containing nearly, if not quite, the whole of the authentic information now in existence upon the subject she took in hand. With these materials she could scarcely fail, and she has certainly succeeded in producing a very interesting and useful book, profusely illustrated with woodcuts of the highest merit. This praise we accord with much pleasure, and with the conviction that it is fully deserved; we are bound, however, as reviewers, to perform the less agreeable duty of pointing out what appear to be defects, and the more especially because we believe that they might be to a great extent removed in a second edition. The book is much too long; details about persons and places having scarcely any connexion with Wedgwood, and none whatever with pottery, are given at great length. The style is often flowery and magniloquent to a degree which few subjects would excuse, and which the subject of pottery certainly cannot bear. With the highest admiration for and interest in the Ceramic art, we cannot but feel that its best productions should be praised in language which would leave some terms to be appropriated to the sculpture of the Greeks, or the paintings of Raphael; but Miss Meteyard is so enthusiastic that she often allows herself to indulge in rhapsodies which are obliged to end in splendid examples of *bathos*:—

'The Duke of Sutherland,' says she, 'has at this moment no brighter jewel in his ducal coronet than the revelation these letters make of the graceful intercourse between Trentham, Burslem, and Etruria. To their honour be it said, the Leveson-Gowers, the Egertons, the Talbots, the De Greys, the Chetwynds, the Sneyds, the Ansons, the Broughtons, the Heathcotes, the Bagots and others, were amongst the earliest who *used Wedgwood's exquisite cream-ware, praised it, and recommended it to their friends.*' (Preface, p. xviii.)

What a title to fame! After this let no one economise in buying crockery.

We have one more fault to find with Miss Meteyard: she has developed a new and most dangerous form of the Boswellian disease; for not only does she relate the most trivial details of her hero's life, but where facts were wanting she has allowed her imagination to supply descriptions and ascribe thoughts and feelings which, when qualified with a 'probably,' or 'we may be sure,' are woven into her narrative. We are

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happy to say that in the present instance she has not permitted this practice to diminish in the smallest degree the trustworthiness of her work, but we must protest against a habit which, if fully developed, would lead to the writing of biographies without any facts at all.

Of Mr. L. Jewitt's book we may say, that while it avoids the failings, it has not the advantages, of its rival. It is written in a simple, unaffected manner, but was compiled from materials very inferior to those at the disposal of Miss Meteyard. and cannot for a moment compete with her work as regards the illustrations, a point of great importance in any book on art.

Josiah Wedgwood has been often described as a 'coarse, 'ignorant, diseased, impoverished workman,' whose father was 'a poor potter at Burslem, barely able to make a living at his 'trade.' This gloomy picture of his origin had, no doubt, the effect of bringing the brilliancy of the position he made for himself into stronger contrast; it has at the same time the serious demerit of being wholly untrue.

The Wedgwood family had for many generations been among the well-to-do gentry of Burslem. Josiah's ancestor, Gilbert Wedgwood, married in 1612 the daughter and coheiress of Thomas Burslem, of Dale Hall, by whom he had a numerous family, who, proving in their turn equally prolific, could give but small portions to their children. The sons, therefore, of this second descent devoted their capital and industry to the local trade of potting, and soon became some of the most important manufacturers of Burslem. To be one of the most important manufacturers of Burslem in the time of Josiah Wedgwood's grandfather was, however, to trade upon a very different scale to what would be implied by those words in the present day. From a memorandum written by Josiah, it appears that the expenses of his grandfather, Thomas Wedgwood's, pot-work in 1710–15 were about 4*l.* a week, including 10*s.* for the master's profit and 6*s.* for his labour. This was not of course all he had upon which to support a large family, for he inherited other property from his father. His eldest son, Thomas (Josiah's father), also established a pot-work, after serving his time as apprentice to his father, where he lived till he came into possession of his father's premises. He married Mary, daughter of a dissenting minister named Stringer, by whom he had thirteen children, the youngest of whom, the celebrated Josiah, was born in July 1730. We will spare our readers, and they will doubtless themselves avoid, the description which Miss Meteyard gives of the probable furniture and ornaments of the house in which he first saw the light, but we

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cannot resist quoting the following account of his birth, and of what his sponsors and the curate did *not* think, as a specimen of the system of writing of which we complained above:—

'The birth of another child in a household where there were already so many, could have excited no unusual degree of interest; though by that kindly law of Providence which rules in all such cases, we may be sure it was no unwelcome stranger, but dropped at once into its place and took its share of parental care and tenderness as though waited for and necessary to complete the integrity of the domestic scene. Neither did the curate and gossips as they gathered round the font and hurried over their accustomed duty imagine for one moment, we may be quite sure, how potential in the industrial history of their country was to be the name thus conferred; how associated with beauty of constructive form, ideal grace and truth in its utilitarian as in its artistic sense; or that men the greatest in their day would be proud to associate it with theirs, in many of the civil ameliorations and industrial advances of the eighteenth century. In this way, and thus mutely and obscurely, does all true service make its beginning in this world of duty, sacrifice, and endeavour.' (Vol. i. p. 203.)

Of Wedgwood's childhood little is known, except that he began his education at the dame's school in Burslem, and that when about seven years old he attended daily a school at Newcastle-under-Lyme kept by one Blunt, a man of superior education and acquirements. As early indications of his future talent, Miss Meteyard is able to supply us with the tradition that when at school he 'betrayed his extraordinary eye for 'construction (?) by the use of the scissors. Borrowing a pair 'from his sisters or the other girls, and with paper torn from a 'copybook, or brought by the lads for the purpose, he would 'cut out the most surprising things.' It seems also that he was fond of collecting fossils and shells, a taste which he pursued scientifically in after life; that he kept a piece of Roman pottery upon his mother's dresser-shelves, and 'took pleasure in 'contrasting the colours of her patchwork.' Except in the case of music, and more rarely of drawing, these childish tastes are seldom of much importance; and there are probably few children who have not been fond of cutting out shapes in paper and collecting little curiosities.

When he was but nine years old, Josiah Wedgwood had the misfortune to lose his father. He was then taken from school, and began to work at 'throwing' in his brother Thomas' pot-work. Three years later, the small-pox broke out in Burslem; he caught it; and at the end of a long and serious illness discovered that his right leg was permanently injured by the disease. It was hoped that the injury would not be such as to prevent

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his continuing his occupation; and in 1744 he was formally apprenticed to his brother. In a short time, however, he was compelled to abandon the thrower's wheel, and to make himself useful in the workshops as best he could. To this circumstance may in a great measure be attributed the wonderful practical knowledge he acquired in every detail of his art—a clever and industrious youth cut off by infirmity from the pursuits and amusements of his age; and released from continued drudgery at the throwing-wheel, he had both the will and the opportunity for studying improvements and making experiments which were the foundations of his subsequent success.

His elder brother, an unambitious man, in easy circumstances, had no sympathy with experiments or liking for new processes, and declined Josiah's proposal of becoming his partner upon the termination of his apprenticeship. Josiah, therefore, entered into partnership with one Harrison of Stoke, who without any practical knowledge of pottery had invested capital in a pot-work belonging to Thomas Alders of Cliff Bank. The wares produced by this new firm improved rapidly, but Wedgwood's partners, though well content to profit by his talents and exertions, sought to overreach him, and to interfere with his management of the business; so that in less than two years he retired from them in disgust. A partnership with Thomas Wheildon, a painstaking and industrious man, then offered itself; he had a small pot-work at Fenton Low, and from very small beginnings had secured a considerable trade in minor useful and ornamental wares; and when Wedgwood joined him in 1751 or 1752 employed several apprentices, whose names were in after years well known in the trade. The agreement with Wheildon seems to have left Wedgwood considerable liberty in the exercise of his art, for a special clause allowed each of the partners to practise, without revealing them, any secrets they had acquired; and we are told that he spent the first six months of his partnership in bringing to perfection a green glazed ware which proved eminently successful. It is much to be regretted that this early success did not lead him, as his knowledge and means of making experiments increased in after life, to devote himself more to the subject of glazes. Beautiful as may be the form, the execution, or the decoration of a piece of unglazed ware, it will always be inferior either for use or ornament to that which has really a fine glaze; and in this point no European manufactory has ever been able to equal the Chinese. If anyone be disposed to question this proposition, let him go to the South Kensington Museum and compare the best specimens of old or modern porcelain with the splendid

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case of Nankin china, lent by Mr. L. Huth. Its merits would be difficult and tedious to describe, but they could not fail to be appreciated by the most undiscriminating observer.

While still engaged with Wheildon in the development of their increasing trade, Wedgwood bruised his injured leg; the accident, though a slight one, induced serious symptoms, and confined him for months to his room. Thus again debarred from actively following his business, he again seized the opportunity for study both of a general and technical kind, which led to an increased desire for trying experiments and following out improvements; but Wheildon, like Thomas Wedgwood, preferred the safe and easy road to wealth which lay before him to the more perilous scramble by unknown paths in search of fame which fascinated his young partner; and upon the expiration of their agreement they separated. They were both successful in the courses they chose; Wheildon acquired a large fortune, and became in 1786 high sheriff of the county of Stafford; what befell Wedgwood the two biographers before us are written to show.

Resolved upon starting in business untrammelled by covetous or unsympathising partners, Wedgwood now engaged the pot-work and house at Burslem known as the Ivy House, which belonged to his relations, John and Thomas Wedgwood, who carried on the same trade at what was called the Big House.

The infirm state of his health, and still more the want of capital, obliged him at first to restrict his manufacture to such wares as his partnership with Wheildon had proved to command a ready sale, though careful to increase his profits and reputation by strict attention to the improvement of their execution and design. He also, we are told, at this time accepted commissions which, although probably yielding little or no profit, added considerably to his reputation and experience. These were for the imitation of pieces required to make up broken sets or services of foreign manufacture. The labour and study requisite for producing copies of many different bodies, glazes, and methods of enamelling, however considerable, would have been highly interesting to a man of Wedgwood's inquiring mind, and led him to experiments of the greatest utility. In little more than a year his health and his means had so far improved as to enable him to increase his business; in order, however, to carry out his projects, he saw that it would be necessary to effect a complete revolution in the manner in which pot-works had hitherto been conducted, and he therefore set to work to introduce a system of orderly division of labour which at first roused the opposition of his workmen, but without which

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his future success would have been impossible. Into almost every machine, tool, or process, he introduced improvements, studying them at night and instructing his men in their use by day.

As his trade increased he became more and more sensible of the disadvantages under which he laboured from the want of safe or convenient outlets for his wares. To read accounts of the state of the roads in England at that time, one might suppose it to have been a barbarous country peopled by robbers. The descriptions have been no doubt highly coloured by travellers who had been jolted, bruised, and upset in ruts and sloughs, or frightened by highwaymen; but had the roads been as safe and no worse than a Devonshire lane in the present day, they would have been quite impassable enough to prevent any important development of a trade in fragile goods. About the year 1760, therefore, Wedgwood and some of his neighbours petitioned Parliament for an Act to improve their means of communication with Liverpool and the Salt Wyches of Cheshire, and in 1763 succeeded in carrying it in spite of the selfish opposition of the inhabitants of Newcastle, who feared the loss of any traffic through their own town. The same reasons which led Wedgwood to exert himself for the improvement of the roads induced him a few years later to become one of the most active promoters of Brindley's Grand Trunk Canal. The strong opposition which this scheme had to encounter served only to rouse him to fresh exertions, and he spared neither time nor money in his endeavours to secure for the Potteries those advantages which he saw that all improved facilities of communication would confer. His evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, together with that of Bentley, his friend and future partner, and of Brindley the engineer, was mainly instrumental in defeating the representatives of adverse interests, and in May, 1766, the Bill received the royal assent.

In 1764, Josiah Wedgwood married his distant cousin, Sarah Wedgwood, daughter of Richard Wedgwood of Spen Green * in Cheshire, and who, Mr. Jewitt tells us, eventually succeeded to a fortune of 20,000*l.* Their love-making and engagement afford no materials for any romantic story, and was interrupted by no difficulties but the invariable disputes about settlements; nor are any particulars of the wedding extant beyond the entry in the register of Astbury Church. Miss Meteyard is not to be stopped by such a lamentable

* Or 'Small Wood,' according to Mr. Jewitt.

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hiatus, and we shall therefore present our readers with her account of this important event in her hero's life:—

'The wedding party must have proceeded to church on horseback or in vehicles, as Spen Green lay some way off; it was also the depth of winter and the roads in this part of Cheshire notoriously bad. Cottages and farms lay around the church, and supplied gazers enough, we may be quite sure, as the little procession passed the fine gateway, which gives entrance to the churchyard, and thence into the church itself, with its lateral aisles and appended chapel. Astbury Church is still one of the finest in Cheshire; more on the scale of a cathedral than a mother church of a rural district. The ceremony over, there was the joyous return home; Josiah Wedgwood no longer a solitary man, but with the good angel of his life now for ever by his side. Then came feasting and merrymaking enough; for the bride's father was, if cautious and careful, a genial hospitable man, and amends were thus made for the morning's journey through execrable roads.'

And then follows a page of high-flown reflections which we have not patience to quote.

As Wedgwood's trade increased he felt the want of some agent and place of business in London, and sought therefore the assistance of his brother John, who, having retired from a post which he had held under Government for many years, had plenty of time at his disposal, and who, having mixed in the artistic and literary society of the day, was in a position not only to extend his brother's business, but to assist him in obtaining information connected with his art. John Wedgwood lodged at the sign of the Artichoke in Cateaton Street, and here some rooms were taken for the display of his brother's patterns and the receipt of orders. The orders increased rapidly, and among them the Royal order for a tea-service, from which the well-known Queen's ware took its name.

Mr. Jewitt, from want of the materials from which Miss Meteyard has composed her work, has repeated the commonly received story that Wedgwood secured the patronage of royalty by presenting a caudle-service to Queen Charlotte on the birth of the Prince of Wales in 1762. Miss Meteyard is indignant; the story 'is a mere myth; very pretty to read, 'but utterly worthless as a fact in the life of the great Wedg-'wood.' The real circumstances connected with his introduction to royal favour 'place the great artist and his art 'in a far higher light than the long-received and hackneyed 'story could do. The truth reverses the whole matter. It 'was patronage which sought the great potter, not the great 'potter patronage.' This tremendous fact is hurled at the mistaken public, and the biographers who misled it, in capital

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letters. The truth is, that Wedgwood accepted an order through Miss Chetwynd for a beautiful tea-service for the Queen which had been declined by several other potters, and that at the Queen's next confinement *after* this order, he presented the caudle-service. This story, while not making too much of it, is at the same time not without value as an illustration of Wedgwood's character. At the period in which he lived it was considered almost essential to the success of every literary or artistic work that it should be supported by distinguished patronage; he was too high-minded, too industrious, and entertained too just views upon the extension of trade to waste his time or diminish his sense of independence by seeking for patrons; but he was at the same time too shrewd an observer of human nature and too keenly alive to the interests of his business to lose any of the advantages which patronage could confer when it was offered to him. A striking example of his knowledge of human nature is to be found in a letter which he wrote to his partner, Mr. Bentley, in 1767, giving his reasons against hiring as a London warehouse some premises in Pall Mall which had been used for auctions:—

'At present,' he writes, 'the nobility and gentry recommend one another to my rooms and they never meet with any other company there, but everybody would be apt to stroll into an auction-room—one they had ever had free access into—and that would be the most effectual method I could take to keep my present set of customers out of it. For you well know that they will not mix with the rest of the world any further than their amusements or conveniences make it necessary. I find I did not sufficiently explain to you my reasons for wanting a *large* room. It was not to show or have a large stock of ware in town, but to enable me to show various table and dessert services completely set out on two ranges of tables six or eight at least; such services are absolutely necessary to be shown in order to *do the needful* with the ladies in the neatest, genteelest, and best method. The same or indeed a much greater variety of sets of vases should decorate the walls, and both these articles may every few days be so altered, reversed, and transposed, as to render the whole a new scene, even to the same company, every time they shall bring their friends to visit us. I need not tell you the very good effects this must produce when business and amusement can be made to go hand in hand. Every new show, exhibition, or rarity, soon grows stale in London, and is no longer regarded after the first sight, unless utility or some such variety as I have hinted at above, continue to recommend it to their notice. A lady or gentleman may out of complaisance to their friends come with them a few times to see a show with which they themselves are satiated; but of this they will soon grow weary unless they likewise share in the entertainment, and will much sooner carry their friends to a scene which

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is new to them all, than to one where their eyes have always met with the same objects and the same arrangement of them. This may be avoided with very little address when we have a room proper for the purpose. I have done something of the sort since I came to town and find the immediate good effects of it. The first two days after the alteration we sold three complete sets of vases at two and three guineas a set, besides many pairs of them, which vases had been in my rooms six, eight, and some of them twelve months, and wanted nothing but arrangement to sell them. And besides room for *my ware*, I must have more room for *my ladies*, for they sometimes come in very large shoals together, and one party are often obliged to wait till another have done their business.' (Vol. ii. p. 32.)

The increase of his trade in 'Queen's ware,' consequent upon the royal patronage, was such that in 1766 Wedgwood thought it advisable to take into partnership his cousin Thomas Wedgwood, who had for some time past been employed in the works, and placed him at the head of what was called the 'useful' department, over which he continued to preside till his death in 1788. He was, we are told, an excellent potter, and had gained considerable experience in the porcelain works at Worcester. Like his cousin, he was an enthusiast in his calling, 'and possessed the same eye for form, the same love of 'perfecting details, and for exquisite finish.' He had several sons, one of whom—Ralph—was the inventor of a manifold writer still in general use, and also, we believe, of the electric telegraph, of which, under the name of the 'fulguri-polygraph,' he published a description in 1814, at the same time accurately predicting the benefits which it was capable of conferring upon mankind.

It is time now that we should also give some account of Wedgwood's more distinguished partner and intimate friend Thomas Bentley,—a man whose varied acquirements, whose liberal views, high principles, and agreeable manners seem to have won for him the respect and affection of all who knew him. The steady and unselfish friendship he bore towards Wedgwood, and the willingness with which he assisted in forwarding his projects with his counsel, his pen, or his money, did not a little towards raising our great potter to the position he attained, while the correspondence which passed between them has afforded the most interesting of the materials from which the biographies before us have been compiled.

Thomas Bentley was the son of a country gentleman in Derbyshire, and not, as has been frequently asserted, of Richard Bentley, the famous critic. He was born on January 1, 1730, and educated in a Presbyterian college near Derby, on leaving

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which he was placed in a woollen and cotton warehouse at Manchester as apprentice to a merchant. On the expiration of his apprenticeship he passed some time on the Continent, and learned to speak both French and Italian fluently. Soon after his return to England, at the age of twenty-four, he married a Miss Oates, who died in less than two years, and established himself in Liverpool as a warehouseman.

In 1762, Wedgwood, whilst travelling to this town on business, injured his disabled leg so seriously that he was obliged on his arrival to call in the assistance of Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Turner, who taking pity upon the loneliness of his patient, confined to his room in an inn, brought Mr. Bentley to see him. They had many tastes and subjects of interest in common, and the acquaintance quickly ripened into a friendship which became more and more intimate and affectionate till Bentley's death in 1780.

Bentley was a Presbyterian, and one of the chief supporters of a small sect called the 'Octagonians,' who had a written liturgy, and met in an octagonal chapel in Liverpool; he was also one of the founders of the Warrington Academy, and was consequently upon intimate terms with Dr. Priestley and Dr. Aikin (the father of Mrs. Barbauld), who both held professorships in that institution, while his varied tastes and knowledge made his house an agreeable rendezvous for men of note in every branch of science and art. Many of the acquaintances here begun were afterwards of great service to Wedgwood in his different researches and undertakings: his disabled limb had again largely repaid him for the suffering it had caused.

The Canal scheme, in favour of which Bentley wrote a pamphlet which obtained a wide circulation, and was of great service to the project, threw him into frequent communication with Wedgwood; and the position which he gradually acquired of export agent for his wares, gave him a constantly increasing knowledge of, and interest in, the pottery trade:—

'Towards the close of the year 1766 Mr. Wedgwood seems to have made his first proposal to Bentley relative to a partnership, and the concentration of their energy and talent in one direction. From all we have seen we may conclude that it was a union which, on many accounts, he had long desired; and now that the prospects were in every way so encouraging of bringing ornamental ware of many kinds to a perfection hitherto unknown, he naturally wished to secure the aid and counsel of a friend whose fidelity, judgment, and preeminent ability he had long and fully tested. Mr. Wedgwood, perhaps, felt that Bentley was wasting his singular powers in trivial, obscure, and miscellaneous labours instead of concentrating them on more important objects; whilst on his own part, he wished,

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by resigning a portion of his directive authority, to secure more time for chemical and philosophical researches; these being, as he well knew, the basis on which a continuity of progress rested. But with rare modesty Bentley raised several objections to the union, principally on account of his little knowledge of the potter's art. To these the reply was very characteristic of Wedgwood's generosity and high opinion of his friend's versatile abilities:—"I have read your letter many times over and find several of the objections to our nearer approach may be surmounted, and I shall speak to those you have mentioned in the order you have stated them. The first is 'your total ignorance of the business'—that I deny, as friend Tristram says to St. Paul—you have taste, the best foundation for our intended concern, and which must be our *primum mobile*, for without that all will stand still, or better it did so, and for the rest it will soon be learned by so apt a scholar. The very air of this country will soon inspire you with the mere mechanical part of our trade. The difficulty of leaving your business in Liverpool, which seemeth now to be altering for the better, I cannot so easily obviate, this being a matter of calculation, in which there is no data to proceed upon, but probabilities of future contingencies, which we cannot investigate or command with the certainty which I could wish my friend to have in a matter of so much importance to his interest. I have, it's true, a great opinion of the design answering our most sanguine expectations with respect to profit; but if you should suffer as much on the other hand by having your attention taken off your mercantile concerns, *you* would be a loser upon the whole, though *I* should not, and to what degree that loss might be extended I can have no idea, nor you any certainty, unless we could divine in what proportion your absence would affect the success, or prevent the increase, of your commerce.

'"The money objection is obviated to my hand, and I doubt not in a way that will be agreeable to us both; but the leaving your friends and giving up a thousand agreeable connexions and pleasures at Liverpool, for which you can have no compensation in kind (indeed, my friend, I know from experience you cannot), this staggers my hopes more than everything else put together, and always hath done, for I have often seriously thought at it before I received your letter; and as I wish you to see every shade in this chequered piece, permit me to ask you, Can you part from your Octagon and enlightened Octagonian brethren to join the diminutive and weak society of a country chapel? Can you give up the rational and elevated enjoyment of your Philosophical Club for the puerile *tête-à-tête* of a country fireside? And to include all under this head in one question, Can you exchange the frequent opportunities of seeing and conversing with your learned and ingenious friends, which your present situation affords you, besides ten thousand other elegancies and enjoyments of a town life, to employ yourself amongst mechanics, dirt, and smoke? enlivened indeed with so much of the pastoral life as you shall choose for yourself out of the Ridgehouse Estate? If this prospect does not fright you I have some hopes;

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and if you think you could really fall in love with and make a mistress of this new business, as I have done of mine, I should have little or no doubt of our success; for if we consider the great variety of colours in our raw materials, the infinite ductility of clay, and that we have universal beauty to copy after, we have certainly the fairest prospect of enlarging this branch of manufacture to our wishes; and as genius will not be wanting, I am firmly persuaded that our *profits* will be in proportion to our *application*, and I am as confident that it would be beyond comparison more congenial and delightful to every particle of matter, sense, and spirit in your composition to be the creator, as it were, of beauty, rather than merely the vehicle or medium to convey it from one hand to another, if other circumstances can but be rendered tolerable. Let us, therefore, endeavour to take a more distinct view of the outlines of our project, which may furnish us with some amusement at least, and perhaps it may not be the first time we have pleased ourselves with future schemes that have eluded our grasp and vanished away like the morning cloud or early dew. . . . .

'"The articles to begin the work with will be—root flower-pots of various sorts ornamented and plain. Essence-pots, bough-pots, flower-pots, and cornucopias.

'"Vases and ornaments of various sizes, colour, mixtures, and forms *ad infinitum*.

'"Then proceed to toilet furniture, and enrich these and other ornaments with gold burnt in.

'"Elegant tea-chests may be made, snuff, and other boxes.

'"Fish, fowl, and beast, with two legged animals in various attitudes.

'"Ten thousand other *substantial forms*, that neither you nor I, nor anybody else, know anything of at present.

'"If all these things should fail us, I hope our good genius will direct us in the choice of others."' (*Miss Meteyard*, vol. i. p. 482.)

It was not till the spring of the following year that Bentley acceded to his friend's proposal, and the arrangement of the partnership was probably hastened by the death of John Wedgwood, who had superintended the London warehouse. John Wedgwood was found drowned in the Thames, and his tragical and mysterious end was a cause of great sorrow to his brother, who thus concluded a very touching letter announcing the catastrophe to Bentley:—

'I know you will sympathise with me in my distress, and I need not tell you how doubly welcome a few lines will be at this time from a real affectionate and sensible friend, such a one as you have ever been to me since I had the happiness of being known to you. Let us now be dearer to each other, if possible, than ever. Let me adopt you for my brother and fill up the chasm this cruel accident has made in my afflicted heart. Excuse me, my dear friend,—the subject is too much for me. I am your miserable friend,

J. Wedgwood.'

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It was arranged that Bentley should have a house near his friend's upon the Etruria estate, a scheme which was abandoned upon the subsequent decision that Bentley should conduct and develope the London business. These new works at Etruria were opened in June 1769, with a little ceremony more interesting than the 'inaugurations' which seem to be considered necessary now-a-days to every new undertaking, from a Great Exhibition to a drinking-fountain. A large company of friends and relations were invited on the occasion, and assembled in the throwing room:—

'And here,' as Miss Meteyard tells us, 'Mr. Wedgwood, divesting himself of his hat and coat, and probably tying on to the amusement of his visitors one of the workmen's aprons, but in no other way altering his ordinary dress of a gentleman, sat down before the thrower's board, whilst Mr. Bentley, handsomely attired we may be sure, turned the wheel. One of the favourite old servants made the balls of clay ready to his master's hand, and others stood by to assist. Thus environed, Mr. Wedgwood, well remembering his old mastery in this highest province of the potter's art, threw with great precision six vases in the black basaltes body, averaging about 10 inches each in height, and 5½ in the widest part. This done, there was an adjournment to the turner's room, and here, still assisted by his friend, and cheered by the presence of his visitors, Mr. Wedgwood pared down inequalities at the lathe, and perfected his work so far as was then possible. This done, a luncheon was spread under the shade of some trees on the upland beyond; and the memorable day did not close till the shades of evening fell.' (*Miss Meteyard*, vol. ii. p. 111.)

Three of these very interesting vases are still in the possession of one of the Wedgwood family, and drawings of them are given in both the works before us.

It was about a year before the opening of the works at Etruria that Wedgwood was obliged to submit to the amputation of the disabled leg, which had played so important a part in his history; he appears himself to have suggested the operation, and to have endured it with great coolness and courage. Two years later, however, he was visited with a sorer trial—a disorder in his eyes—which seemed for some time likely to end in total blindness; in the midst of this sorrow his wife, who acted as his amanuensis, was called away to nurse her father, who was dangerously ill. But even in this melancholy condition his courage and patience did not forsake him. 'I 'am learning,' he wrote to Bentley, 'to acquiesce . . . whatever 'may be the issue, as I would wish to do in every unavoidable 'evil. I am often practising to *see* with my *fingers*, and I 'think I should make a tolerable proficient in that science for

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'one who begins so late in life; but shall make a wretched 'walker in the dark with a single leg.' He also made arrangements for imparting to Bentley all his experience and secrets in the practical part of a potter's art. Happily, these preparations for the sudden termination of his artistic career proved to be needless; the disease yielded to treatment, and we do not find that he was ever again seriously troubled with the malady which threatened to deprive England of his services, at the very moment when he was attaining the eminence for which he had striven.

Towards the end of the year 1769, Bentley settled in London, and undertook the management of the warehouse opened by his firm in Newport Street. He established himself in Chelsea, and upon the grounds adjoining his house erected workshops in which the painting of the ornamental ware was carried on.

His house soon became, as at Liverpool, the favourite resort of scientific and literary men, and his pen frequently supplied the 'Monthly Review' with articles upon the politics of the day; he visited his customers in a chariot and pair, and appears in the warehouse to have occupied a position probably quite as unusual among retail dealers at that period as it is unknown at the present time. 'His handsome person and polished manners,' says Miss Meteyard, 'were irresistible to otherwise 'haughty duchesses and ladies; and whilst he poised a vase or 'showed basrelief or cameo, and related the antique stories its 'designs sought to express, the ladies listened, smiled, bowed, 'and, what was more to the purpose, bought. An aristocrat by 'nature, he was the most courtly of chapmen.' In the fulfilment of these and many self-imposed duties Bentley continued, the faithful partner and friend of Wedgwood, till his death in 1780.

It was through Bentley that Wedgwood first secured the services of the celebrated artist whose name is so intimately connected with the finest productions of the Staffordshire Etruria. A modeller for works of the highest class had been much wanted, and in Jan. 1775, in answer to an announcement from Bentley that the man they sought had been found, Wedgwood writes:—'I am glad you have met with a modeller, and 'that Flaxman is so valuable an artist. It is but a few years 'since he was a most supreme coxcomb, but a little more ex-'perience may have cured him of this foible.' Wedgwood was not long in appreciating the talents of the modeller he had secured, for in the following year he speaks of him as the 'genius of sculpture.' In 1787 Flaxman went to Rome, with the assistance of Wedgwood, who advanced the money for the

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journey, and there continued, as far as his other engagements would permit, to make models for the Pottery or superintended and connected the works of other sculptors in Wedgwood's employ.

A number of Flaxman's bills have fortunately been preserved and are published in the works before us; they are of great interest not only as showing the prices he received for his labours, but especially as conclusive evidence as to the pieces designed or modelled by him. The correspondence which Miss Meteyard has examined has enabled her also to do justice to several of the modellers less known to fame whose works have hitherto been ascribed to Flaxman. Such acts of restitution are sorely needed in the history of every art, and are happily increasing more and more with the publication of artistic biographies. How many excellent painters are there whose very names are almost unknown to the world in general because their productions have been constantly attributed to some more celebrated hand.

In 1788 Wedgwood's cousin and partner died, and he carried on the business alone till 1790, when he took into partnership his three sons John, Thomas, and Josiah, and his nephew Bryerley, and retired from the more active part of the work. Ill health and the consequent necessity for more frequent repose and change of scene probably induced him to take this step, which he did not long survive. In Dec. 1794,

'his face swelled, and attributing this to a decayed tooth, he sent for Mr. Bent to draw it. But to the surgeon's consternation, when he came he discovered early symptoms of mortification. The distress of Wedgwood's family was extreme when they learnt this. From this date he grew rapidly worse; his throat became inflamed and his weakness increased. Dr. Darwin hastened over from Derby, and with two other physicians and Mr. Bent, watched sedulously by his bed. But nothing could save him. He suffered greatly from pain and fever. As these increased, insensibility came over him; and thus in unconsciousness he passed away from the scene of his labours and his good life on Saturday, January 3, 1795, in the 65th year of his age.' (*Miss Meteyard*, vol. ii. p. 610.)

Wedgwood's work had been a successful one in a pecuniary as well as in an artistic sense, for he died worth more than half a million of money. Nor were these large gains the result of grasping or penurious habits; he was hospitable to such a degree that it was the daily custom at Etruria to lay places at his table for any guests who might unexpectedly arrive; he was extremely liberal to all his workmen and to the poor of his neighbourhood, and, whilst taking a leading part in

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all schemes for their improvement or relief, was ever ready to subscribe to works of more general utility or charity. He had, according to Miss Meteyard, one peculiarity singular enough in a man trained from childhood to business and forced to make his own fortune without any capital to start with—this was his dislike to accounts.

'He used to say he knew he had lost thousands by not attending to this department of his business; but he could not bring himself to enter upon the details of figures, as they so wholly interrupted those trains of thought necessary to his work. One or two old pocket-books bear evidence to this idiosyncrasy. . . For instance, he will set off on a journey on horseback to London, and for the first few miles he will diligently record his expenses even to the penny he gives a girl for opening a gate or gathering him a bunch of wayside flowers. Then he drops off into some meditation concerning mixtures, colours, or forms, and all else is forgotten. The next entry is at the distance of days, and then it will relate to some possible degree of fineness in wire sieves or some chemical experiment.' (*Miss Meteyard*, vol. ii. p. 606.)

It is possible that many persons who merely dip into Miss Meteyard's volumes may be inclined to complain that so much space is devoted to Wedgwood's personal history and characteristics, and to say that an account of the potter and his work, not of the man and his virtues, was what they required; but though the book is needlessly prolix and swelled out by imaginary details and descriptions, we believe that no one can read this history of Wedgwood's life without feeling that his works were so intimately connected with, and the result of, his character, that in order rightly to appreciate them, it is necessary to be, so to speak, personally acquainted with Wedgwood himself.

We must now proceed to offer a few remarks upon the different wares produced by Wedgwood. In 1773 he and Bentley published a catalogue of their goods which subsequently passed through several editions and was translated into various languages; these catalogues, the last edition of which appeared in 1779, are of great value in determining the date and authenticity of different pieces, and in tracing the improvements that were made in some of the wares.

The Queen's ware, which was the foundation of Wedgwood's fame and fortune, is too well known to require description. Its soft tint and glaze rendered it peculiarly fit for enamel painting, and though scarcely suitable, as earthenware, for such fine work as was lavished upon it in the 'Grenouillière' service made for the Empress Catherine, was well adapted for the slighter kind of decoration generally employed upon it,

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and would have answered well for the reproduction or imitation of Italian majolica. The experiment was indeed tried; for the Duke of Argyle, who had some fine specimens of Raffaelle ware, commissioned Wedgwood to copy them. After some doubts as to the body and glaze necessary for the work, 'the painting 'was tried upon the cream ware body, and some exquisite vases 'and other articles were the result.' Wedgwood had, however, no real love for colour, and we read of no further attempts in the same direction. His descendants have employed the pencil of the well-known M. Lessore upon the decoration of this ware with great success,—a success so great indeed as unfortunately to have led to the use of printed outlines for the rapid multiplication of his works. We wonder that the ghost of the great Josiah did not rise to protest against a proceeding so entirely opposed to his principles.

Some idea seems to have been at one time entertained of giving a whiter tint to the Queen's ware. A MS. memoir of Wedgwood, frequently quoted by Mr. Jewitt, says that 'he 'fancied from the general predilection for porcelain that if by 'an alteration in its colour he could bring it nearer to that 'appearance it would be an improvement acceptable to his 'patrons. He invented for this purpose a whiter glaze with a 'tint of blue, now generally known in the manufactory by the 'name of China glaze.' Miss Meteyard, however, tells us that Wedgwood, though for a time he entertained the idea of making a whiter ware, abandoned it,

'as it would seem, without even making an experiment. "You know," he says to Bentley in July, 1770, "that I have given over the thoughts of making any other colour but Queen's ware. The white ware would be a great deal dearer, and I apprehend not much better liked; and the Queen's ware, whilst it continues to sell, is quite as much business as I can manage." But the improvements in manufacturing processes are usually in themselves the cause of change. The substitution of Derbyshire chert for boulders of blue granite in the process of grinding flint, necessarily purified and slightly whitened the ware, from the absence of all particles of granite from the ground substance; and with this purer colour Wedgwood, after much consideration, was content for a further period. Three plans floated in his mind: one to continue his manufacture of the cream colour as heretofore, a second to deepen the colour "so as to make it as deep a straw colour as possible," and a third to make a ware entirely white. After much correspondence with Bentley on the subject and elaborate calculations on the cost of manufacture, he decided, and wisely, in improving as far as possible, but not altering, the colour of the ware his skill and industry had raised into a staple.' (*Miss Meteyard*, vol. ii. p. 309.)

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It was to the Queen's ware that the process of printing was extensively applied for the purpose of decoration. This process was invented about the year 1756 by John Sadler, an engraver of Liverpool, to whom it suggested itself upon his observing some children sticking some waste prints he had given them upon broken pieces of crockery. With the assistance of one Guy Green he made some experiments which proved successful, and the partners managed, without taking out any patent, to secure for themselves a large and profitable business; no small portion of which were the orders they executed for Wedgwood, who continued to the day of his death to send his Queen's ware to them to be printed.

This invention as originally applied simply gave an impression of an engraving upon pottery, and was in that state a very pleasing and legitimate form of decoration. Since, however, it has grown into imitations of painting, it may fairly be questioned whether the discovery has not been prejudicial to art.

The basaltes which was first produced by Wedgwood in 1766 is thus described in his catalogue:—'Basaltes or black ware; 'a black porcelain biscuit of nearly the same properties with 'the natural stone; striking fire with steel, receiving a high 'polish, serving as a touchstone for metals, resisting all the 'acids, and bearing without injury a strong fire; stronger 'indeed than the basaltes itself.'

In this ware were made the vases thrown by Wedgwood at the ceremony of the opening of the Etruria works, and on its decoration the encaustic gold bronze and encaustic painting was frequently employed. These were the only processes for which Wedgwood ever took out a patent. The bronzed ware, whether gilt or not, is now somewhat rare, and Miss Meteyard suggests that the metallic lustre has been effaced. The bronzed ware was, however, not so generally popular as the plain basaltes, specimens of which may be found in almost every country-house in England. The encaustic painting was used for the copies and imitations of Etruscan vases, and possessed the advantage for that purpose of being durable though without the shining appearance of enamel; the basalt body used for these vases generally received by a slight variation of the chemicals a tinge of blue.

A terra cotta, described by Wedgwood as resembling porphyry, granite, Egyptian pebble, and other beautiful stones of the silicious or crystalline order, was much used by him for vases, flower-pots, and candlesticks. This body was so hard that it would bear grinding, and would take as fine a polish as the stones it imitated. It was one of his most beautiful

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wares, but never attained the same popularity as the basaltes or the jasper.

'A white porcelain biscuit' is also mentioned in the catalogue, which only differed from the basaltes in its colour, and which by another variation produced the 'bamboo or cane ware,' which was much used for flower-pots and tea-pots, but which is on the whole the least pleasing of all Wedgwood's ornamental works.

The biscuit ware invented by him for mortars and chemical vessels, though not applied to artistic purposes with which we are most concerned, deserves mention as one of the most thoroughly successful of his useful productions. He had many difficulties to contend with in its manufacture, but they were successfully conquered, and he was at last able to describe it in his catalogue as remarkable for great hardness, little inferior to that of agate, having the property of resisting the strongest acids and corrosives, and being impenetrable by every known liquid, a character which we believe the Wedgwood mortars are still considered to maintain against all rivals.

Of all the productions of Wedgwood, however, the most original, and that with which his name is chiefly connected in the mind of the public at large, is the Jasper ware. The term is not a happy one, for it does not describe its appearance, and confounds it with one of the crystalline bodies to which we have already alluded. Nevertheless, be the name good or bad, it has passed current too long to be altered. The ware is thus described in the catalogue:—

'Jasper, a white porcelain biscuit of exquisite beauty and delicacy, possessing the general properties of the basaltes, together with the singular one of receiving through its whole substance from the mixture of metallic calces with the other materials, the same colours which those calces communicate to glass or enamels in fusion; a property which no other porcelain or earthenware body of ancient or modern composition has been found to possess. This renders it peculiarly fit for making cameos, portraits, and all subjects in bas-relief, as the ground may be of any particular colour, while the raised figures are of a pure white.'

The chief difficulty which seems to have arisen in the manufacture of this ware was that the coloured grounds were apt to stain the white relief in the thinner parts, but this was eventually overcome by firing the two portions of the composition separately, and joining them afterwards with a soft flux. It was not till 1785—some years after the death of Bentley—that the reliefs on the jasper ware attained their highest perfection; and we learn from a letter which Wedgwood wrote to

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Sir William Hamilton in 1786, with what extraordinary care they were then produced:—'You will observe,' he says, with reference to an assortment of jasper ornaments which were being executed for the King of Naples, 'that they have been 'objects of very great care; every ornament and leaf being 'first made in a separate mould, then laid upon the vase with 'great care and accuracy, and afterwards wrought over again 'upon the vase itself by an artist equal to the work; for from 'the beginning I determined to spare neither time nor expense 'in modelling and finishing my ornaments.'

Advantage was taken of the property which this ware possessed of shrinking evenly in the process of firing to make reduced copies of the various reliefs, and to adapt them to the manufacture of personal ornaments; brooches, watch-cases, rings, and numberless other trinkets, were formed by setting the jasper cameos in rims of gold or steel. Intaglios were also made in this ware, in some of which the engraved portion was made black, while the surface remained blue, and was polished to imitate the black and blue onyx. These were used as seals, and were so popular that forged copies were also sold in great numbers, and the seal engraver's occupation was thought to be gone; the Wedgwood seals have, however, disappeared, and the engravers seem still likely to survive even the more dangerous rivalry of adhesive envelopes.

It would be needless to go through the long list of ornamental and useful purposes to which the jasper ware was applied, but we cannot omit the mention of its chief triumph—the copy of the Portland Vase. This celebrated work of art (now, as every one knows, in the British Museum) was bought by Sir William Hamilton from the Barberini family, and by him sold to Margaret Duchess of Portland, who had a passion for collecting. At her death in July 1785 it was determined that her museum should be sold, and it was accordingly brought to the hammer in the month of April of the following year. Mr. Jewitt, following the generally received story, tells us that Wedgwood, having decided to purchase the vase,

'attended the sale and contested the purchase with the then Duke of Portland (son of the late Duchess). . . . He had determined to examine and reproduce it, and he was not to be diverted from his purpose by a few or many pounds, or by having for his opponent a wealthy duke, the son of its late owner. So he bid on to upwards of a thousand pounds until, it is related, the Duke, stepping across the room to him, asked his object in wishing to possess the vase. On learning his object, the Duke offered, if Wedgwood would give over bidding and permit him to become its purchaser, to place it in his hands, and allow him to keep it sufficiently long to reproduce

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and do what he required. This arrangement being as frankly accepted as it was offered, the Duke became the purchaser of the vase for 1,029*l.*, and Wedgwood took with him the priceless gem.' (P. 306.)

On turning to Miss Meteyard's work we find that Wedgwood was in treaty with the Duke for the vase some two or three months before the sale; it appears also that the Duke was not present, but was represented by Mr. Tomlinson, and that there is nothing in the correspondence to which she had access to show that Wedgwood attended the sale or was a bidder. She concludes, therefore, and no doubt rightly, that the affair had been previously settled between them, and she furnishes us with a copy of the receipt, signed by Wedgwood three days after the sale, for the vase and a cameo of the head of Augustus, which had been also bought in by the Duke.

No sooner was the vase in his possession than Wedgwood gave his whole mind to the task of copying it. The difficulties which presented themselves, the means suggested for overcoming them, and his criticisms on the original, are detailed in some of his letters to Sir William Hamilton, for which we must refer our readers to Miss Meteyard's second volume. It is probable that no cast of the vase was allowed to be taken, and the task of modelling a copy of it was entrusted to Webber, one of the best artists in Wedgwood's employ, who is said to have received 500 guineas for the work. A subscription list was opened for the copies, though Wedgwood with great fairness told the subscribers that he was extremely diffident of his ability to perform the task imposed upon him, and that they should be perfectly at liberty, on seeing the result, to take or refuse them. Fifty copies were subscribed for at 50 guineas a piece, but as each one was finished upon the lathe by the gem engraver, a long time elapsed before they could be completed, and even these varied considerably in execution and in colour. It is not probable that more than these fifty were completed in Wedgwood's lifetime, of which Miss Meteyard has only been able to trace fifteen at the present time. Copies of the Portland Vase are still made, but we are not aware of any since the subscription series having been finished in the same laborious and costly manner; the modern jasper, moreover, cannot compare with that made by Wedgwood either for compactness or smoothness.

We must not close our notice of Wedgwood's inventions without mentioning that which obtained for him the honour of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society—the pyrometer. Everyone who has the smallest acquaintance with the potter's art knows how important it is to ascertain to what degree of

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heat the ware in the kiln is being exposed. Experiments in the composition of bodies, glazes and enamel colours may be utterly marred by a wrong temperature; and pottery had no sooner, therefore, begun to make steps towards becoming a fine art in this country, than the necessity was felt of some sort of thermometer for high degrees of heat. Wedgwood's cousins of the Big House pottery at Burslem were amongst the first to attempt any experiments on this subject, and endeavoured to attain their object by observing the changes in colour produced by progressive degrees of heat; but the results obtained by this system were too uncertain, and too easily affected by causes other than heat, to be depended on. Wedgwood therefore discarded this system, and invented one, the general principles of which will be best explained in his own words, viz.:—

'That earthy bodies of the argillaceous order have their bulk *diminished by fire* in proportion to the degree of heat they are made to undergo; and that consequently the *contraction* of this species of matter affords as true a measure for strong fire as the *expansion* of mercury or spirit of wine does for the lower degrees of heat; but with this difference, that the contraction of the argillaceous mass is a *permanent* effect; so that the degree of heat is not here determined by a single transient observation made in the fire itself, but its measure is preserved, and is to be examined when grown cold, or at any future time.

'The argillaceous matter is formed into equal small pieces, called thermometer pieces; and one of these, which may be conceived as the detached bulb of a thermometer, is put into the fire that is to be measured, either in a little case made for that purpose, or in the same vessel with the subject-matter of the operation.

'A gauge, consisting of two rules fixed on a flat plate, a little nearer together at one end than the other, so as to include between them a long converging canal divided on the side, serves for discovering minute variations in the bulk of the pieces. A raw piece will just enter to 0 at the wider end of the canal: after it has been in the fire, if it be gently slid along till it is stopped by the convergency of the sides, the degree at which it stops will be the measure of its diminution, and, consequently, of the heat which it has undergone.' (*Mr. L. Jewitt*, p. 343.)

This instrument, of which a full account may be found in the Transactions of the Royal Society, is still used both in English and Foreign Potteries; but, ingenious as it is, it is too rude for scientific experiments, and he who succeeds in producing a thermometer which can show with accuracy the degrees of heat not only to which things have been, but are being exposed, will render one of the greatest services to the advancement of the potter's art.

Having now completed a slight sketch of the life and works

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of Josiah Wedgwood as detailed in the volumes before us, there remains only to add a few words upon the principles by which he raised his wares to a high standard of excellence, and himself to wealth and fame. The peculiar merit for which he laboured in all his productions, and in which they, perhaps, excel those of all other potters in the world, was beauty of form. An accurate sense of form must have been with him to a great extent a natural gift, for no amount of study could have produced it in such perfection as it was possessed by him had there been no original talent to cultivate; but it is equally certain that no amount of genius would have brought it to that state of perfection without constant and patient study of the principles and examples of the greatest masters of his own and kindred arts. His natural good taste led him to the study and imitation of antique vases and gems rather than to the fantastic forms of Sèvres, Dresden, and Chelsea wares; and once embarked upon this course of study, he spared neither labour nor money in making himself so far master of the theory and practice of classical art that, as Mr. Gladstone remarks, 'his lifetime constitutes in modern fictile manufacture little 'less than a new era as to form.' All this even might Wedgwood have done without rising above the rank of a clever imitator, but

'it is not in happy imitation, it is not in the successful presentation of works of fine art, that, as I conceive, the speciality of Wedgwood really lies. It is in the resuscitation of a principle; of the principle of Greek art; it is in the perception and grasp of the unity and comprehensiveness of that principle. That principle, I submit, lies, after all, in a severe and perfect propriety; in the uncompromising adaptation of every material object to its proper end. If that proper end be the presentation of Beauty only, then the production of Beauty is alone regarded, and none but the highest models of it are accepted. If the proper end be the production of a commodity for use and perishable, then a plural aim is before the designer and producer. The object must first and foremost be adapted to its use as closely as possible: it must be of material as durable as possible; and while it must be of the most moderate cost compatible with the essential aims, it must receive all the beauty which can be made conducive to, or concordant with, the use. And because this business of harmonising use and beauty, so easy in the works of nature, is arduous to the frailty of man, it is a business which must be made the object of special and persevering care. To these principles the works of Wedgwood habitually conformed.' (*Mr. Gladstone's Address*, p. 46.)

So much for Wedgwood's principles in art; of his principles as a manufacturer he shall speak for himself. The second

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edition of his and Bentley's catalogue concludes with this passage :—

'A competition for cheapness and not for excellence of workmanship is the most frequent and certain cause of the rapid decay and entire destruction of arts and manufactures.

'The desire of selling much in a little time, without respect to the taste or quality of the goods, leads manufacturers and merchants to ruin the reputation of the articles which they manufacture and deal in; and whilst those who buy for the sake of a fallacious saving prefer mediocrity to excellence, it will be impossible for manufacturers either to improve or keep up the quality of their works.

'This observation is equally applicable to manufacturers and to the production of the fine arts; but the degradation is more fatal to the latter than the former, for though an ordinary piece of goods for common use is always dearer than the best of the kind, yet an ordinary and tasteless piece of ornament is not only dear at any price but absolutely useless and ridiculous.

'All works of art must bear a price in proportion to the skill, the taste, the time, the expense, and the risk attending the invention and execution of them. Those pieces that for these reasons bear the highest price, and which those who are not accustomed to consider the real difficulty and expense of making fine things are apt to call dear, are, when justly estimated, the cheapest articles that can be purchased; and such as are generally attended with much less profit to the artist than those that everybody calls cheap.

'There is another mistake that gentlemen who are not acquainted with the particular difficulties of an art are apt to fall into. They frequently observe that a handsome thing may be made as cheap as an ugly one. A moment's reflection would rectify this opinion.

'The most successful artists know that they can turn out ten ugly and defective things for one that is beautiful and perfect of its kind. Even suppose the artist has the true idea of the kind of beauty at which he aims; how many lame and unsuccessful efforts does he make in his design, and every part of it, before he can please himself? and suppose one piece is well composed and tolerably finished, as in vases and encaustic paintings, for instance, where every succeeding vase and every picture is made, not in a mould, or by a stamp, but separately by the hand, with the same attention and diligence as the first, how difficult must it be to preserve the beauty of the first model?

'It is so difficult that without the constant attention of the master's eye such variations are frequently made in the form and taste of the work, even while the model is before the workman, as totally change and degrade the character of the piece.

'Beautiful forms and compositions are not to be made by chance, and they never were made nor can be made in any kind at a small expense; but the proprietors of this manufactory have the satisfaction of knowing by a careful comparison, that the prices of their ornaments are much lower, and of all of them as low, as those of any other ornamental works in Europe of equal quality and risk,

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notwithstanding the high price of labour in England, and they are determined rather to give up the making of any article than to degrade it. They do not manufacture for those who estimate works of ornament by their magnitude, and who would buy pictures at so much a foot. They have been happy in the encouragement and support of many illustrious persons who judge of the works of art by better principles; and so long as they have the honour of being thus patronised they will endeavour to support and improve the quality and taste of their manufactures.' (*Mr. L. Jewitt*, p. 218.)

Here, said Mr. Gladstone in his 'Address' at Burslem, we have 'a clear proof that something which resembles heroism 'has its place in trade.' We cannot expect all artists and still less all tradesmen to be heroes: the competition for cheapness in useful, nay even in ornamental, articles is not without its advantages, and questions of price are among those which no manufacturer can afford to neglect; but artist or manufacturer, every producer of any work to which art can in any way be applied, be it a cotton print or an enamelled vase, has duties to perform as a public instructor—it is a position which he can no more avoid than can the man who writes a book—and as an instructor he is bound not to produce bad works, however well they may sell. That this duty is becoming more and more generally recognised it is impossible to doubt, but so long as shop windows shall continue to exhibit 'ornamental' goods which appeal to the bad taste of purchasers, it will be evident that there are manufacturers who have yet to study and imitate the principles which guided Josiah Wedgwood.

ART. IX.—*The History of Scotland; from Agricola's Invasion to the Revolution of* 1688. By JOHN HILL BURTON. 4 vols. Edinburgh and London: 1867.

PRINCIPAL ROBERTSON in his review of Scottish history divides it into four periods—the first from the origin of the monarchy to the reign of Kenneth II.; the second from Kenneth's alleged conquest of the Picts to the death of Alexander III.; the third from the date of that calamity to the death of James V.; the last from thence to the union of the crowns under James VI.

The first of these periods he considers a region of 'pure 'fable and conjecture,' which 'ought to be totally neglected, 'or abandoned to the industry and credulity of antiquaries.' Truth, he thinks, 'begins to dawn in the second period, with 'a light, feeble at first, but gradually increasing, and the

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'events which then happened may be slightly touched, but merit 'no particular or laborious inquiry.' With the third period, however, authentic history begins; contemporary records exist from which the manners of the age can be gathered, and the characters of the actors can be pictured: 'here every Scotsman 'should not read only, but study the history of his country.' While in the fourth period Scotland is truly described as so mixed up with the great changes then agitating every nation in Europe, that without some knowledge of Scottish history it is difficult to form a just appreciation of the most momentous events, or the most prominent figures of the sixteenth century.

A similar conception of Scottish history would seem to have been present to the mind of Mr. Burton. He appears to have fully adopted Robertson's sentiment that 'nations, as 'well as men, arrive at maturity by degrees, and the events 'which happened during their infancy or early youth, cannot be 'recollected, and deserve not to be remembered.' Accordingly, he has treated the first of the above periods almost exclusively from the antiquarian point of view; and, however we may admire his 'industry,' we can trace little of that 'credulity' which Robertson imputes to the antiquarian race. In truth no Scottish historian with whom we are acquainted has shown a franker contempt for Scottish legend, or a greater indifference to Scottish prejudice. Mr. Burton has applied those principles of historical inquiry which Niebuhr first laid down, and which Sir George Lewis made familiar to us; and under this searching light the so-called history of centuries has vanished away like the mist on a Scottish hill. Not till the days of Malcolm Canmore (1057–93) does he recognise the dawn of true history. That prince is the first king of the Scots who has anything like an individuality about him—who is 'more than a name 'and a pair of dates with a list of battles between.' The controversy which disturbed the dinner-table at Monkbarns moves Mr. Burton but little. He shows, indeed, hardly less contempt than the Antiquary himself for the list of Pictish kings enumerated by Sir Arthur Wardour—'that bead-roll of 'unbaptised jargon that would choke the Devil!' and as to the Pictish people he seems utterly indifferent as to what they were, where they came from, or where they went to, doubtful in fact whether they ever had any separate existence whatever from other savages, except so far as their use of paint may be considered distinctive. Mr. Burton may offend some antiquaries by this indifference; while, by his acceptance of the theory that Scotchmen were originally Irishmen, he will certainly rouse the wrath of thorough-going patriots, who

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outstrip even antiquaries in vehemence and credulity But we pass for the present Mr. Burton's chapters on the early races and the early Church of Scotland; they are so full of vigour and originality that they deserve to be considered apart, and we hope ere long to have a suitable opportunity of reverting to them in connexion with Count Montalembert's last volumes on the Saints and Apostles of these Isles. Our immediate concern at this time is with the historical part of Mr. Burton's book properly so called.

The two points in Scottish history which deserve, and will repay, careful study—though doubtless in a very different degree—are the War of Independence and the Reformation. These great struggles have an interest altogether apart from and beyond the feuds and forays of the Kingly period. In them we see great principles at work; in the one creating a nation, in the other giving dignity and force to national life. In such themes Mr. Burton is peculiarly at home, and the light which he has thrown upon the real nature of the War of Independence is perhaps the most valuable part of his labours. He introduces the subject by a minute and careful statement of Edward's claims, and of the pleadings before him for the prize of the Scottish Crown. It was a barren prize to the successful competitor; it would have been the same to anyone who accepted it from Edward's award. That sagacious prince had no intention that his feudal superiority should be nominal. His best defence is that his designs went far beyond this. And we cannot but think it rash in English writers to peril Edward's reputation on so narrow an issue as the validity of this claim. It is hard to believe that he troubled himself much about the rights of the matter: valid or invalid, he saw in such a claim a ready and powerful means to a great end, and he used it accordingly. Indeed the whole question of the feudal superiority of the kings of England over those of Scotland has been debated with a wealth of learning and a warmth of temper utterly disproportionate to the subject. No better illustration could be found of the truth of Lord Macaulay's remark, that our historians and antiquarians have been always prone to conduct their researches in the spirit of partisans. While the Treaty of Union was in dependence, this question had a practical and important bearing. But now, when no shadow of its former importance remains, the vehemence with which the discussion has been carried on excites our wonder. As a rule the feeling has been keenest on the Scotch side—though no Scottish writer has reached the unseemly extravagance of the author of the 'Greatest of the Plantagenets.'

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Tytler denounces 'the absurd and unfounded claim of the 'feudal superiority of England over this country.' Hume, more temperately, speaks of the claim as one 'which had 'hitherto lain in the deepest obscurity.' Lingard, on the other side, holds that the kings of England 'for centuries claimed, 'and occasionally exercised, the right of superiority.' Sir Francis Palgrave regards the documents collected by him from the Record Office as conclusive on the question.

Mr. Lingard in support of his belief in the antiquity of the claim goes far back into the Saxon times; he rests strongly, for example, on an inroad by Athelstan into Scotland in the year 934, in the course of which Constantine (a supposed Scotch king) 'was compelled to implore the clemency of the 'conqueror.' But raids of this sort, even if authentic, can never be relied on as the foundation for a claim of feudal superiority; and nothing but raids of this sort can be got from the Saxon times. Mr. Lingard's Saxon authorities are therefore open to two somewhat serious objections: the facts are by no means beyond dispute; and there was no law recognised by the parties to which those facts, if authentic, could be applied. This branch of the case is stated with perfect fairness by Mr. Hume:—

'The whole amount of Edward's authorities during the Saxon period, when stripped of the bombast and inaccurate style of the monkish historians, is, that the Scots had sometimes been defeated by the English, had received peace on disadvantageous terms, had made submissions to the English monarch, and had even perhaps fallen into dependence on a power which was so much superior, and which they had not at that time sufficient force to resist.'

During the Norman period the case was different. No one can dispute that after the Conquest there existed, on the English side at least, a perfect comprehension of feudal law, and a perfect appreciation of the consequences which the rendering of homage by the Scottish kings might entail. From hence, therefore, the question turns more on the facts of the case—that is, on the extent of homage rendered. The authorities are all English; some of them not beyond the suspicion of having been garbled so as to bring out with additional force what we may, without a great lack of charity, suppose to have been the natural leaning of the writers. Yet even with such materials no clear case can be made out for England. No case can be quoted in which the kings of Scotland did homage *expressly* for the whole kingdom of Scotland. Accordingly Scotch historians have contended that in the early instances, of which the statement is generally vague, the homage

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was rendered only for the lands held south of the border—a limitation which in the later instances was carefully expressed. Mr. Burton doubts this, 'not believing that the grades and 'ceremonies of homage were then (1073) so far advanced as to 'admit of one of these complicated transactions.' We hardly think Mr. Burton's doubt justified by his reason. Malcolm Canmore may have been little skilled in the subtleties of feudal law. If so, then he was ignorant of what he was doing, and the rendering of homage on his part is thus deprived of any higher authority than the vague 'submissions' of the Anglo-Saxon times. But the Normans were quite familiar with such 'complicated transactions.' The feudal system was then in its zenith; the relations of the kings of England to the French Crown with respect to the lands they held in France exemplified the very grades and ceremonies to which Mr. Burton alludes. On their side, at least, there could have been no difficulty in appreciating such a limitation as that for which Scotch writers contend. At all events, whatever may have been the precise nature of the homage rendered by Malcolm, it is certain that the raids into England never ceased—showing plainly that, instead of a vassal, William had an independent and turbulent neighbour on his northern frontier. Mr. Burton compares the early relations between the Scotch and the Normans to the relations between the Franks and the later Empire, between the Norsemen and the Count of Paris. The wild marauders are ready enough to do homage for estates and honours given and received as bribes; but no homage would bind them to peace, the forays were renewed as soon as ended.

'The whole story has a significant resemblance to the attempts of the King of France to buy off and soothe the Norsemen, whose chief professed all due homage in proper form, yet, according to a common legend, took a sly opportunity, in his awkwardness in court fashions, to trip up the paramount monarch in the course of the ceremony.' (Vol. ii. p. 79.)

Perhaps the Treaty of Falaise (1174) first gave the Scottish kings a clear idea of what the English feudalists were driving at. By the terms of that treaty Henry enacted from his captive William the Lion an obligation for absolute homage for the whole kingdom of Scotland. But it may be plausibly urged that the excessive pains then taken to declare the infeudation of Scotland, go far to show that the matter was by no means clear. The terms of the treaty indicate a victory gained, not an existing right declared. The anxiety shown to wrest it from the helplessness of a captive proves the value attached to the point it conceded. And in 1189, Richard, for

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the price of ten thousand marks, restored to Scotland her independence, and withdrew the conditions which his father had enforced by new deeds and owing to the captivity of William (*per novas chartas et captionem suam*). From henceforward no instance can be given of general homage, however vague in expression; and by the Treaty of Brigham in 1290, the independence of Scotland was fully and fairly recognised.

After all, conceding to the advocates of the English claims everything they contend for, what do they succeed in establishing? Feudal superiority never implied a right of conquest or absorption. Louis XI. was the feudal superior of Philip the Bold; but did that prevent the independence of Burgundy? Still more idle seems this famed discussion when we look at the changes of dynasty which took place in England. Let Athelstan and Canute have been as terrible and as oppressive to the Scotch as they are alleged to have been, what can the Conqueror claim in virtue of their power? He was not the legal inheritor of the rights either of the Saxon or of the Dane. He conquered the Saxon in England; the Saxon in Scotland he did not conquer. He tried it and failed: in the words of the Chronicle, his invasion gave him 'naught of which he was the better.' He may have extorted homage from the king; he established no right of conquest over the people. And had such a thing been in his power, he was not the man to leave the accomplishment of it in doubt.

It is surprising how readily modern writers have allowed themselves to follow those litigious Normans into the subtleties of which they were so fond. It is not by such considerations that Edward should be judged. He set before himself a great end; if he found the claim of superiority a useful means to that end, he was justified in using it; but it is frivolous to determine the rectitude of his conduct by the validity of that claim. Rather does he seem, in our judgment, to lose in dignity by the tricks and shifty devices, and the unscrupulous use of the new science of conveyancing, to which he stooped in the endeavour to make it good.

On the other hand we cannot but regard it as a shallow patriotism which would load with undiscerning vituperation the memory of the great Plantagenet. That in the furtherance of his aims he showed but little regard for the rights of others, and still less for their prejudices, we readily admit; but we cannot hold him more unscrupulous in this respect than many of the greatest statesmen of all ages. His was no vulgar ambition. He was no conqueror for the mere sake of conquest—still less for the love of glory. In his practical

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views he reminds us somewhat of the later career of Frederic the Great; certainly he stands far above men influenced by such common motives as those which stirred Henry V. and Louis XIV. In the feeble reign of his grandfather the continental possessions of England had been wrested from her; and he saw, with the foresight of a statesman, that this loss would be a gain if England should thereby be enabled to make the whole island at one with herself. He did not purpose, at least in the first instance, harsh and cruel subjugation; his nobler aim was the gradual creation of a United Empire.

He failed, and his failure brought with it unmixed disaster to the weaker kingdom. During the long period of turbulence which followed on the death of Bruce, Scotland was made hideous with all the miseries, not dignified with the majesty of war. Indeed the tumults which then raged did not deserve the name of war; they were not efforts to maintain an independence seldom in serious jeopardy, they were rather feuds between the nobles, or assaults by the nobles on the Crown. The triumph of Bannockburn bore no better fruit than the uncontrolled license of a rude aristocracy—the fitful efforts of the Crown to restrain that license—and the profound misery of the people. When the reins of power had fallen from the vigorous hands of the Regent Randolph, the country became the scene of endless turmoil. The reigns of the Roberts were marked by the murder of the heir-apparent, the disaffection and treason of the most powerful nobles. The first and ablest of the Stewarts was assassinated. The second had to contend with repeated rebellions. The third, who has been recently represented as an amiable and accomplished prince, was defeated by his insurgent nobles and slain. James V. spent his days in useless struggles with his chief subjects, and died at length heart-broken by their treacherous desertion. The earlier years of James VI. were little better than a disguised captivity.

During such times no sound Constitution could grow up. Accordingly the Scottish Parliament, even in its perfected form, was never powerful for good. The burgesses had indeed been summoned to it from an early period; but they cared little to come, and for all they could accomplish, might as well have staid away. Occasionally they passed useful laws, which the great nobles disregarded at their pleasure. Public spirit was roused by no great questions of taxation as in England, probably because there was nothing to tax. The history of revenue has been called the history of liberty; and perhaps Scotland failed to achieve constitutional liberty because there were no revenue questions which could serve as the field of

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battle. The defects of the Scotch Parliament are too well known to be repeated, were it not that Mr. Burton has rather glossed them over. The Three Estates voted together. No question was brought before them unless recommended by the Lords of the Articles—a private committee, really though not in form nominated by the Crown. The Acts of Session were drawn up at the close by the Clerk Register according to his own idea of what the votes and resolutions of the Estates might signify. The extent of the King's prerogative was undetermined; and the Parliament had not the power of electing their Speaker—the Chancellor presiding *ex officio.* Such a Constitution afforded no security for liberty—a powerful prince had everything his own way. In early times the liberties of the nation had little to fear from the monarchy; but when the King was enabled to wield the whole strength of England, the want of constitutional safeguards made itself felt. Everybody knows how the Parliaments of the English Stewarts, led by profligate statesmen and subservient lawyers, sat only to register the edicts of the King. Then Scottish history was the history of alien domination and disastrous revolt—a fawning aristocracy, a corrupt clergy, an enraged and rebellious people —churchmen like Sharpe, sectaries like Burley, statesmen like Perth and Melfort. There were doubtless many causes which brought about all this evil; but much of it was certainly owing to the absence of any constitutional restraints on the Sovereign, and to the want of that steady and rational spirit of independence which familiarity with the use of such restraints gives to a people. The Stewarts, with all the will in the world, could never make such wild work with the liberties of England.

In material well-being Scotland lost even more by the War of Independence. As an independent kingdom she had little leisure for the pursuits of peace. A transitory gleam of prosperity shone out in the early days of James IV.—soon to vanish in the ever-recurring storm. The union of the Crowns, so far from being a gain, was in this respect a detriment to her. During Cromwell's administration, indeed, complete conquest brought with it a rich consolation in free-trade between the countries, and the privilege of sharing in the expanding commerce of England. But, with the exception of this brief period, during the unprecedented prosperity which England enjoyed from the accession of James I. to the fall of James II., Scotland was steadily becoming poorer. The extent of this evil may be best illustrated by a contrast. It is a terrible thing to say of a nation that, during a period of four centuries, it retrograded in

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material well-being. Yet this may with truth be said of Scotland. Mr. Innes, in his 'Sketches of Scottish History' (p. 158), lays it down as beyond dispute that at the death of Alexander III. (in 1285) Scotland was more civilised and more prosperous than at any period of her existence, until the time when she ceased to be a separate kingdom in 1707. Mr. Burton (vol. ii. pp. 190–198), and Mr. Robertson, in his 'Scotland under her 'Early Kings' (vol. ii. pp. 171–180), give a picture of Scotland at the death of Alexander in which they bring forward satisfactory proofs of the comparative wealth and civilisation of the country. Mr. Robertson is perhaps rather an enthusiastic writer; but Mr. Burton certainly is not; and the latter forms quite as favourable an estimate of the state of the country as the former. Tradition points to the days of the Alexanders as a time of great well-being. There had been peace with England for more than a hundred years—a blessing never again enjoyed until the Union. The burghs had risen into affluence and importance, eminent over the English burghs, in other respects closely resembling them, by the absence of any trace of thraldom. Berwick, styled by an enthusiastic chronicler 'the Alexandria of the North,' held a foremost place among the commercial cities of the island. During the reign of the third Alexander her customs are said to have been farmed for a sum amounting to more than a quarter of the whole revenue of England from similar sources; and the story runs that in the middle of the twelfth century a citizen of Berwick fitted out no fewer than fourteen vessels for the rescue of his wife who had been carried off by Orkney pirates. The purity of the coinage, and the absence of all mention of voluntary aids, afford strong evidence of the wealth of the nation. Everything, in short, that we can learn points in the same direction. The castles of that period, and still more the noble ecclesiastical buildings, bear witness to peace and riches. The tariff, which was very complicated, is proof of the luxuries in which the inhabitants were enabled to indulge; and a country which at that date imported such things as pepper, almonds, figs, beaver and sable skins, and which carefully provided for the regulation of hostels or taverns, must have been pretty well to do in the world. As Mr. Burton says, in his familiar style, it is not easy, wanting as we do any exact statistics, 'to communicate that general impression which 'the investigator carries with him after rummaging unmethodi-'cally among old documents.' But on the whole all the facts which can be ascertained lead us to the conclusion that Scotland was a rich, prosperous, and happy country at the close of the 13th century.

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Very different was the state of Scotland at the close of the 17th century. The nobility, far too numerous for the country, were poor place-hunters; the gentry wandering adventurers. There was no agriculture worthy of the name; no trade save what was carried on by petty pedlars. Prices were high; severe scarcities frequent. Slavery, though in theory illegal, was really enforced. All colliers and salt-makers were regarded as predial serfs. Kidnapping was a regular trade. Donacha Dhu in the 'Heart of Midlothian' is no exaggeration. There were almost no magistrates—roads only between the large cities—rarely bridges—a greater number of idiots than in any other country—and finally in all times a tenth, in evil days a fifth, of the whole population, begging from door to door, living in the constant commission of every kind of crime —a state of things so appalling that (as is well known) a regular system of slavery seemed to Fletcher of Saltoun the only efficient remedy for miseries so deeply rooted. In a word, Scotland bought her independence at the cost of inconceivable material wretchedness, the loss of constitutional liberty, the utter disorganisation of society, and the arrest for nearly 400 years of any real progress in civilisation.

Was it worth the price? Many Scotchmen will be indignant at the very question; but if we look at the matter dispassionately the answer is not easy. We have seen how, while Scotland as a nation gained her independence, the people of Scotland failed to gain their freedom. On the other hand, had Edward's designs succeeded, Scotland would have entered on the enjoyment of those constitutional rights which the English people had even then achieved, and the want of which in after years cost Scotland so dear; her burghers would have shared in the privileges which Simon de Montfort had given to their English brethren, her nobles might have stood by Bohun and Bigod, when they won the Confirmatio Chartarum from Edward himself. Again as regards material advancement, she would have enjoyed a continuance of that peace and order which had already raised her so high, while she would have been admitted to a share in that foreign trade which, even in the 14th century, enabled the merchants of London to be the hosts of princes. Nor, in Edward's defence, should we forget that he may be well supposed to have foreseen the future—to have been fully persuaded, that for Scotland the only alternative was between union and long years of misery. Situated as Scotland was and related to England as she was, there was no peace possible to her as an independent nation. Were such the views of Edward, and we can readily believe them to have been so, he was certainly justified by the event.

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Some defensive wars stand out in history the issues of which were momentous in striking disproportion to what at the time appeared to be the interests directly at stake. Such was the resistance of the Greek Republics to Persia—such too the repulse of Athens in the harbour of Syracuse. Such in other times was the struggle of the Lombard Republics against Barbarossa, in which liberty first showed herself to modern Europe. Little of this interest attaches to the Scotch War of Independence. The case of Switzerland approaches it most nearly. But even there a more complete success rewarded virtue, and the effects of the contest were more widely felt. The victors of Sempach gained for their country a more enduring liberty than the victors of Bannockburn; and in a later generation the triumphs of Granson and Morat accomplished the overthrow of the power of Burgundy, and raised Switzerland to a conspicuous place in Europe. The Scottish patriots secured for their country only a protracted struggle; and so far as they brought her into European politics at all, they made her little more than an outlying battle-field between France and England. Yet not on that account do they lose their title to our sympathy. Keeping the results steadily in view, we may doubt the expediency of the resistance; it is impossible to withhold our admiration from the spirit which inspired it. 'Not for glory,' wrote the Scotch Parliament to the Pope, 'riches or honours did we fight, but for liberty alone, 'which no good man abandons but with his life.' If only they had really achieved that liberty for which they endured so much!

Mr. Burton is the first historian, so far as we know, who has brought out the real nature of this struggle. It was not in any sense a struggle for national independence by a united Scottish people. In fact, the Scottish nation, as we use the words now, can hardly be said to have had then any existence at all. It was simply the last desperate stand made by the Saxon against the advancing wave of Norman aggression, differing only in point of time and eventual success from the stand made by Hereward or Robin Hood; perhaps even more closely resembling the stand made some hundred years later by the Scottish Celt against the power of the Scottish Lowlander.

The first fruit of the Norman Conquest in Scotland was a steady migration of the Saxon people northwards. 'Angles' was the name these refugees bore among the motley races which then inhabited our country, and, taken together with those of the same race previously established there, they pro-

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bably formed the bulk of the population of all Lowland Scotland except Galloway. These refugees knew the expansive power of the tyranny from which they had fled, and could tell their kinsmen strange and cruel tales of Norman oppression. Every year was widening the difference between the people subject to Norman oppression and the people free from it, and was teaching the latter what they might expect should this heavy yoke be ever laid upon them. While such feelings were gaining ground among the Saxons of Scotland, Norman adventurers came trooping into that country just as they had into England in the days of Edward the Confessor. Welcome at Court, they were not popular throughout the country. At the death of Malcolm III. the prevailing desire for their expulsion had nearly occasioned a change of dynasty. Hence when the dispute as to the crown broke out, the 'middle class' —if we can with propriety apply that expression to those times —at all events a strong peasant and burgher class, for the most part of Saxon race, saw their danger.

'Historical conditions had made the Lowland Scots the very pick of the hardy northern tribes. They were made up of those who had left their homes whenever they found tyranny, or, as it may be otherwise called, a strong government pressing on them. Thither came those who had successively swarmed off before the pressure of Varus, of Charlemagne, of Gorme the Old, and of Harold the Fair-haired. And the last, and perhaps the stoutest and truest of all, were the Saxon peasants who had sought refuge from the iron rule of the Normans among a kindred people still free.' (Vol. ii. p. 281.)

It mattered little to these men whether they were ruled by the Norman Edward or by some Norman baron who held estates in Scotland; in any case it was Norman rule with all its varied wickedness which was impending over them. To this they would never submit, and hence the War of Independence. The national instinct, therefore, which has made Wallace the hero of that war is justified by historical truth. He was the impersonation of the feeling we have described, the very type of the class among whom that feeling was supreme. Bruce, Norman as he was, could never have succeeded had he not broken from his Norman compeers and his Norman King; and we doubt whether he could have succeeded at all had not Wallace gone before, rousing the people by an appeal to the feelings which stirred so strongly within them—fear and hatred of Norman tyranny.

Mr. Burton has not only brought into due prominence the true causes of this war, but he is the first Scottish historian, so far as we know, who has done justice to the motives of

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Edward. We quote the following comment on the ordinance for the Government of Scotland, issued by Edward in 1305, not only as enforcing powerfully the writer's views, but as a favourable specimen of his style:—

'The ordinance is not a logical or methodical document. It mixes up the broadest projects of legislation and administration with mere personal interests and arrangements. But it bears the impression of a high intelligence and a far foresight, mellowed by beneficence and even kindliness. The author of it sees that, once brought together, without violence or goadings to national antipathy, the two nations would naturally co-operate and fuse into one compact empire; and no one could be more alive to the mighty destinies that such an empire might have to look to. Had he begun in this spirit, there are many things to render it credible that he might have been successful. *A nationality distinct from and antagonistic to that of the English people had not been made before the death of Alexander III.* The Scots looked to King Edward with a paternal feeling, and had a leaning to the English institutions. Of these they were never afraid; and if they could have felt assured of retaining such freedom of action as these or their own native institutions gave, they would not have been apprehensive of innovation. What they dreaded was the prerogative power, royal and baronial, which the Normans brought by innovation on the original laws and customs of England. In the discussion of the succession, and in the military occupation of the country, these were set in their most offensive shape, face to face with the people of Scotland. Throughout the twelve years' contest, too, they were reminded over and over again of those innovations, with which their neighbours were still at war. They knew that when the King of England found difficulty in gathering a sufficient force for crushing them, it was because he was haggling with his own people about demands for the renewal of the Great Charter and the limitation of the forest laws; and these reiterated demands were nothing but the lamentation and denunciations of the people of England for the rights and liberties of which they deemed they had been robbed.' (Vol. ii. pp. 342–3.)

In a well-known passage of his history, Lord Macaulay comments on the singular lot of the Scottish Highlander—but a short while ago detested by all civilised Scotland as a barbarian and a thief, now hailed as the true type of Scottish nationality. Mr. Burton did something towards exploding this romantic folly in his 'History of Scotland since the Union.' He dealt it a severe blow by his discovery, that the picturesque kilt was the invention of an ingenious trooper in General Wade's army. In his present history he has gone yet farther and shown, not only that the Highlander was all along alien and hostile to the Scot in the modern sense of the word, but that he did what in him lay to prevent the existence of Scotland

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altogether. It may be true, though Mr. Burton does not think so, that at least in the beginning of the 11th century, Scotland as a whole was a Gaelic-speaking country. However this may be, it did not long continue so. The tide of Saxon immigration then began to flow steadily; settled in the lowlands, and, uniting with those of the same race already there, created what we now mean when we speak of the Scottish nation. The Celt driven back to his hills allied himself with the Norman. Edward derived from them important aid, and entered into treaties with their leading chiefs. And this antipathy to the Saxon race lasted throughout the whole of Scottish story. From the days when they assailed Bruce at Loch Awe to the days when they butchered the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge, the Celts were the pests of Scotland. As Mr. Burton says, we shall fail to gain a true estimate of the history of our country, unless we realise the truth that by the Scottish people the battle of Harlaw was hailed as a not less memorable deliverance than the battle of Bannockburn. It was the spirit of the Saxon middle class which achieved Scottish independence: exhausted by misery and poverty, overmastered by turbulent nobles, it sank down powerless for long years, to be roused again at the second great awakening of national life—the Reformation.

We have dwelt thus long upon the causes and effects of the War of Independence, both because it is a point of Scottish history not perfectly understood, and because Mr. Burton in his account of it has achieved his greatest triumph. Party-spirit could hardly here have influence; but national prejudice might be, and in many instances has been, very powerful for evil. Of this disturbing, and in these times unworthy element, we find, in Mr. Burton's clear and impartial argument, no trace. His view of the War of Independence is not, of course, absolutely new; but we have nowhere else seen it urged with the same knowledge and convincing force. Originality is in fact the marked characteristic of the whole book. And while here and there doubtless, especially in the antiquarian discussions, a lurking love of paradox may be discovered, as a rule this originality is not disfigured by a restless craving after novelty. We have sometimes ventured to doubt whether or no the new sources of information recently opened with such profusion to the world, have after all been of much use in advancing historical truth. It seems questionable whether historians really profit by the mass of materials now hurled upon them; or whether, unable to grasp the whole, they do not too readily embrace the new, neglectful of the old. Men are so prone to over-estimate what they have themselves disinterred,

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especially if it be in manuscript; to under-estimate what has been long before the world, especially if it is in print. From this inordinate affectation of novelty Mr. Burton is free. Of all writers we know he is about the last to be led by others; he forms his own opinions, and expresses them with unmistakeable distinctness; but in the formation of those opinions he is not carried away by a vague admiration of new discoveries, he gives no undue weight to some recently dug-up despatch filled with the gossip of the day, the work of an ambassador, if not, according to Wotton's sarcastic definition, 'a man sent abroad to 'lie for the benefit of his sovereign,' at least a man sent to report all manner of tittle-tattle for his benefit and his amusement. Not that Mr. Burton neglects such sources of information. On the contrary, so far as we can judge, he is well acquainted with the results of the most recent investigations; but he rates them at their proper value, and no higher. To this sedateness of judgment it is mainly owing that the philosophy of Scottish history has never been so clearly set forth as in these volumes.

It would, on the other hand, be idle to deny that in some respects the varying aspects of the War of Independence might have found a more congenial chronicler. Mr. Burton possesses but in a slight degree the art of the story-teller; and he wants, if not the feeling of romance, at least the power of expressing the romantic. Nor, though this may be the rashness of ignorance, do we esteem very highly those dissertations on military tactics of which he is extravagantly fond. He is very jealous of the military fame of Wallace, and claims for him the merit of the great discovery of the power of infantry. But then he fails to show us how, if this were so, the battle of Falkirk was lost, and that of Bannockburn won. Still more entirely does he fail to present the noble and picturesque aspects of the contest. To have the heart stirred with that sympathy for courage and resolution, to which no one, English or Scotch, would willingly be dead, and which the desperate struggles of Wallace, the wild adventures of Bruce and the good Lord James so surely evoke, we must after all go back to that chosen friend of boyhood the 'Tales of a Grandfather.'

The third volume of Mr. Burton's history is, to our thinking, the least interesting of the four. This is in part attributable to the nature of the subject; in part to the writer's inability to make the best of the subject such as it is. Doubtless no theme could be less attractive. The period embraced is from the accession of David Bruce to the death of James V., and the annals of few countries can furnish a more dismal record.

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The prosperity of the middle class had passed away like a dream. Swept by the storms of English invasion, neither town nor country could afford a secure resting-place for peaceful industry. Trade was no more, agriculture ceased to be worthy of the name; burgesses and peasantry alike sank into insignificance and misery. The history of Scotland, during this dreary time, is but a record of savage feuds among the nobles themselves, and of an inveterate antagonism between the strength of the nobles and the weakness of the Crown,—

> 'A leafless branch her sceptre, and her throne
> An icy car indebted to no wheels,
> But urged by storms along its slippery way.'

It was the rare felicity of England that, in the early struggles between her nobles and her king, constitutional safeguards were established, which afterwards did good service in many a perilous contest. Scotland had no such fortune. While the nobles of England contended for behoof of those liberties which belong to all classes of men, the nobles of Scotland sought only for license to plunder and oppress. Throughout long years of conflict our sympathies are almost uniformly with the King. For the cause of the Crown was the cause of order and good government, the cause of the nobles was the cause of rapine and turbulence. The mischief began with the wars of the dispossessed barons in the reign of David. These men, indeed, it were absurd to blame. They were of the same class as the original competitors for the throne of Scotland—brilliant adventurers, without any ties to Scotland, without in fact any ties of nationality at all—and as no one can seriously blame the men of the former generation for offering their homage to Edward in order to preserve their Scotch estates, still less can any charge be justly urged against the men of the second generation seeking to regain the estates of which the War of Independence had deprived them. But with the accession of the House of Stewart this came to an end. Every man in all classes of society had then cast in his lot with one country or the other. The Norman alien had passed from the land, or had changed into the Scottish noble—just as, years before, he had in England. The men of this new order of things were in every sense of the word Scotchmen, and yet for the furtherance of their own selfish and lawless aims they set themselves in opposition to authority, and did what in them lay to obstruct the advancement of the country in civilisation and prosperity. The causes of the extravagant power of the Scotch nobility have been enumerated by Robertson. He ascribes it mainly to the extensive possessions of certain families, to

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the security afforded to rebellious lords by the defensible nature of the country, to the necessary effect of the English wars in weakening the central authority, to the hereditary jurisdictions which the legislature often but vainly attempted to control, to the habit of entering into bonds for mutual defence, to the long minorities of the Crown, and to the absence of any such counterpoise as was supplied by the peasantry and commercial towns of England. To these we would add another, the readiness of the Scotch nobility to betray their country whenever it suited them to do so. This, we think, strengthened them in their struggles with the Crown more than all the other causes put together; it was with treason they began their rebellion against James III., it was by the help of treason that they triumphed over the vigour of James V. There are doubtless occasions when, for a great cause and in a desperate emergency, the aid of foreigners may be invoked in a domestic quarrel. Thus the Scotch Protestants looked for help to Elizabeth; thus the French Huguenots sought assistance from the same source; thus the English Opposition urged the Scotch to invade England in 1640; thus they summoned the Dutch in 1688. But no case of this sort can be made out for the Scotch nobles. They transferred their allegiance to England simply that they might gain their individual ends, or at least that they might strengthen their order. And the higher we go the more marked do we find this overbearing turbulence, and this faithlessness to their country. A certain halo of romance surrounds the name of Douglas, legends of chivalrous enterprise were long associated with the memory of the good Lord James, and Otterburn is even yet a word to charm with. Hence the lasting popularity of that House in spite of ambition, unruliness, and cruelty. They would have been very differently regarded had their countrymen known what we now know. Their frequent rebellions made little against them; but no memories of the past could have won forgiveness for their repeated alliances with the English king. With them such treason was no rare occurrence, but, in the words of Mr. Burton, was 'consistent with the policy 'of this House.' Very different were the feelings of the commonalty. Mr. Burton has only found one instance in which reference is made to any portion of the people as likely to change their allegiance; and this was with regard to the Armstrongs, a border race who had little more than a nominal allegiance to change. It is not too much to say that as it was the spirit of the middle class which first won Scottish liberty, so it was the persistency of that class which maintained it. In

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these early times there is but little to admire among the Scotch nobles. To find aught worthy to be placed beside the great families of England we must come down many years to the time when capacity for affairs, zeal for freedom, and love of toleration became conspicuous in the House of Argyle.

Against a power so great and so unscrupulously wielded, the efforts of the kings were of no avail. James I. took the matter in his own hand; James II. sought the feeble assistance of his Parliament; James V. invoked the more powerful aid of the clergy; but all equally in vain. Robertson, while admitting that the policy of these princes was not attended with success, yet cautions us against the conclusion that it was not dictated by prudence. Doubtless many circumstances combined to frustrate the endeavours of the Crown. Still, an uneasy impression will intrude that those endeavours were not always directed by wisdom, or tempered by moderation. In the records of those old struggles we seem to trace some of the characteristics which marked the Stewart race in times better known—high-mindedness, an impatience of independent opinion and a consequent addiction to favouritism, a love of so-called state-craft which was always shallow, and, if we may use the expression, an impetuous obstinacy. Especially do we remark those hereditary faults of the fated race in James II. and James V.; though in both relieved by fine and noble qualities. The Prince who won the title of 'King of 'the Commons,' must have had no small share of that urbanity and good nature which in Charles II. so often charmed away the resentment of an injured nation. James I. was the one statesman of the dynasty. He bid fair for success; his rash haste alone caused his failure and death. James IV. was a blustering knight-errant — unable to appreciate, still more unable to follow out, the traditionary policy of his House. James III. was, we suspect, a puzzle to his own time; is certainly one to ours. Mr. Burton frankly admits that he cannot discover whether this Prince was influenced by a love of low society, or by a taste superior to his age—whether of his two chief favourites, one was a low fiddler or the author of the national music of Scotland, the other a mere mason or 'the artist to whom we may attribute the revival of architec-'ture in the country.' One thing we do certainly know—that the democratic element in the country supported the accomplished Prince, and was opposed to the brutality of Bell the Cat, and his gang of titled rebels. On the whole, after making every allowance, we cannot feel that any prince of that fated race—not even James I.—was equal to the times in which he

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lived and the work he had to do. The fitful energy which inspired their assaults on an overgrown nobility seems but feebleness when we think of the subtlety, the sagacity, the unflinching determination with which a man like Louis XI. addressed himself to a similar policy.

Mr. Burton gives us little help towards understanding these stormy times. In fact, as we have already said, the Kingly period is the least effective part of his book. There are, amid much misery, some picturesque features in the story. The wild and shifting scenes in the minority of James II., the gay court which James IV. gathered round him, the adventures of that Prince and of James V. in the fashion of Haroun Alraschid—these and other such themes might have grown into brilliant pictures beneath the hand of an artist. The pictorial style of writing, however, is not in Mr. Burton's way. But we are certainly disappointed at the absence of anything like a grasp of the epoch as a whole. Failing all attempt to realise for us the life of a period, we are entitled to look for some philosophical conception of its general tendencies, some estimate of its influences on the development of the nation. We find no effort at anything of the kind in Mr. Burton's pages. His narrative from the accession of David to the death of James V. bears, we think, obvious traces of having been executed as an uncongenial task.

After the death of James V. we pass into Robertson's fourth period, when the history of Scotland becomes closely mixed up with the history of the leading nations in Europe. The key to a true understanding of the early part of this epoch is the change which then took place in the relations of Scotland with France and England. Up to this time the main effect of the alliance between France and Scotland had been to the prejudice of the weaker country. Scotland gained but little aid from French auxiliaries in her resistance to England; while the requirement that, in event of a war between France and England, Scotland should be bound to attack the latter, worked somewhat like the alliance between the giant and the dwarf in the fable. On the other hand, the interposition of Scotland had but little effect on the contests of the greater countries. She could sometimes occasion annoyance to England; and her soldiers fought well on more than one French battle-field, but that was all. The English-French wars would probably have come to the same results had Scotland not existed.

As the sixteenth century wore on and the first heavings of the coming convulsion were felt, the insignificance of Scotland became a thing of the past. Throughout his administration

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Wolsey set before himself, as an object of vital importance, the exclusion from Scotland 'of the Duke of Albany and the 'French faction, and the training of the realm into the amity 'of England.'

The French had many advantages in the struggle. They had possession of the ground: they were the ancient allies of the kingdom. True, they had never been personally popular. Their airs of superiority, their easy faith, their utter disregard of the rights of others, made them disliked in Scotland, just as long afterwards the same qualities made them disliked in Ireland. During the regency of Albany their unpopularity had grown to a height. And even at that time an uneasy feeling began to intrude that the French alliance might possibly prove as dangerous to the independence of Scotland as the enmity of England. The murder of de La Bastie came not only from dislike of the French, but also from a fear of French supremacy. This juncture, therefore, was England's opportunity for carrying out her long-cherished aims. That the opportunity was lost, that the enmity of Scotland was intensified, that England, in consequence of that enmity, became exposed to extreme danger, was altogether owing to the criminal folly of Henry VIII. No English monarch had ever such a chance afforded him of conciliating Scotland. Henry threw the chance away with his eyes open in obedience to his unruly passion. He had been fully made aware of the right course to pursue. Achitophel himself could not have given better counsel than George Douglas, brother of the Earl of Angus, gave the English ambassador. He warned him that force would be of no avail—that all the commonalty, the very boys on the street, nay, the old women with their distaffs, would rise up against a compulsory union with England. But with patience, and gentle means, urged the Scottish noble, much might be done. Let the English monarch preserve peace, let him encourage the intercourse of the two nations, above all let him invite the youth of the Scottish nobility to his magnificent court, and the great end would be attained in time. Henry would listen to no such counsels. During the reign of James V. his scheme for gaining over the Scottish people was to kidnap the Scottish King. After James' death his violence was yet less restrained. He was resolved to marry Mary to his son. There would have been no objection to the match; but Henry insisted on gaining possession of Mary in the meantime. He swore he would 'drag the child from the strongest fortress they could hold her 'in;' and when Suffolk remonstrated on the wildness of such

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schemes he was dismissed from his lieutenancy. This ended in war, and in such a war as the countries had never before known. The coast of Fife was mercilessly ravaged; Edinburgh burned to the ground; the Border turned into a wilderness; the religious houses destroyed. The instructions given to the leaders of the English troops would be grotesque were it not for the horror of them. They never contemplate conquest, or any lasting result of any kind; their constant burden is to preach devastation, to insist on the infliction of the greatest possible amount of misery. The work on hand could not be entrusted to the men of the borders, accustomed as they were to no gentle warfare. Henry's troops were composed of foreign hirelings—French, Spaniards, Italians, even Greeks, men who would not shrink from any extreme of cruelty. We have no disposition to try by a severe standard the acts of a statesman in pursuance of a statesmanlike policy. Purism in things political may become weakness. Thus we readily admit that much can be urged in defence of the sternest deeds of Edward. But Henry's position was totally different. Edward set before himself a great and worthy end—the unity of the island, and all his measures were directed to that end. Henry set no end before himself save the gratification of his savage nature. The senseless raids into Scotland which he began, and which culminated in Pinkie, had no better origin than the desire to forget a disappointment in the indulgence of a cruel revenge.

The picture of Henry's dealings with Scotland would not be complete without a word on the murder of Cardinal Beaton. That an English monarch and English statesmen should have stooped to be accomplices, if not the instigators of a treacherous assassination, is a disgrace without parallel in the history of the country. That they did stoop to this ignominy Mr. Tytler has clearly shown, and Mr. Burton sorrowfully admits:—

'These ugly revelations of the State Papers, if they show us one fallen star,* show others. The ardent polemic who deems himself the soldier of the Lord in a contest with Satan, demands charitable allowances; he is the desperate combatant in the front ranks of a deadly struggle, who neither asks nor gives quarter. Henry VIII. is an exception to everything. But what shall we say for English statesmen of that age when the spirit of chivalry was mellowing itself into that model of social excellence, the English gentleman? What for Hertford and Sir Ralph Sadler?'

The result of all this might have been foreseen. Hatred of

* Wishart himself, who seems to have been cognisant of the plot against the Cardinal.

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England blazed up more fiercely than ever; the power of France seemed to be strengthened beyond reach of danger. But influences were working on behalf of England more powerful for good than even the crimes and the folly of Henry for evil. During the minority of Mary the regency of the Queen-mother undid all that Henry had done for France. The former terror of the spread of French influence began to gather strength. In old times it had been the great point in favour of the French alliance that it involved no prospect of subjection. But a change had come; and now French supremacy—a worse evil than the supremacy of England—seemed impending. The policy of the Queen-mother, dictated by the Guises, kept this feeling alive. The terms of Mary's marriage with the Dauphin were not fully known in Scotland; but what was known increased the alarm, aud what was suspected increased it yet more. The growing spirit of Protestantism set strongly in the same direction. Thus in 1659 we find Kirkcaldy of Grange frankly confessing to Cecil his terror of France, and his desire to make common cause with England in the interest of both countries—especially dwelling on the importance to England of securing the friendship of a people who had heretofore been true to themselves, and would now be true to their new ally. Urged by these various causes the reaction went on, until, at the accession of Mary, the English faction was, we suspect, the stronger of the two. And the misfortunes and crimes of that unhappy Princess brought the long struggle to a decisive issue.

We have little space which we can devote to the endless questions associated with the name of Queen Mary: there are but two points on which we would dwell for a moment.

History has seldom recorded the doings of worse men than the nobles who surrounded the throne of Mary Stewart. To the turbulence and selfishness of their ancestors they superadded an audacity of cruelty and treachery peculiarly their own. They had acquired from France a certain hard unscrupulousness which intensified and but thinly covered the natural coarseness of their character. 'Their dress,' says Mr. Burton, 'was that of the camp or stable; they were dirty in person, 'and abrupt and disrespectful in manner, carrying on their 'disputes, and even fighting out their fierce quarrels, in the 'presence of royalty.' We have no purpose of tracing the tortuous politics of these men. But in order to judge Mary Stewart fairly we should remember their conduct on one or two crucial occasions. They murdered Rizzio, actuated by no better motive than a savage envy and a desire to bring back from banishment the rebel lords. They murdered Darnley,

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rather than consent to a divorce, to gratify their lust for revenge, and carry out their political schemes. They acquitted Bothwell, and signed a bond recommending him as the husband of their Queen. They overthrew Bothwell and deposed the Queen on the ground of this very murder, rousing popular feeling by a picture in which they blasphemously represented the young Prince as invoking the vengeance of Heaven upon a crime in the guilt of which they had fully shared. The revolting 'humbug,' to use a familiar expression, of this last stroke defies comment. Well may Dr. Lingard declare that 'more disgraceful conduct does not sully the page of history.' Even if Mary Stewart were in very truth the 'murderess of 'Kirk o' Field,' our sympathies are rather with her than with men who, under no equal temptation, were at once murderers, traitors, liars, and hypocrites.

Such words do not, of course, describe all the Scotch politicians of the time. But they do describe most of the men who were hostile to Mary; and their application is of wider extent than some historians would have us believe. Thus the proceedings even of Mr. Froude's 'noble and stainless Murray' will not bear a close scrutiny. That he was an accessory to the murder of Rizzio is beyond all doubt. He deserted his fellow-conspirators when punishment overtook them, and commissioned Sir James Melville to tell the Queen that he had 'dischargit himself unto them that had committed the lait 'odious crym, and wald promyse Hir Majestie never to haue 'do with them nor trauell for them.' The probabilities are strong that he was aware of the coming fate of Darnley. His leaving Edinburgh the day before the murder is very suspicious —in the words of a witness, 'desirous to be away while mis-'chief was going on.' The first deposition of Paris convicts him at least of guilty knowledge; and from first to last, he never showed the slightest intention of dealing even-handed justice among the murderers. Nor, waiving the imputations of duplicity and ingratitude, as to which there may be a doubt, is his honesty beyond question. Not only did he sell Queen Mary's jewels to Elizabeth, but he actually gave some of them to his own wife. The Regent Morton with great difficulty forced from the lady the spoil with which her husband had enriched her.* The judgment of Lord Sussex upon the Scotch politicians of that time with whom he came in contact was not less true than severe:—'These parties toss between

* Preface to 'The Inventories of Queen Mary,' by Joseph Robertson, pp. 129, 137.

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'them the Crown and public affairs of Scotland, and care 'neither for the mother nor the child (as I think before God) 'but to serve their own turns.'

The Queen's infatuation for Bothwell, as the story is commonly told, is one of the unaccountable things in history. Writers hostile to Mary generally represent him as an unredeemed ruffian, and ascribe her conduct to the lowest impulses which can move a woman. Mr. Burton's theory is widely different and far more natural:—

'That she should fix her love on him has always been deemed something approaching the unnatural; but when the circumstances are considered, the conclusion ceases to become so absolutely startling. Mary was evidently one of those to whom at that time a great affair of the heart was a necessity of life—a necessity increased in intensity by her utter disappointment in her last attachment, and the loathing she entertained towards its object. Who then were near her to be the first refuge for her fugitive affections? None but her own nobles, for she was not in a position to treat with a foreign prince; and in looking round the most eminent of these, including Huntly, the brother of a former suitor, Argyle, Athole, and Arran, there were none who, on the ground of rank and position, had claims much higher than Bothwell, unless it might be Arran by reason of his royal blood, and he was already a rejected suitor. In personal qualifications Bothwell was infinitely above them all. He had a genius for command, with a dash of the chivalrous, which made Throckmorton describe him to Queen Elizabeth in 1560, as "a "glorious,* rash, and hazardous young man." He had lived at the court of France, and thus had over his harder and more effective qualities the polish and accomplishments which were all that Darnley had beside his handsomeness to recommend him. . . . He was at a period of life when the manly attractions do not begin to decline, for he had just passed—if he had passed—his thirtieth year. Tradition says that he was ill-favoured; but I do not remember any contemporary authority for the assertion, except the cursory sketch of him by Brantome, who may have met him, but does not speak as if he had. The question cannot now be decided by the eye, for there does not exist a picture which has even the reputation of being his portrait.'† (Vol. iv. p. 324.)

* We cannot help thinking, however, that Mr. Burton mistakes Throckmorton's meaning here. At that time it was common to use Latin and French words in their Latin or French signification, rather than in that which they soon acquired, or even at that time bore in English. Here we think Throckmorton uses glorious as equivalent to gloriosus.

† There is a portrait of Bothwell's head, taken in 1861 from what is shown as his mummy at Faareveille. It is undoubtedly very ugly —'loathsome,' according to Mr. Burton. 'But,' as he adds, 'who 'can tell how much of that ugliness may have been contributed by 'an abode of three centuries in the tomb?'

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One quality in especial Bothwell had which we may well believe to have done him good service with Mary—unswerving fidelity to his Queen. To others he may have been, in the emphatic words of Randolph, 'false and untrue as a devil'; but he was never false to her. As a boy he had fought for her mother against the English when even Huntly and Seton stood aloof. From the day she herself landed in Scotland her interests seemed to be his only care, her wishes his only law. Surrounded by cruel and treacherous men, opposed by her brother, degraded by her husband, not knowing on whom to rely, a forlorn Queen, an outraged and deserted woman, what wonder that she should lean upon the one man who had never failed her, that she should yield herself up to vigour, audacity, devotion, a readiness to brave any danger, to venture any crime, at her behest—that, in her own words, she 'would leave 'her kingdom and dignity and go as a simple damsel with him'? That he was a profligate was a small matter in a time of universal profligacy; that the nature of the man was hard and low, that he was selfish and brutal and a tyrant, incapable of affection or gratitude, she could only learn, as she did, by the sad experience of her married life.

Mr. Burton evidently concurs with those historians who take the severest view of Mary's guilt, though he does not expressly state that concurrence, nor discuss the evidence point by point. He gives, however, an interesting and telling analysis of the contents of the casket letters; and as this is incorporated with the text, not, in the usual fashion, thrown into a note or an appendix, we suspect the bearing of those letters will be brought out to many readers with quite a new force. He does not enter specially upon the question whether, assuming Mary to have been aware of Darnley's danger, she can nevertheless be held innocent of actual participation in the murder. But his narrative, as a whole, leads to the conclusion that he thinks her guilty of full foreknowledge of the crime; and the judicial calmness of his temper, and the homely force of his style, combine to put the case with terrible strength against her. But we have very recently touched upon this matter in reviewing Mr. Froude's last volumes; and we gladly spare our readers a renewal of the distasteful and profitless controversy.

Readers of the foregoing remarks will be able to form for themselves a general estimate of Mr. Burton's book. A practical man and a rational antiquarian, he has encumbered himself with little beyond the sphere of ordinary historical students. The originality of his views gives a constant interest to his pages; yet that originality is seldom otherwise than

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controlled by knowledge and good sense. His love of truth and impartiality are quite exceptional. Thus he studiously avoids a trick introduced by Lord Macaulay, and carried still further by Mr. Froude—the trick of expressing in the historian's own language accounts of events given by others. When Mr. Burton quotes an authority, he gives the exact words; and slight as this matter may appear, it is wonderful how the opposite habit may, quite unconsciously on the part of the writer, be the means of seriously misleading the reader.

With all these and many other merits, we have seldom seen a work which so strongly brought to our minds Goldsmith's canon of art criticism—'the picture would have been better 'had the artist taken more pains.' There is a want of method and arrangement which detracts not only from the pleasure the book affords but also from the effect it produces. In the first volume this was perhaps unavoidable; but in the subsequent volumes the narrative is awkwardly and unnecessarily broken up by the discussion of constitutional and legal questions, and by dissertations on the state of the country. These subjects are doubtless most important; but they should be treated appropriately—when there is a pause, as it were, in the sequence of the story—not be interspersed with the narrative seemingly at random. The result of Mr. Burton's method, or rather of his want of method, is that neither are these matters adequately discussed, nor does the discussion of them give us a distinct idea of the development of the nation. The effect is at once confusing and irritating. In short, while Mr. Burton thoroughly understands and truly estimates certain periods of Scottish history, he does not seem to us to have grasped it as a whole. This arises, we should fancy, from a natural liking for the topics prominent at some epochs, and a natural distaste for topics prominent at other times; but whatever the cause, his book is a series of studies on Scottish history, generally sound, always valuable, often strikingly original, rather than the history of Scotland; the sequence of events is not traced in due proportion throughout its length, the complete story of the nation and the people is not told.

Nor does Mr. Burton possess in any great degree the power of representation. He judges the characters in his drama for the most part truly; but they are not brought before us as actual men whom we can realise and know; the heroes of the old time—Bruce and the good Lord James—are but shadows, even Knox and Murray do not live upon the stage. Neither, as we have before remarked, has he any power of picturesque narration. Not the adventures of war, not the splendours, not

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the cruel secrets of courts, rouse him to enthusiasm, or stimulate him to any effort at warmth or richness of colouring. And so the pale panorama moves on, not lit up by any brilliant effects, with no groups of life-like figures to give interest and animation to the picture.

Nor can we with justice omit to notice some curious defects in execution. In the first place, the pleasure of reading Mr. Burton's volumes is much lessened by the frequent rudeness of his style. This is no light matter with regard to a book which justly aspires to a high place in historical literature. Mr. Burton has always been somewhat careless in this respect. It is not too much to say that the style of his 'Scotland since the 'Union' is exceedingly bad. In some of his later works—as the 'Scot Abroad' and the 'Book Hunter'—an improvement was observable in this respect. We regret to say that the improvement has not been sustained in this his greatest effort. His style here, though never eloquent or beautiful, is sometimes powerful, often vigorous and pointed. But it is deficient in grace and precision, and often very inelegant. He has an especial predilection for long words—a tendency now curiously prevalent in the country of Hume and Robertson. Why should a man say he has '*alighted* upon a book,' and call dancing 'a graceful cadenced exercise'? (vol. ii. p. 209); and why should the dying gladiator be described as '*ruminating* 'over the coming vengeance for his fate'? (Vol. i. p. 11.) Mr. Burton is peculiarly fond of borrowing the word articulation from the physiologists, and using it, very ungracefully and not very intelligibly, in the peculiar signification which they have attached to it. Thus he speaks of the inhabitants of Scotland as having, 'by a long process of growth and articula-'tion, become consolidated into a European State' (vol. i. p. 2); and again (vol. ii. p. 128), 'of a community faintly articulated 'out of the general chaos;' and, even more absurdly, the Scotch Chroniclers are said (vol. ii. p. 325) 'to articulate the 'battle of Roslin into an eminent victory.' It is at least careless writing to say, 'there was nothing in Scotland, or for 'generations to come, like the White Tower' (vol. ii. p. 43); it is quite inaccurate to use the words 'for all that' as equivalent to 'although;'—'*For all that* the Scots had a rooted 'prejudice against any precedents coming from England, the 'revelations made by Henry VIII.'s raid on the monastic 'houses cannot but have caused a deep impression' (vol. iv. p. 20); and occasionally we see traces of the forced jocularity which sometimes marks the magazine writer. It really gives us no idea to write thus of the struggle of James V. with his

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nobles: 'he went thoroughly to the work; like a school-boy 'who has got the better of a tyrant master—with the difference 'that, instead of barrings-out and castings-about of inkstands 'and rulers, there were all the miseries of war' (vol. iv. p. 321); and it is more elegant and quite as humorous to say that King Duncan married a miller's daughter, as to say that he 'made 'love to a molindinary maiden' (vol. i. p. 378). Many similar blemishes might be quoted, but the task is an ungrateful one. A little trouble will enable Mr. Burton to remove them in future editions, and we wish we could persuade him to believe that the value of his work will be greatly enhanced if, in what remains of it, he will condescend to study elegance and simplicity of expression.

A more serious matter, however, than this of style is Mr. Burton's frequent and exceeding inaccuracy, especially in genealogical points. As an instance of this we take his account of the family of Comyn, the competitor for the Crown:—

'Devergoil had a sister, Marjory, married to John Comyn, Lord of Badenock. He also had princely possessions; and his race, of which there were many branches, formed altogether the most powerful baronial family in Scotland. He boasted too, but in a shape that has not distinctly come down to us, of descent from Donald Bain, a son of the gracious Duncan, who for a brief space occupied the throne. Comyn was nominally a claimant for the crown. Had there been a scuffle for the succession, his chances of success might have been strong. But in the decorous and precise Court of the Lord Superior, he could plead nothing to the point but his descent from the granddaughter of Earl David, and this brought him immediately behind Baliol, as the descendant of her elder sister. His claim, then, may be considered among the others taken out of the arena of the contest, and we must go back to Earl David to see where Baliol was to find his real competitor. . . .' (Vol. ii. p. 216.)

'Comyn the competitor, as we have seen, had a claim which could only stand after Baliol's, since they were descended of two sisters, and Comyn of the younger. Baliol was now out of the field, not merely by the feudal proceedings taken against him by King Edward, but by a voluntary resignation of his right of inheritance. Supposing this to be effectual, and no one gainsaid it, it removed the line of succession to which that of the Comyns was subsiding. *But further, Comyn the competitor married a sister of Baliol, and their son, called the Red Comyn, had thus an additional claim to represent the rights of the deposed King.* Then there was a mysterious tradition of his descent from Donald Bain of the old royal line; and though this went for nothing before the Court of the Lord Superior, it might avail with a people eager to be led against their enemy and craving for a leader. Here then, altogether, Bruce had a formidable rival.' (Vol. ii. pp. 346–7.)

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Now all this is quite wrong, and some of it is self-contradictory. Where can Mr. Burton find authority for the statement that Comyn, in the Court of the Superior, pleaded only his descent from the granddaughter of Earl David? In the first place, it is quite certain he did not plead this at all, for in Rymer's 'Fœdera' the pleadings are carefully given, and Comyn's only claim is in respect of his ancestor Donald Bain. In the second place, according even to Mr. Burton's own account, he could not have pleaded his *descent* from the granddaughter of Earl David, because, if he had anything to do with such a lady, he was her husband—having, as Mr. Burton says in the very first sentence above quoted, *married* Marjory the sister of Devergoil. In the third place, even this marriage connexion is quite incorrect. Devergoil, or Devorguilla, granddaughter of Earl David, the wife of Baliol, and the mother of John Baliol who claimed the crown, had certainly no sister who married Comyn. The lady whom the Black Comyn did marry was Marjory Baliol, the sister, not of John Baliol's mother, as Mr. Burton says, but of John Baliol himself; and the Red Comyn, their son, whom Bruce stabbed at Dumfries, succeeded through this lady to the rights of the Baliol family, John Baliol, her brother, having renounced all his own claims. And, curiously enough, in the sentence we have put in italics, Mr. Burton has stated this true and only connexion of the Comyns with the house of Baliol as an *additional* ground for their claim to the crown. In short, there is here an inextricable complication of blunders; and Mr. Burton is not more fortunate in dealing with the genealogy of other great families. He errs equally, for example, with regard to the Douglases; and wilfully, as it were, makes that error of importance by basing on it a theory to account for the power of the House. He holds that the rivalry of the Douglases with the Royal House was in some sort owing to their claiming right to the crown through the Baliol race; because 'Archibald Douglas, the brother and 'heir of the good Lord James, married Dornagilla, the sister of 'the Red Comyn, and the daughter of Baliol's sister' (vol. iii. p. 131). Surely Mr. Burton cannot be unaware that this Dornagilla is the Mrs. Harris of Scotch history—long since banished to the realms of fable by an antiquary so celebrated as Mr. Riddell.* And, even had she ever existed, she could not have brought the Baliol claims to the later Lords of Douglas; for they were descended, not from Archibald Douglas,

* See 'Tracts Legal and Historical,' by John Riddell: ed. 1835, p. 216.

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but from the good Lord James himself—and illegitimately.* Many other mistakes, we regret to say — some trifling, others not unimportant — occur in Mr. Burton's pages. Thus in his account of Harlaw, he confuses Donald of the Isles with his son; he imputes the cruelties which sullied the English triumph at Verneuil to Henry V. who had died two years before the battle was fought; he speaks of the Wars of the Roses as giving the Scotch peace during the reign of James IV., who came to the throne three years after the battle of Bosworth; he gives Cardross on the Firth of Forth, instead of Cardross on the Clyde, as the scene of the death of Bruce. Nor can we feel quite the reliance we could wish on Mr. Burton's scholarship. We shall not refer to the celebrated false construction of 'peopling the earth,' further than to remark that errors of the press in the classical quotations are more frequent than they should be; but we doubt Loidis as the Latin for Leeds,† and we cannot comprehend how Tacitus can be spoken of as pointing a moral for the benefit of 'the Court of Tibe-'rius.' Lastly Mr. Burton's views on mythology as shown in the contrast he seeks to draw between the northern and the classical mythologies betray at least indifference to the latest results of scholarship in the highest sense of the word.

These may seem slight matters. Yet they are not really so when we apply the standard by which such a work as Mr. Burton's may justly claim to be judged. They cannot arise in Mr. Burton's case from want of knowledge; they come rather, we suspect, from an impatience of detail, and perhaps in some measure from haste. But howsoever they come, they cannot fail to injure an historian's reputation for that greatest of historic virtues—accuracy. And we regret this the more because it will give a vantage-ground of attack to the assailants who will be stirred up against Mr. Burton by his wholesome iconoclastic tendencies.

Our limits prevent us from entering on the second great

* This has been already pointed out by the high authority of Mr. George Burnett, Lyon-King-at-Arms, in 'Macmillan's Magazine' for June.

† Not that this is a mistake in scholarship properly speaking, but it is at least unsafe to rest an argument on such nomenclature, as Mr. Burton does, vol. ii. p. 64, note. In the Acta Sanctorum (March 6, 36) in the life of St. Cadroe, we find Loida probably used as meaning Leeds; but then we find Simeon of Durham using the same word Loyda as not less certainly meaning Lothian. Mr. Burton has, we suspect, taken Loidis, a little too hastily, from Bede, Hist. Eccles. 2—14, and 3—24.

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point of Scotch history—the Reformation. And we regret this the less because up to the period at which Mr. Burton ends his narrative the Scotch Reformation had not assumed those distinctive features which give it a peculiar interest. Mr. Burton has created some surprise by saying, in his calm unenthusiastic way, that the Reformation in Scotland took its course not so much from the religious opinions of the people as from external political convulsions. But however startling this may be to certain national prejudices, there can be no doubt that up to 1560 at all events it is perfectly true. On the 25th of August in that year Calvinism was established by Parliament, but what life should be breathed into those legislative Acts was to be determined by the future. So far the struggle of the creeds had been little more than a contest between French and English influence. In after days opposition raised a fierce popular spirit, and gave to the Scotch Reformation its peculiar characteristics as a religious movement. But these matters are all to come.

We look forward to Mr. Burton's future volumes with great interest. In many respects the subjects which lie before him are better suited to his powers than those he has here dealt with. We may fairly look for a fuller and sounder estimate of the Scottish Constitution before the Union than we have in the nine or ten pages at present thought equal to the subject. Some account also of the sources, and an historical sketch of the growth of Scotch law, might come with propriety from a Scotch lawyer. And in the more modern aspects of character with which he will have to deal, and in the expanding strength of public opinion, which he has already shown himself so acute to detect and wise to appreciate, Mr. Burton will be quite at home. It would be idle to say that he has reached the highest standard of historical excellence. But he has enriched historical literature with a valuable and instructive work, and we anticipate, with confidence, that the two remaining volumes in which he promises to complete it, will surpass even the varied merits of those now before us.

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ART. X.—1. *Les Institutions Militaires de la France.* Par M. le Duc D'AUMALE. Bruxelles: 1867.

2. *Un Mot sur le projet de la Réorganisation Militaire.* Par le Général CHANGARNIER.

3. *L'Armée Française en* 1867. [Par le Général TROCHU.] Seizième Edition. Paris: 1867.

IF the Constable's sword and the Marshal's staff in modern France were in the hands best able to wield those symbols of military authority, the three distinguished officers, whose recent publications stand at the head of this article, would probably not have employed the pen to place their experience and judgment at the service of their country. But as matters stand, France is indebted to them for a most animated sketch of her military institutions, and all Europe may profit by the wise and enlightened principles of military organisation which they have expressed in these pages.

The cause which has opened this momentous discussion is not far to seek. The astonishing results of the campaign of last summer, which we have already twice commented on in these pages, awakened doubts where no doubts existed before, as to the relative strength of the great continental armies. The Prussian system, which was officially regarded and described in France, but a short time ago, as 'a school of militia, of doubtful 'value for defensive warfare, and extremely imperfect in the 'first period of offensive operations,' has suddenly shown itself to be the mistress of Germany, and has become an object of interest and emulation to the rest of Europe. The French Government instantly, and perhaps hastily, avowed that it could no longer regard the existing armies of the Empire as of sufficient strength to uphold the military renown of France against so formidable an antagonist. A Bill was immediately prepared to enable the Government to raise the forces of France to no less than 800,000 men; and although this measure has been received with marked disfavour by the population, by the legislature, and even by the military authorities, it is not denied that a large augmentation of the reserves of the French army is indispensably necessary, and that the burdens of military service and military establishments are likely to be increased there, as in every other part of the Continent.

This is, it must be confessed, a deplorable result of the political changes which have been effected by the ambition of Prussia and by the policy of Count Bismarck. Already,

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before the late war, the enormous amount of the forces levied by conscription and maintained at a prodigious cost, were the standing reproach to our age, and a standing menace to that peace which is cordially desired by all nations. We had ventured to entertain hopes that sooner or later a general disarmament might be effected; and that France, which was so long regarded as the only Power capable of threatening the tranquillity and independence of other nations, would some day set the example of a more pacific course of action. But whatever may be thought of the political institutions of the French Empire, justice and truth require us to acknowledge that it is not by Napoleon III. that the great treaties, on which the law of nations and the peace of Europe rested, have been set at nought, and that it is not France which has snatched an immense political aggrandisement from a military triumph. On the contrary, the consolidation and increase of the vast military powers of Germany under a single sceptre have been more unwelcome and dangerous to France than to any other Power; and these events have forced her to enter upon an inquiry into her own resources, which she would willingly have avoided. The Emperor Napoleon is perfectly aware that in no former time in the history of the French nation was that warlike people more averse to war; and nothing but the imperative necessity of maintaining the forces of the country on a footing of equality with those of its neighbours could have reconciled him to the measures he has proposed. The effect of the comparison which has thus been instituted between the work which the Prussian armies have lately performed and the work of which the French armies are capable, has disturbed the complacency of the French; it has awakened a suspicion that they may be behindhand in the great evolution of military power in which their neighbours and rivals have made so much progress; and it has satisfied reflecting men that no absolute reliance can be placed on the splendid achievements of the past, or on resources which seemed but yesterday to be invincible, to maintain the honour of the French arms and to ensure the safety of the country. A more thorough organisation, a more comprehensive system of enlistment and of reserves, a more effective armament, and perhaps a new system of drill and tactics, are required to encounter with success an antagonist by whom all these improvements have been already carefully studied and zealously prosecuted.* These truths are now commonly ad-

* The well-known anonymous pamphlet which appeared in Germany three or four years ago under the significant title 'How to

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mitted in France, not without some sacrifice of national pride, though with no misgiving as to the ultimate result. They are truths equally important to ourselves and to every other State. It is undeniable that immense changes are occurring, and have occurred, in all that relates to the formation, instruction, and command of armies. The circumstances under which war will hereafter be carried on are more sensibly altered than they have been at any time since the invention of gunpowder; and the Power which is first able to turn these altered circumstances to its own advantage will have at the outset a superiority which may, as at Sadowa, decide in a few hours the fate of a campaign. Nevertheless, the art of war, like all the sciences which are the result of combination, is reducible to certain fixed principles equally applicable in all ages; and whilst all the accidents of warfare are being transformed around us, it is more than ever important to adhere to those elementary truths which are common to every army and to every age. It is for this reason that we propose to examine these publications. The details of the organisation of the French army are not of a nature to interest and instruct the general reader; they must be reserved for more technical investigation. But the merit of the eloquent and patriotic writings now before us, consists in the application of broad and constant principles to an altered state of affairs; and the writings of the Duc d'Aumale and General Trochu contain so much wisdom and thought that they cannot be read without advantage in any part of the world.

The history of the organisation of the regular army dates in France, as well as in this and other countries, from about two centuries ago. Prior to the reign of Louis XIV. and the later years of the English Commonwealth, war was carried on by men-at-arms, troops of horse, and bodies of troops who bore the same relation to a modern army that a picture by Wouvermans bears to the armies of Solferino and Sadowa. The soldier was equally brave and more independent; but the art of acting in great masses, and the discipline by which the individual is entirely merged in the corps to which he belongs, is of comparatively recent date. The formation of regular armies required systematic organisation—uniformity of arms and dress, regularity of advancement, stricter conditions of service, graduated pay, and more certain methods of ensuring the sustenance of troops.

'make war on the French,' is now acknowledged to be the composition of Prince Frederic Charles of Prussia, one of the victorious generals who commanded at Sadowa.

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These are the elements of which Louvois was the first great master, and by his careful application of them he contributed more to the success of the arms of Louis XIV. than Turenne and Luxemburg, who led his troops to victory in the field. The whole administrative correspondence of Louvois still exists in the 'Archives de la Guerre' at Paris; it has recently been carefully examined by M. Rousset, and the result is a biography of that great Minister, which is one of the most interesting and instructive books of the present day.* The organisation of the French army by Louvois lasted, with no material changes, until 1793; it perished in that great convulsion which overthrew the privileged classes, who played so great a part in it, and the monarchy. In the French army thus constituted during the eighteenth century most of the peculiarities prevailed, which have now disappeared from every European army but our own, and are now fiercely assailed in this country. The men were raised by voluntary enlistment. The regiments retained a local name and character from the districts to which they belonged—the brigades of Picardy, Normandy, Champagne, and Auvergne corresponded to our Coldstream Guards, Sutherland or Gordon Highlanders, Connaught Rangers, or Welsh Fusileers. The King's Household troops were a privileged corps, with this distinction, however, that in the Royal Guards and Musketeers the purchase system never obtained, and that they were open to all ranks of society. In the rest of the army, regiments and companies having been originally raised by private persons for the service of the Crown, had become a species of property, like the commissions in our own army. The old French army was a highly aristocratic institution; for although the purchase of commissions was tolerated, Louvois had contrived to make the military service rather onerous than profitable, and the consequence was that the rich and the noble could alone hold them. The French nobility served with unflinching courage and enthusiasm; they were as ready to spend their fortunes in the purchase of a step, as to spend their blood on the field of battle. And although the *roture* were not absolutely excluded from the rank of officers, and commissions were sometimes vouchsafed by the King even to private soldiers of signal valour and merit, the *noblesse d'épée* may be said to have officered the army. Even the ferocious energy of Louvois, backed by the vigour of his great infantry inspector, Colonel

* Histoire de Louvois et de son Administration politique et militaire jusqu'à la paix de Nimègue. 4 vols. Paris: 1862.

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Martinèt (whose name has survived for a couple of centuries to designate a military precisian), failed to correct these abuses, which were rooted in the social system of the age and country. The army was essentially royal and aristocratic when the storm of 1789 burst on France. The unwise expatriation of the nobility and the fall of the throne destroyed it, and in fact Louis XVI. did not at any period of the revolution derive any strength or support whatever from the troops who wore his badge, and would at first have been ready to die in his service.

These considerations are grave and instructive. They show that an army of an exclusive character, based mainly on the old principle of personal loyalty to the Sovereign, may become a snare and a delusion. Modern armies are paralysed unless they have the strength of a nation behind them. They are now become so completely the avowed instruments of public opinion, that against public opinion it would be impossible for them to act. There is now no country in Europe, except Spain, in which the Government can be said to rely on its military power for existence; and a government in that condition will probably not rely on it long.

In 1791 the French army consisted of 166 regiments of foot and horse. The regulations promulgated at that time at the Camp of St. Omer still form the basis of the drill and manœuvres of the troops—though, as we shall presently see, they have been overlaid with an enormous mass of subsequent matter. These troops were well-trained, but the corps were numerically weak; and the political agitation of the time had shaken the unity and self-reliance of the army. The consequence was that the outset of the war was disastrous; and the prodigious enthusiasm and energy of the volunteers of 1792 and 1793 alone restored victory to the standards of the Republic by defeating the Prussians at Valmy, the Austrians at Jemmapes, and planting the tricolour flag on the walls of Mayence. These events proved at once the value and the weakness of a great volunteer movement. The popular movement of 1792 saved France; but in the following year, when it was opposed to the renewed operations of regular troops, the spell was broken, the charm was over. The army of the Rhine was thrown across the Lauter; the army of the North was driven out of Belgium; and it became more than ever difficult to raise men for the necessary service of the country. On the 1st January, 1793, the eight armies of the French Republic had not more than 150,000 men in their ranks. For, as the Duc d'Aumale observes with great truth, '*it is of the essence of*

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'*special volunteer corps not to renew their strength, although the* '*mere existence of these corps seriously interferes with, and may* '*arrest, enlistment for the line.*' This remark well deserves to be remembered, especially in a country where a great volunteer movement has recently added considerably to the national forces. The French patriots of 1791 having enlisted for one year, took their discharge when that time had elapsed; 60,000 of them returned home. The Convention called out 300,000 National Guards, but the measure failed for want of authority to raise them. St. Just had in his pocket a statement showing that the army consisted on the 15th July, 1793, of 479,000 men; but it is doubtful whether it really amounted to one-third of that number. Toulon was taken by the English, Lyons was in insurrection, the eastern departments were invaded, the country was in a supreme hour of danger, when Carnot joined the Committee of Public Safety, and six days afterwards the 'levée en masse' of the nation was decreed by the Convention. At that moment sprang to life the National Army of France.

'This measure differed essentially from the requisition which had preceded it. More harsh in appearance, it was less vexatious and oppressive in reality. The law of the 20th of February placed all citizens from the age of 18 to 40 (at one moment even from 16 to 45) under the grasp of an arbitrary rule and subjected them to the caprice of a local authority; that of the 20th of August abolished this discretionary power, confined itself to men from 18 to 25, but within those limits *took them all.* In six months all the pressure of the Reign of Terror had failed to raise 300,000 men under the former law. In three months the general levy was effected, without serious opposition, under the latter law. Let it not be said that it was the guillotine which saved France! On the 1st of January, 1794, the strength of the army had risen to 770,932. Deducting the armies of the West, of the coasts, of the interior, of the depôts and the non-combatants, it may be reckoned in round numbers that France, being assailed by 400,000 troops of the Coalition, opposed to them 500,000 fighting men *in line,* an imposing number which we believe to be accurate, though it is less than the evaluation of Cambon, and which has never to this day been exceeded in any army composed exclusively of national troops.' (*Duc d'Aumale,* p. 53.)

This vast army was consolidated by the genius of Carnot into one uniform mass. All distinctions of corps, and even the grades of the non-commissioned officers, were abolished. The local appellations of the regiments which had so long been the glorious war-cry of 'Navarre sans peur' and 'Auvergne sans 'tache,' were superseded by the numbers of the new demi-brigades. The uniform of the whole army became identical,

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though it was not without regret that the men exchanged the white livery of the Crown of France for the blue tunic of the Republic. The strength of the demi-brigades or regiments was fixed at three battalions or twenty-seven companies, which they still retain. Such was the constitution of the immortal armies of the 'Sambre et Meuse,' and of the 'Rhin et Moselle,' which saved France on the plains of Fleurus, won 27 victories in a year, captured 3,800 guns, and dissolved the Coalition.

'But that which was beyond all praise was the noble and manly bearing of this victorious army. Carnot, by his example and by the spirit which dictated his measures, had infused these civic and military virtues into all its ranks. To borrow the phraseology of the time, which spoiled so many of its triumphs, but which was not always false, he had placed courage, self-sacrifice, and disinterestedness on the order of the day. . . . The discipline of the army had ceased to be vexatious and galling: but it was firm and even severe in the unfrequent cases in which repression was necessary. Even the German inhabitants of the banks of the Rhine were struck with surprise and admiration at the demeanour of these republicans. They saw these dreaded soldiers enter their towns in ragged clothes, often in wooden shoes, but with a martial air: they halted in the market-places amidst a terror-stricken population, ate their own black bread beside their piled arms, and awaited in their ranks the orders of their officers. Contributions of war were levied, but they were levied by the commissariat which followed the army, and did not share its self-denial. Sometimes the neglect of the commissariat caused the men to maraud, but not to pillage. In the sharp winter of '94–95, which the army of the Rhine passed before Mayence, the troops, reduced to the utmost necessities, stole bread, but bread alone. At the time of sowing seed, they watched the peasants by day, and at night they dug up the seed-corn from the furrows with their bayonets. It is recorded by those who were in both campaigns that the hardships endured by the troops in 1812 were not more severe. Many died of cold and hunger; but those who survived remained faithful to their colours. If they dispersed in search of victuals—and what victuals! wild fruits or poisonous bulbs—they were in the ranks again at the first cannon-shot. The officers shared the penury and the destitution of the men. All led the same frugal life—all were bound to the same lot.' (*Duc d'Aumale*, p. 67.)

Such were the troops who followed Jourdan and Moreau to the frontiers of Bohemia in 1796. Meanwhile the army of Italy, under a different chief, was animated by a different spirit. Bonaparte promised his soldiers no austere republican triumphs, but glory and riches. He kept his word, but it was at the expense of the liberties of France. The revolutionary spirit of the army of Italy was but the mask and instrument of the

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future master; and Carnot, the real creator of the armies of the Republic, was himself proscribed.

It is remarkable that Napoleon, the greatest master of the art of modern warfare, did nothing to improve the organic constitution of the army. He employed the military resources of the country with consummate ability, and with insatiable rapacity; but he consumed everything that he created. The permanent military strength of France could not keep pace with his extravagant demands upon it, and the termination of the Empire was the annihilation of the force by which it had been raised to the highest pinnacle of power and glory.

The Duc d'Aumale has traced with a masterly hand, and with no injustice to the legendary soldier who gave a fourth dynasty to France, the history of that prodigious epoch. In this place we must confine ourselves to the strict muster-roll of the Imperial armies, and the lesson it teaches. The law of conscription was first established in France on the 5th September, 1798, fourteen months before the 18th Brumaire; and the statute which placed the population at the disposal of the State, as each succeeding generation completes its twentieth year, preceded the power which was to make so tremendous a use of it. From that time to the present, the youth of France just entering upon manhood, is cropped by law like the tracts in a forest set apart for annual felling; and though the amount has varied, the principle of conscription is now deeply rooted in the law and the habits of the nation, even though it may devour a large proportion of the adult male population. The first act of the First Consul was to demand, not an instalment of the conscription, but the whole class of the year, amounting to 100,000 men, and to take severe measures against every evasion of the law. These demands and these measures increased in intensity throughout his reign. The French army attained its highest perfection after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. A momentary truce had given breathing-time to the troops. The levies were made more regular and complete. The whole strength of the forces was 450,000 men, two-thirds of whom were assembled at the camp of Boulogne and in the neighbourhood. It was that army which threatened England, marched to Austerlitz, and perished in Spain. The Imperial Guard consisted in 1806 of only 7,000 men; in 1812 it was raised to 47,000. But what a change had taken place in that interval! The old corps, perfect in unity and in composition, had gradually wasted away; they were succeeded by provisional detachments, hastily thrown together, and imperfectly

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organised. Fourth and fifth battalions were formed in regiments to conceal the fact that the three first battalions had disappeared. The armies of the later Empire had by these expedients been raised to enormous numbers, but, as Marshal Macdonald once energetically expressed it, 'The men are as 'brave as ever, but they don't *hang together*—ils ne sont plus '*cousus ensemble*.'

The short, but significant lesson to be drawn from these facts is, that the efficiency of an army is not to be estimated by numerical strength so much as by union, discipline, reliance on its leaders, and moral qualities. An army may, in fact, be weakened and encumbered by its own magnitude. It may be questioned whether there is now any general in Europe capable of directing the combined movements of half a million of men, or any Government capable of providing the *materiel*, and the means of subsistence for these enormous masses. It was one of the aphorisms of old Michel Montaigne, quoted with approval by the highest authorities of the present day when armies have grown to excessive and ridiculous proportions, 'Ce n'est 'pas le nombre des hommes, mais le nombre des bons hommes, 'qui faist l'avantage à la guerre, le demeurant servant plus de 'destourbier que de secours.' General Changarnier, no mean authority, has recorded his signal condemnation of the policy which seeks to arm a nation by bringing its whole virile population into the field. He maintains that three or four corps of 60,000 men each, well composed and well commanded, may make war with success against far greater numbers; and this observation is confirmed by the experience of what has been done by British troops in the Peninsula and elsewhere:—

'Let us not therefore attempt to raise the number of our soldiers to that of our possible adversaries. Even at the risk of exhaustion, we should not be sure of accomplishing it. But that is no ground of uneasiness. If it is very difficult for 3,000 men to oppose 5,000 with success, it is much less difficult for 60,000 to beat 100,000. The more the proportion rises, the less is numerical inferiority to be feared. It may be advantageously compensated by the skill of the general and by the superior character of the troops. *Beyond a certain number, there is no good army, and no army whose supplies can be secured and whose movements can be well directed.* The army which invaded Russia in 1812 was reduced by one-half before it reached Moscow. When that gigantic and lamentable expedition had completed the ruin of our veteran legions, already exhausted by incessant wars, Napoleon succeeded in rallying large masses of recruits and led them now and then to victory. Unhappily these young troops, always gallant, always brave, but incapable of taking

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care of themselves, suffered more from the bivouac, from long marches, and from sickness, than they had done on the fields of battle which bore the names of Lutzen, Bautzen, Dresden, Leipsig, and Hanau.' (*General Changarnier*, p. 24.)

For three years after the battle of Waterloo France remained without an army, and the allied forces were not all withdrawn from her territory when Marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr, Minister of War under the Restoration, undertook, in 1818, the difficult task of reorganising the military institutions of the kingdom. The peace establishment of the army was fixed at 240,000 men, to be raised by an annual conscription of 40,000 men, enlisted for six years. The reserve was to be composed of soldiers belonging to the levies of the preceding ten years, but this part of his scheme failed. No man could be an officer who had not passed a certain time in the ranks or gone through one of the military schools. The Guard was retained and consisted of 30,000 men. The Guards were the nucleus of the army, but their privileges were one of the causes which led to the overthrow of the Bourbons in 1830. Saint-Cyr was not favourable to the plan which had been tried by his predecessor of giving a local character to particular corps, and on this point the Duc d'Aumale agrees with him. Nothing, certainly, is more characteristic of the French army than its complete homogeneousness. The Norman, the Alsatian, the Gascon, the Provençal, and even the Arab serve in its ranks side by side, with as little distinction as exists among the crew of a man-of-war. They are French soldiers and nothing else. But we question whether the same principle could be applied with equal success in other countries. In our own army, undoubtedly, the local character of particular regiments strengthens their force, their union, and their spirit; and we think it ought to be carefully cherished in the future relations of the line with the militia and with the reserve. In Austria the motley dependencies of the Empire must necessarily be reflected in the ranks of the army. And in Prussia, where the system is based on local military institutions, the provincial colour of each particular corps is strongly marked; not only are the troops of a given district usually drafted into the same corps, but the corps are quartered in the neighbourhood of their own homes, and in time of peace rarely moved. In all these countries local habits and institutions have great hold over the populations; in France the great unity of the nation overwhelms and obliterates these distinctions.

It would weary our readers to follow the modifications which were subsequently introduced into the French military system

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by the law of 1832, and by other enactments.* But one change is too constant and too important to be passed over in silence. The peace establishment, based on an annual conscription of 40,000 men in 1818, was raised successively to 60,000 and 80,000 by the Government of Louis-Philippe. Under the Second Empire it has always been at least 100,000; and during the Crimean and Italian wars 140,000 men. Notwithstanding this enormous drain on the country, the result has not been to increase the army as much as might be expected. And in the first moment of surprise and alarm which followed the battle of Sadowa, the French nation was startled by a declaration of the 'Moniteur' that the Government must have the means of raising the forces of the Empire in the event of war to 800,000 men, even at the risk of greatly augmenting the demands of the conscription, and lengthening the period of service. These proposals of the Government have met with no great favour in the legislature, and they have spread dismay among the peasantry. They are, in fact, opposed by some very stubborn facts, which it may be worth while to recapitulate.

The measure of the military force of a country must, after all, be its population. It is a question of arithmetic. No more men of a given age can be pressed into the ranks than the country produces in a given time; and it is frightful to discover how very nearly the number of conscripts called upon to serve in the army, even in time of peace, reaches to the limit of the population itself. The population of France increases more slowly than that of any other country—indeed it hardly increases at all. Amongst the most obvious causes of this phenomenon is the fact that 100,000 stout and able-bodied young men of twenty are marched off every year to the barracks or the camp—that for six or seven years at least they are unable to contract marriage—and that their more fortunate contemporaries who stay at home, cultivate their fields, marry, and rear children, are precisely those who are rejected by the conscription on account of their diminutive size, their feeble constitutions, or other infirmities.

* A full account of the debates on this subject may be found in M. Duvergier de Hauranne's admirable 'Parliamentary History,' of which the eighth volume has just appeared. As long as constitutional government subsisted in France, the Chamber of Deputies maintained with great jealousy its control over the conscription. By the law now before the Imperial Corps Legislatif, the Executive Government would be invested with powers to call the whole levies and reserves to arms by its own sole authority and will.

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We took occasion in 1857 (Ed. Rev. vol. cv. p. 342) to call attention to the results of the last French census, which proved that from 1851 to 1856 the annual increase of the population had been incredibly small, and that in most of the rural departments there was an actual decrease. From 1856 to 1861 the total annual increase was 150,000; and the quinquennial census of 1866, just published, shows that this is still the rate of progress. It is not, however, that the births diminish, but the deaths increase. Thus, in 1845 the deaths in France were 754,701; in 1854 they rose to 992,779; —that is what the Crimean War, and the large levies of troops consequent on that struggle, cost the country in that year. M. de Lavergne has shown in an able paper read by him to the French Institute, that the levy of 100,000 men, more or less, under arms, instantly produces a marked effect on the population. When the conscription was 40,000 men, the population rapidly increased; with 60,000 the progress was slower; with 80,000, slower still; with 100,000 it was arrested; with 140,000 (in 1854 and 1855) it positively declined. It is impossible to demonstrate more clearly that these vast military establishments reduce the vital strength of the country.

An able paper recently published by M. Cochut in the 'Revue des deux Mondes,' enables us to state with precision to what the actual resources of the population of France really amount. To begin at the hour of birth. In 1843, 530,000 male children were born in France, 16,000 of whom were still-born. Of these infants only 325,000 were in existence in 1864, when they attained their twentieth year—two-fifths were already extinct. Of the 325,000 young men liable to be drawn for the army, 18,000 are below the standard height of 1 metre 560 millimetres (only five feet one inch and a half!); 30,524 are of weak constitutions; 15,988 are broken down; 9,100 are lame; 6,934 are blind or deaf—in short no less than 109,000 individuals, or more than one-third of the whole, are rejected for physical defects. Then 57,000 are exempted as the sons of widows or old men, or only children, for moral causes. The whole available number remaining out of the 325,000 is 159,000. But from these must be deducted the draft for maritime service, and a still further allowance for those who break down in training. The residue of men really fit to bear arms out of the whole number at the age of twenty in a given year is 132,000.

We know not whether M. Cochut's figures are correct; he must answer for their accuracy. But assuming the facts to be

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as he states them, this result certainly presents a frightful picture of humanity. In a bad year the returns are even worse—that is, a scarcity or a revolution makes itself felt just twenty years afterwards by the decreased numbers or feeble constitution of its offspring—'*vitio parentum rara juventus.*' Perhaps a century will elapse before the population of France entirely recovers from the tremendous drain of the wars of the First Empire. Possibly in other countries the case may be as bad, but in other countries we have not the conscription to test the truth. M. Cochut affirms that in Prussia, where every man is said to be a soldier, only 116 individuals out of 1000 are found to be capable of immediate service. If this be so, cause and effect react on one another. The conscription checks the population by carrying off the best portion of it at the age at which the men would otherwise marry, and the population therefore becomes less able to support the conscription. If the value of the earnings of 390,000 men (the present amount of the army) be taken at only two francs a day per man, a very low average, the loss to the country of productive labour is *about eleven millions sterling per annum.*

These are the immediate practical results of enormous standing armies, levied by conscription, on population and wealth. Their indirect consequences are incalculable; and with these facts before us we cannot but pause a moment to remark the barbarous effects of a system of policy based on mutual fear which compels the most civilised nations of the continent of Europe to submit in peace to these unparalleled burdens, more fatal to them, we really believe, than the incessant but limited contests of their forefathers. And yet we are told that the highest achievement of *geist*, intelligence, organisation, and government is to augment even these military preparations, by enabling the State to turn every citizen who breaks bread between the ages of twenty and thirty-five into a soldier. The inventor of that system and the promoter of that policy appears to us to deserve to be regarded as the great enemy of mankind.*

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* We wish to take this opportunity of correcting a slight inaccuracy in a former article in this Journal. In reviewing Mr. Kaye's 'History of the Sepoy War' (Ed. Rev. vol. cxxiv. p. 333), we stated the present native army of India at 135,000 men and the European army at 70,000, and we contended for a further reduction of this force. We have since received from indisputable authority a more accurate statement of the present amount of the British forces in India. In the year before the mutiny the forces were—

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It was argued by Mr. Cobden that, after all, the most powerful nations in war are not those which maintain enormous military establishments in time of peace, since these establishments tend to restrict the progress of the people both in numbers and in wealth, and consequently when an emergency calls their forces into action the resources of the country are inferior to what they would otherwise have become. In the late civil war in America more men were raised and more money was spent than in any previous war, although at the outset the Federal Government had no standing army, and only half-a-dozen ships of war. To this it must now be added that in spite of the large chronic demands of the French army on the population, the result is not commensurate to the cost, and that after all France is not in a condition to engage in a great European war without a considerable addition to her forces.

The efficient strength of the French army for 1867, including the staff, the gendarmerie, and the military train, is 389,604 men, of whom 23,105 are officers, 70,850 non-commissioned officers, 26,374 unclassed companies, musicians, &c., and 269,275 private soldiers. From this number 80,000 must be deducted for home garrisons, depôts, and the force serving in Africa. A further deduction must be made of at least one-seventh for the unformed conscripts of the year who have recently joined, and of another considerable fraction of men entitled to their discharge as having served their time. By

European force, including all British officers of native regiments	45,000
Bengal native army	160,000
Madras native army	57,265
Bombay native army	38,850
Total	301,115
At the present time—	
European troops	61,000
Native armies in all the Presidencies	122,000
Total	183,000

Thus the British establishment has been increased by 16,000 men, while the native establishment has been reduced by 134,000 men. Therefore the reduction to which we pointed has been already effected to a considerable extent, and having regard to the immense area occupied and defended by these troops it may be doubted whether reduction can safely be carried further. The highest military authority in India is clearly of opinion that it cannot. Contrast these figures with the enormous military establishments now existing and contemplated in Europe!

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calling up the whole reserve of the contingents, a portion of which are allowed to remain at home, the nominal strength of the army could be raised to 600,000 men, but the actual strength is very far below that figure. As the men drawn for the conscription are allowed by the present system to commute or buy off their actual service by paying a certain sum to the military chest, a further deduction must be made for those who pay their debt of military service in money and not in person. We have before us a table of these *exonerations*, as they are termed, which was compiled for the Superior Commission on the dotation of the army. From 1856 to 1865 the average annual number exceeded 20,000 men, or one-fifth of the whole conscription, in years of peace; but in 1859 and 1860, when the army was on a war footing, and the conscription was raised to 140,000, the number of *exonerations* exceeded 44,000, or nearly *one-third of the whole* contingent! This deficiency in men was in part made good by re-enlistments of men entitled to their discharge; but the re-enlistments are in most years considerably less numerous than the exonerations, especially in time of war. In the opinion of the best military authorities of France this system has been extremely injurious to the army and prejudicial to the resources of the country; and although it has been defended by the Emperor, as his own especial creation, it will probably be abandoned in the course of the present year. In a moment of danger what the State wants most is men, not money; and the old system of *remplacants* had the advantage that every man drawn was actually represented by a combatant, not by a bank note.

The result is that, as General Trochu has pointed out with great force and authority, in the two last wars of the Crimea and of Italy, France could only send to the field, and maintain by reinforcements, *one army not much exceeding one-fourth of her nominal effective strength.* And from the inquiries we have made we have reason to believe (although the assertion will excite surprise and may perhaps be questioned), that last summer during the campaign of Sadowa, and this spring when the Luxembourg question was supposed to threaten war, the Emperor Napoleon could not immediately have sent above 150,000 men to the Rhine, and could not, without a delay of several months, have raised a second army to support the first in case of a check or to act upon a separate line of operations. No doubt if the military spirit of the French nation were roused, great sacrifices would be made, and this estimate might be largely augmented. But we are speaking of what can be done with the existing military institutions of France; and

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we are not surprised that the Emperor himself and the highest military authority in France should have arrived at the conclusion that they are not adequate to meet on an equal footing the state of things which the system of the Prussian armies and the consolidation of Germany has produced in Europe.* The position of France in respect to her army is somewhat analogous to our own in respect to the British navy, when we learned a few years ago, that the naval forces of France were equal, and in some respects superior, to our own. That was not a state of things in which any Englishman would acquiesce, for the safety of his country depended upon it; and we acted accordingly.

These considerations suffice to account for the deep anxiety with which the subject has been discussed in France. In the absence of a free Parliament, and with a periodical press in fetters, it is only by the publication of books and pamphlets that public opinion can be expressed and enlightened. A multitude of these productions have therefore appeared, but amongst them all, that which stands third at the head of these pages, and is attributed to General Trochu, is by far the most remarkable. Although small in size and possessing some of the attractions of a pamphlet, for it ran through sixteen editions in three weeks, this is no fugitive publication. It is the result of the observations and the reflection of a life. It embodies a good deal of the blunt wisdom and keen sense of Marshal Bugeaud, in whose staff General Trochu learned the art of war. We have seldom read a book so succinct and so wise. There is not a page in it which does not contain some principle one would wish to fix for ever in the memory; and we do not remember that any modern writer has treated the art of war,

* When the military organisation of the forces of the North-German Confederation, which is now in progress, is completed, the army in the field will consist (according to the 'Almanac de Gotha' of this year) of 355 battalions of infantry, 348 squadrons of cavalry, 190 batteries of field-artillery, numbering 760 guns in time of peace, and 1,140 guns in time of war, in all about 360,000 men. This is exclusive of 123,000 troops of reserve, and 158,000 troops of garrison. The whole strength of the army is estimated at 647,000 men, to which may be added the second class of the Landwehr of 95,495 men. The whole period of service in the Prussian army, line, and Landwehr, is nineteen years; and the annual draft about 63,000 men. Sixteen new regiments of infantry and sixteen of cavalry, amounting to an additional force of 54,000 men, are now in progress of formation from the annexed territories; and three new *corps d'armée*, the 9th, 10th, and 11th, will thus be added to the forces of the kingdom. The Saxon army will form a 12th corps.

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as it now is, with so much practical sagacity and elevated feeling. We therefore recommend this little work earnestly to our readers, especially to those who are conversant with military affairs, either in the shape of command or administration. They will find in it, we believe, the true principles on which modern armies have been reorganised. They will find a brave and unsparing exposure of many of the defects of the French army, but which are certainly not peculiar to that army only. And they may learn from it much that is applicable to all armies in all countries.

General Trochu is not, like the Duc d'Aumale and General Changarnier, a distinguished officer withdrawn from the army for political reasons. On the contrary, he has never ceased to be on active service. He served on the staff in the Crimea; he commanded a division in Italy; and if war were to break out in Europe, he would probably command an army to-morrow on the Rhine. Nevertheless, fearless of censure and unpopularity, and the resentment of the powers that be, he has now thought it necessary to lay bare the weakness and the sores of the service to which he is deeply attached; and we cannot say that he has spared anyone in this heroic resolution. At this period of transition in the structure and functions of armies, he avows boldly that there is no other remedy but publicity for existing imperfections and abuses. The confidential appeals previously made by him to the War Department had failed to produce any effect.

The fundamental principle of every army, according to General Trochu, lies in what he calls its *motive* force and its *mechanical* power. Its motive force is a moral element, sustained by the spirit, patriotism, and bravery of the nation; its mechanical power is the result of its military structure and arrangements. Some armies excel in one respect, some in the other. An army which should combine them both in the highest degree would be eminently formidable in war and almost invincible. In the French army the motive force is intense, and it is rendered more intense by the close assimilation or identity of the army with the nation. Whatever tends to render this relation more intimate, strengthens the army; whatever tends to sever the army from the people, weakens it. That is not the case with all other armies, and especially it is not the case with our own. Every army has its idiosyncrasy and national characteristics. General Trochu speaks with great respect of the British army, and quotes with approval Marshal Bugeaud's familiar saying, 'The British infantry is 'the most formidable in the world; *happily there is not much*

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'*of it.*' But he adds with truth that as armies faithfully represent the merits and the defects of their respective nations, they must be governed and organised on their own distinct principles.

The merit of the system of conscription in the French army is the constant renewal of intercourse which it maintains between the forces and the people. Every year nearly 100,000 citizens enter its ranks; every year as many leave its ranks, impressed with its discipline and its spirit, to resume their civil occupations. The policy of the Emperor has been, for military and political reasons, opposed to this system. He has encouraged as much as possible the re-engagements of the men at the expiration of their period of service, partly from the belief that a trained soldier of twenty-seven was a better combatant than a recruit of twenty-one, and partly because these professional soldiers learn to look to the army alone as their means of livelihood, and are therefore less likely to share the popular passions of the day. The money received from conscripts who have bought themselves off has been spent in promoting these re-engagements by premiums and higher pay. General Trochu combats this system. He says that an old soldier should not be an old man, but a young man who has learned his business; that the true spirit of the French army is to be found in its trained recruits; and that the older men who have re-enlisted for money, and who remain in the army because they have no other calling in life, become 'dodgers,' malingerers, and very often drunkards. All the systems which have been discussed and adopted in France for the last fifty years have necessarily been *peace systems*, not uninfluenced by political motives bearing on the domestic interests of the Government. But the question is whether the army has been trained and fitted *for war*? Whether it can be reinforced and augmented by a competent reserve in war? To these questions General Trochu reluctantly gives a dubitative, we might even say, a negative answer.

The following observation is of universal application:—

'Discoveries made in those sciences which are the handmaids of industry and the arts of peace, have always been used with advantage by arms. One of them, the most important of all, the invention of gunpowder, determined the forms of modern warfare. But formerly these inventions appeared from time to time in the lapse of ages. They were slowly tried and perfected by successive generations. In our time, science is no longer content to be the auxiliary of war: she aspires to be its principal agent. Discovery succeeds discovery with a rapidity which bewilders the mind, throws governments into perplexity and their budgets into confusion, and which

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will throw families into mourning, for all these inventions have invariably the same object, which is to kill the maximum of human beings in a minimum of time. An opinion is gaining ground that these irresistible mechanical improvements will bring armies, in the field, to be mere masses working engines which are to slay the enemy. That composure which permits of observation and reflection, that glance which chooses the decisive moment, that bravery which executes a movement and overcomes an obstacle, would then be out of date.

'Just the reverse is true. All these faculties must be multiplied, all these qualities must be augmented, to work on fields of battle the same problems as of old, rendered more difficult and more perilous.

'It is essential to purge the minds of our troops of these notions and paradoxes which lower the part they have to play. Do not allow them to relax in the exercise of those virtues which are the soul of great effort. Let them be persuaded that the greater and the more painful are the sacrifices required of them by this improved art of slaughter—an unexpected result of superior civilisation—the louder must be the call of honour and patriotism in the soldier's ear.' (*Trochu*, p. 97.)

The first condition of a good army on which General Trochu insists, as may be inferred from the foregoing sentences, is to raise its moral and intellectual standard. It is idle to inflame the imagination of troops by a fanciful conceit of their own superiority; that delusion may be rudely dispelled by the resistance of a powerful enemy; the qualities on which an army has to rely are those which can be found in its own ranks. The unity and mutual reliance of the forces in the hour of danger, the knowledge the men have of the officers and the officers of the men, the moral influence which leads men to overcome their natural instincts, and a general acquaintance with the true principles of war, are the essentials with which a great commander seeks to imbue every portion of the troops under his command. But this result is not to be attained by a minute attention to drill and the mechanical elements of an army. The exercises of troops in time of peace, says General Trochu, give them absolutely no conception of a real struggle in real warfare. And if nothing has been done to bring about that higher education which is the soul of a good army—if troops are marched to meet the enemy without a thorough knowledge of their generals, and without being known by their officers, the result is incoherence in the operations, accident in the course of events, and disappointment in the result. This remark is applicable to other things than armies: it is the secret of all government of masses of mankind, in parliaments, in enterprises, and in industrial operations.

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Mechanical combination is nothing without unity of motive power.

In an army in which promotion depends on merit and not on purchase or mere seniority, every step of advancement is open to the criticism of the whole corps, and probably if the men elected their officers the choice would at least be a just one. But, we venture to add, that the moral tone and professional value of the French army have been impaired by the temptation to convert it into a political instrument. Many a worthless officer has had his debts paid out of the privy purse and got his promotion, because, whatever his vices or defects might be, they only rendered him a more devoted and subservient tool of the Imperial Government; but advancement bought at this price may cost a man the respect of his comrades and the confidence of his men. General Trochu complains that the French soldier unwillingly pays even the customary external marks of respect to his officers; the *prestige* of military rank has become extremely faint; and, in some instances, the *prestige* of superior merit or moral worth is altogether wanting. If faith in *rank* has died out in the French army, its influence can only be supplied by a very high standard of military and moral excellence.

Those who have studied the formation of the Prussian armies incline to the belief that from the advanced education of all ranks in that country, and from the peculiar local organisation of the several corps, they possess these moral elements of military strength in a very high degree, insomuch that when the Landwehr is called out every man knows his place and keeps it. Moreover, although there is much of the democratic element in the Prussian army, it is officered and commanded on aristocratic principles: it has none of that spirit of equality which, as in France, seeks the officers in the ranks. On the contrary, in Germany social rank and personal station lend additional force to military authority. If this be so, it is an important condition of success in war. General Trochu is of this opinion, and he has not overlooked the advantage it may give to the German armies.

'In Prussia and in Russia the active army in time of peace as in time of war is formed into several corps, each composed of divisions, brigades, regiments, staff, depôts, with their own officers and their own *materiel*, all constantly and permanently acting together, with the proper reinforcements in reserve, so that from one day to another the whole body is ready for action. This species of military organisation may have some inconveniences, as what has not? But it would be superfluous to enlarge on its incalculable advantages for

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the purposes of war, when it has penetrated the habits of nations and of armies—the advantage of keeping alive the military spirit, by the ties thus formed in all ranks, between those who command and those who obey—the advantage of a condensation of moral force and of experimental knowledge of every detail of a complicated mechanism—the advantage of rapidity of concentration, concert and energy in execution, when the hour of action is come—advantages of all kinds in *the preparation of war*, which can thus be carried on, without putting a whole country and a whole army into agitation, by violent and multifarious movements, which have the serious evil of disclosing long beforehand the efforts made. With the exception of some great centres like Paris, Lyons, and the camp of Châlons, where the troops are agglomerated rather than organised, the elements of war (in France), both personal and material, are isolated and dispersed to an infinitesimal degree. There are colonels so absorbed by the multifarious duties of administering and commanding at head-quarters, that for months they have not seen, or been seen by, all their detachments. As for generals commanding divisions or subdivisions, the distance and the difficulty are of course still greater.

'Organised concentration, the interchange of sentiments and notions, intercourse between the different branches of the service, a common education, combined manœuvres conformable to actual warfare, are out of the question. The thing is impossible. And when war breaks out, all this has to be created and is created, in presence of the enemy, with endless perplexity and confusion which are fatal to the coolness and cohesion of the army.' (*Trochu*, p. 131.)

Apply these and similar principles to what the French call the Administration of the army, and we the Commissariat. That was the weakest part of our own system in the Crimea, and we learned by melancholy experience how fatal may be the consequences of a failure in this essential branch of the service. But General Trochu tells us that in his opinion, based on recent observation and experience, things are even now not much better done in France. The art of supplying an army in the field cannot be learned in time of peace. In peace the delivery of contracts is perfectly simple, regular, and easy. In war everything—time, place, and demand—is urgent, difficult, and irregular. The only method of dealing with so many unforeseen contingencies is not by military routine, but by a ready and complete knowledge of business. At present all the officers of the French Commissariat have served for years in the army itself: the heads of the department, or intendants, are superannuated generals. The consequence is that these persons know nothing of the operations of trade by which alone supply can adjust itself to demand. During the Italian

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campaign of 1859 the French troops were often without bread in one of the most corn-bearing regions of Europe. Biscuit was equally deficient. An attempt was made to supply the place of these necessaries by polenta, which the men would not eat because they did not know how to cook it! It is the old story of the green coffee. The commissariat officers knew nothing about buying and selling food, they could only distribute it. On these grounds General Trochu arrives at the conclusion that in the event of a great and prolonged war recourse must be had to mercantile enterprise, and that a civil contractor must be charged with the divisional supplies, under the superintendence of the military authority. This is what actually occurred to the French army in the Crimean war. Their commissariat, like our own, was strained to the furthest point without effecting its object; when a great commercial house at Marseilles undertook the supply of provisions with complete success, and restored abundance to the expedition. Nothing is more characteristic of vulgar ignorance than the prejudice against contractors, who are said to enrich themselves at the cost of the public. No doubt they enrich themselves; they ought to enrich themselves, if they succeed in performing a critical and complicated service; but at the same time they save the State and the army from far larger expenses and greater chances of failure. It is a mark of the wisdom and impartiality of General Trochu's mind that he is opposed to exclusive military establishments, and favourable to the introduction of the civil element as an important ingredient of military power in modern warfare. That is a great truth which the late Duke of Newcastle was one of the first to discover; and although the novelty and difficulty of his situation at the outset of the Crimean war prevented him from giving as full an effect to it as he desired, no man was more convinced of the efficacy of the principle. In the French army the doctrine is still more novel, because the military spirit of that country is more absolute than it is here; but experience is gradually demonstrating that the power of a country in war depends to a considerable extent on the art of bringing its civil resources to bear on military objects.

By common consent the infantry of an army is its most essential and important element. General Trochu calls it the '*instrument de la force et de la durée.*' The foot-soldier of the French army, carrying on his back a weight of 35 kilos. or 75 lbs., which is *more than one-third of the regulation burden of a camp mule,* has to march, to watch, to work, and to fight, for the support and defence of the whole service. Yet how is

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the infantry of the line formed? It is what Mr. Bright would call the *residuum* of the conscription. The artillery and engineers have the first choice, as they must have men of physical strength and superior intelligence. Then the big men are taken for the heavy cavalry regiments. Then the most agile and hardy men are selected for the light infantry corps (chasseurs à-pied): and when the regiments of the line are formed the best men are drafted out of them to serve in the Imperial Guard, or to form the two picked companies of each battalion. What remains after all this selection is of necessity the dregs of the whole mass. The peculiar system of the present Emperor has been to form and foster picked bodies of troops, at the expense of the rest of the army. No error can be more fatal. The forces are weakened by continually subtracting their strongest ingredients; and the army, as a whole, loses that uniform solidity which is essential to great operations. Against this whole system General Trochu raises his voice. He would throw back into the line all these crack corps, and do away with distinctions which are no longer justified by a difference of arms. But he would attach to each battalion two platoons of sharpshooters or picked marksmen, to cover its flanks and take up positions admitting of accurate fire. No accurate fire can be had, he contends, unless the man who aims his rifle at the enemy has, or thinks he has, a certain amount of cover. In the open field all men fire at random. To obtain cover for skilled shots is an essential condition of modern infantry manœuvres. The Americans in the late war carried this art to a high pitch, even by scooping out patches of earth in the ground, and by their great dexterity in woodcraft.

General Trochu confirms the opinion we have previously expressed in this Journal, that cavalry, far from losing its importance in modern warfare, will increase it; but only on condition of adapting itself to the altered conditions of the age. Cavalry is the instrument of swiftness in war, and for that purpose everything must be done to make it light and active. A horse made to carry from eighteen to twenty stone on his back is utterly unable to perform the duties required of the animal. Yet the French cavalry carry from seven to eighteen pounds more than our own. To select the light weights, and men used to horses, to abolish the heavy troopers, with their helmets and cuirasses, to provide each squadron with light carts to carry a portion of its baggage, to relinquish the musquetoon for the revolver, are the obvious remedies, which have often been suggested, and which are now backed by the high authority of General Trochu.

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It was a maxim of the Emperor Napoleon I. that to preserve the superiority of an army in war the system of tactics requires to be changed every ten years. But, on the contrary, nothing in this age of change and improvement has undergone so little alteration. The exercises and manœuvres of the French line are still those of 1791; indeed they were introduced and copied from the drill of Frederic II. after the battle of Rosbach. In process of time these regulations, published and amended in a thousand ways, have reached an enormous bulk—some 846 articles of evolutions, most of which could not be executed in actual war. But they are still essentially the regulations of Potsdam, devised by Leopold von Dessau soon after Frederic had adopted the iron ramrod, which was the needle-gun of the last century. The minuteness and complexity of these details exceeds, we are informed, all belief:—

'They were invented at the time when troops could advance in procession to take up their ground in safety, even at a small distance from the enemy; and when every portion of a long order of battle, closely united and acting together, manœuvred with complete uniformity. But now that the progress of artillery and musketry have doubled or tripled the range of destructive weapons, in front of the lines; now that on a field of battle, bodies of men are not safe anywhere; now that the whole secret of war lies in *regulated swiftness, order,* and *silence* (this last condition greatly wanting among French troops); now that the inflexible rigidity of the old Prussian line of battle has been superseded by elasticity, mobility, and the relative independence of its component parts, is it not clear that simplicity and clearness in theory, with facility and rapidity in execution, are become the absolute law of modern manœuvres and tactics?' (*Trochu*, p. 216.)

To this most striking and forcible remark we must add the evidence of General Morand, an excellent officer, who served with distinction under the First Empire:—

'Our present manœuvres cannot, without great danger, be made in presence of an enemy. If employed, the consequence would be, as the consequence has been, *the massacre of whole battalions.* These manœuvres are also injurious, because the study of them diverts the mind of an officer from the true objects of war. Generals have been beaten because their heads were full of nothing but these nonsensical forms. The whole drill should be reduced to a few pages.'

It is important to bear in mind that nothing in the world is so little like actual war and an actual battle as the artificial preparations for it and the books written about it. That is what General Trochu gives us as the result of his experience, and he holds very cheap those dilettanti generals and carpet knights who make campaigns on their library tables. Nor has

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he a much higher opinion of popular enthusiasm as an element of military success. All the eagerness of the start counts but little during the heat and burden of the day, and far still less when fortune ceases to smile and reverses have to be borne. In support of this opinion he quotes the following passage from Marshal Bugeaud's reminiscences, which is so remarkable that we must give it entire:—

'I served in the Peninsula, said the Marshal, for seven years. I sometimes beat the English in isolated mountains and detached operations, which, in the rank I then held, I was able to propose and to direct. (The combat of Ordal was one of these occasions.) But during this long warfare, I am sorry to say that there were but few general operations, in which the British army had not the best of it. The reason was obvious. We almost invariably attacked our adversaries, without the slightest reference to past experience, in a manner which generally succeeded against the Spaniards and which generally failed against the English.

'They habitually occupied a well-chosen defensive position, with a certain elevation of ground, showing only a portion of their strength. The cannonade began. Then, in hot haste, without waiting to study the position, or see how it could be turned, on we rushed to take the bull by the horns. At about a thousand metres from the British line, our soldiers began to talk, and hurried forwards with a slight degree of confusion. The English, silent, arms grounded, looked in their impassible steadiness, like a long red wall, which had a good deal of effect on our youngsters. The distance became less. The troops began to cry "*Vive l'Empereur! En avant, à la baionnette,*" and to wave their caps on their muskets. The march became a run; the ranks were somewhat broken; the agitation swelled to a tumult, and a good many shots were fired. The British line, still silent and immoveable, still with grounded arms, though we were but 300 metres off, seemed not to perceive the storm about to reach it. The contrast was striking. More than one of our fellows began to think, within himself, that the enemy was very slow in firing, and that his fire, when it came, would shortly be very unpleasant. We felt less ardent. The moral influence, irresistible in war, of that composure which seems to be undisturbed (even when it is not so), over disorder intoxicated with noise, weighed upon us.

'At this moment of painful suspense, the English wall presented arms. An impression they could not define riveted to the spot many of our men, who were beginning to open a dropping fire. The fire of the enemy, in perfect unity and precision, mowed us down. Struck back, we receded to recover our balance; then first three formidable *hurrahs* broke the silence of our adversaries. At the third cheer they were upon us, driving in our disorderly retreat. But to our great surprise, they did not urge their advantage beyond a hundred yards, but fell back on their lines to await a second attack. The second attack, with reinforcements, was generally

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made, but made with the same result and fresh losses.' (*Trochu*, p. 240.)

There is reason to believe, from the conduct of the French troops in the wars of the present generation, that these peculiarities in their mode of attack have not altered. They are due in the first instance to the nervous, high-spirited temperament of the men; but they have been increased, rather than counteracted, by the influence of the campaigns in Algeria, the great school of modern French arms. The loose formation and desultory warfare of Africa against the Arab tribes have given to men and officers a high degree of individual resource and self-reliance, but have weakened that severe discipline and close connexion which is essential to regular movements against an enemy in line of battle. French soldiers take up their ground with extreme promptitude and gallantry; when the fire of the enemy begins to tell upon them they rush forwards with irresistible ardour, but with some degree of confusion. These impetuous movements are ill-timed and inconvenient. They anticipate and embarrass the proper operations of war; and in the event of a check inflicted by an enemy under stricter discipline and control, they might be followed by the most disastrous consequences.

It would be presumptuous in us to attempt the task, for which we are by no means qualified, of criticising the French army; and in these remarks we have said nothing which has not been laid down by the experience and authority of its own officers. In spite of the imperfections which have been pointed out, the confidence we feel in the superior quickness and aptitude of the French for war is so great, that we entertain no doubt the army would speedily attain that preeminence for which it has ever been so famous. At the same time it cannot be denied that the present condition of the armies of Germany, united by federation or by treaty to the Crown of Prussia, renders them more formidable antagonists than they have ever been before. In point of numbers, the united population of Germany, including the States south of the Main, is superior to the population of France; it increases more rapidly; and the uniform obligation of military service during a term of nineteen years, enables the German rulers to throw a larger proportion of their subjects into the ranks of the army. In point of physical size and strength the advantage is on the side of the big Teutonic race, over the Celt, the Latin, and the Gaul. In point of field armament the Prussians have forestalled the other armies of Europe in the introduction and use of a breech-loading rifle, and although this cause of inequality

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will speedily disappear, it exists at the present moment. In horses, the resources of Germany are inexhaustible; and to this element of strength must now be added a very complete system of railroads and telegraphs. The tactics of the French infantry of the line are, as we have seen, complicated and old-fashioned; those of the Prussian army have been the subject of incessant study and improvement from the battle of Jena, when their old system utterly broke down, to the battle of Sadowa, when their new system culminated in victory. The German armies are in the highest state of efficiency which can be reached, by scientific preparation for war, by concentration, by compact discipline, and by forethought. The Bohemian campaign had been in preparation for six years, and the result justified the care bestowed upon it. The army knows to whom it has to look—men like General Roon and General Moltke to plan its operations, leaders like the Crown Prince and the Prince Frederic Charles to command it in the field, inspire the troops with a confidence strengthened by past experience and habitual deference to supreme authority. In the French army we cannot say that the present aspect of affairs is equally satisfactory. That great evolution of military reform which the Prussians have accomplished, is, in France, hardly begun. The Imperial Government does not possess the unequivocal or undivided confidence of any class of French citizens. The Emperor, whose will is the only tangible form of authority, does not boast of high military talents, and has been unfortunate in several of his military experiments. After him, there is in France no general of such indisputable preeminence and authority that he could at once give the vigour and unity of paramount command to the whole military system. The experience of the First Empire abundantly showed how dangerous it is to divide the command of the army among officers of rival pretensions, even when the supreme head of the State was a Napoleon. There is, therefore, at present in France nothing of that strict unity of command and complete preparation for war which is believed to exist beyond the Rhine. On the contrary, opinions are divided in high quarters on many essential points. The army and the nation have not adopted and accepted the new system, if new system there is to be. And the inevitable consequence is, that where the highest authorities are not completely resolved upon a course of action, a certain tinge of irresolution penetrates to the regimental officers, and the discipline and cohesion of the whole mass is perhaps somewhat relaxed. These are not favourable conditions to take the field against a powerful and well-advised enemy.

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It is far from our intention to insist upon, or in the least degree exaggerate, these apparent short-comings. On the contrary, we are confident that if a great emergency arose, the French nation would, as of old, put forth an amount of energy and resource capable of surmounting these and far greater perils. We do not conceal our opinion that the power, and even the superiority, of the French army is an essential condition of the liberty and independence of Europe. France has ere this given liberty to others, even whilst she denied it to herself: and if the future had in store a military combination between the Powers of the North—the forces of Germany backed by the forces of Russia—it is only by a close and intimate alliance of France with this country that the cause of western civilisation, and perhaps the independence of the East, can be upheld. No traces of past rivalry and animosity, no apprehension of future differences, shake our faith in the alliance of France and Great Britain as the best security of public law and of peace; and we therefore regard the efficiency of the French army with an interest second only to that which we feel in the efficiency of our own forces. It cannot too often be repeated that the peace of Europe is threatened, if it be threatened, not by France, but by the changes Prussia has made in the distribution of power. If, moreover, we turn our eyes to the New World, where another great military and naval Power has sprung into existence, and where we are sometimes met with tones of hostility and defiance, it is mainly the state of our relations with France which may accelerate or arrest a rupture of our pacific relations with the United States. The alliance of England and France is therefore especially valuable as the pledge of peace, for though either of them might be attacked singly, they will not be defied with impunity as long as they act together. In that fundamental doctrine of the policy and the reign of Napoleon III. we cordially concur; and we believe it to be shared with equal sincerity by men of all parties in France, however widely they may be separated from the Imperial *régime*.

The most favourable result that we can venture to anticipate from the enormous military establishments of the present day is that they may render offensive war too difficult and perilous an enterprise to be undertaken with any prospect of advantage and success. For defensive purposes no country can be too strong; and as long as the power of resistance is in most countries greater than the power of attack, it may reasonably be inferred that war will not be made. The moment the defensive weapon is converted into a weapon of aggression it becomes a

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curse to the world. Unhappily, popular passions, military pride, and political interests supply motives of action in which reason has no share. In the present state of the great continental armies, in the present temper of the continental governments, and in the absence of any recognised body of public engagements, we have, it must be confessed, but little confidence in the permanence of peace; and although France has shown a degree of forbearance and self-control hardly to be expected from her government in presence of the altered condition of Europe, no man can be surprised that the efficiency of her military institutions has become the most absorbing subject of interest to that great people.

No. CCLVIII. will be published in October.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER, 1867.

No. CCLVIII.

ART. I.—*Correspondance de Napoléon Ier, publiée par ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III.* Vols. I.–XV. Paris: 1858–1864.

THE diffidence we feel in commencing our present task arises far less from the thought of what we shall say, than from the consciousness of all that must unavoidably be left unsaid. The mass of materials before us is disheartening from its abundance; and the stern necessity for rejection and compression, which generally becomes evident to reviewers when they draw nigh to their concluding pages, strikes us with dismay at the very outset. The salutary warning of Boileau—

'Qui ne sut se borner ne sut jamais écrire,'

was never more necessary than in the present instance, and no writer who was not resolved to confine himself strictly within certain self-imposed bounds could hope in a few pages to give any idea of the value and interest of the Correspondence of Napoleon I. The work is still in progress and will not be completed, it is said, for some years. Twenty-one volumes have been already published, comprising nearly twelve thousand closely printed large octavo pages, and containing upwards of seventeen thousand letters, proclamations, bulletins and documents of different kinds, all emanating, directly or indirectly, from Napoleon—yet these only bring the collection down to the spring of 1811. Judging from these data, and taking into consideration the fact that the number of letters contributed from private and foreign sources increases as the Correspondence draws nearer to our own times, we may pretty safely reckon on about ten volumes more. Under these circumstances we might fairly hope to be excused, without further explanation, for limiting our criticism in the present instance to

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what may be considered as the first half of this stupendous collection. But a short account of the two successive Editorial Commissions to which the duty of carrying out the instructions of the present Emperor of the French has been entrusted, will show that we have drawn no arbitrary line for our own convenience, and that, in some very material respects, the first fifteen volumes of the Correspondence may be taken as a separate work. Where so much depends on the spirit in which the selection of materials is made, a change of editors—involving, as in this case, a change in the mode of exercising their discretionary power—is an all-important circumstance.

In September 1854 the Emperor of the French appointed a Commission whose functions were 'to collect, set in order, and 'publish the Correspondence of his august predecessor, Napo-'leon I., relating to the different branches of public interest.' This Commission was composed of thirteen members, and had for its President Marshal Vaillant, then Minister of War. It was instructed—and the instructions appear to have been faithfully followed—to abstain from 'any alteration, suppression, or 'modification of the texts.' The Commission immediately commenced its labours, and in 1858 published a first volume headed by a Report, the opening sentence of which is in the grandest style of Napoleonic magniloquence: 'Sire, Augustus 'placed Cæsar among the Gods and dedicated a temple to 'him; the temple has disappeared, the Commentaries have 'remained.' The Commentaries of the modern Cæsar, as they stand collected in the Correspondence, are as little likely, we should say, to be overlooked by posterity as those of his Roman prototype. Fourteen other volumes had followed in quick succession, with an interval of only a few months between each, when suddenly, in 1864, the Commission, notwithstanding its zeal in the cause of historical truth—or, as it may be surmised, in consequence of a zeal too little tempered with discretion—was superseded, and other editors were appointed in its stead.

If any surprise was felt by the public, it was caused, not by the measure itself, but by the fact of its having been so long delayed. Had the situation of the French press been different, had there existed in France any of those sure and prompt means for testing public opinion which free countries afford, there can be little doubt that the knowledge of the impression produced by the publication of this Correspondence would have quickly dispelled the delusions of those who flattered themselves that they were raising a monument to the glory of the founder of the Bonaparte dynasty. No pamphleteer, however hostile,

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could have produced a work half so damaging to the reputation of the imperial hero; no libeller, however unscrupulous, would have dared to invent some of the letters which have thus been given to the world in the blindness of political idolatry. But it was long before the effect on the public outside the imperialist atmosphere could be appreciated, and, in the meantime, fifteen volumes had been published. The work was expensive and quite beyond the reach of popular readers; it was long and filled up in a great measure with administrative and military matters which deterred indolent minds accustomed to the light food of small chronicles and lively *causeries*. Newspapers and reviews were afraid to tread on such dangerous ground, and withheld their criticism; in a word, the Correspondence, all things considered, was little read and still less spoken of. Now and then a political writer, bolder than the rest, would quote some startling passage to show the evils of uncontrolled power and the dangers of excessive centralisation, but without daring to add a commentary. So the work proceeded rapidly and noiselessly, watched and appreciated only by a select few. It was half completed before its most zealous promoters had found out that their pious efforts had resulted in the most complete and irrefragable collection of accusing testimony that any one man was ever made to furnish against himself.

Still, the stifled whispers of public opinion will with time, in the best ordered States, grow into a collective murmur which makes itself heard, even through palace walls and in the chambers where Imperial Commissions sit; and in 1864, as we have said, the present Commission was appointed. It consists of six members only—a manageable number—and the President is Prince Napoleon. With the labours of this second Commission we do not mean to deal, our object in alluding to them being merely to show that the spirit in which they are conducted is somewhat different from that which actuated the first editors. A single sentence, taken from Prince Napoleon's first half-yearly Report to the Emperor, will suffice:—

'In general we have been guided by a very simple idea, namely, that we were called upon to publish that which the Emperor himself would have rendered public could he have outlived himself and—anticipating the judgment of future ages—have wished to make known to posterity, his personal character and his system.'

A very simple idea certainly, but one that will not generally be considered as conducive to impartiality in editorship. At all events, it constitutes the marked difference between the second series of the Correspondence and the first. No or

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who has read the fifteen volumes now before us will be disposed to assert that they were compiled in obedience to the rule subsequently laid down by Prince Napoleon, and that they exhibit the Emperor as he would have wished to be presented to the judgment of future ages. Most certainly they do not show him as he painted himself at St. Helena, when the fear of posterity was upon him.

It is impossible to read some of these letters without feeling wonder that men devoted to the imperial dynasty, and jealous of its honour, should have willingly given them to the world. Was it possible that unquestioning admiration had so far blunted their moral sense, that they could not foresee what the judgment of mankind would be? We would rather try to believe that the Commissioners were enlightened and honest men, who, being carried away by the engrossing interest of the labours in which they were engaged, forgot all else, and lost sight for a time of the political passions of the day in the ardour of historic research. We have, however, heard it whispered that even these conscientious collectors have not given us all, and that some letters, incautiously sent to the Commission by their too confiding possessors, have been neither inserted nor returned.

Be that as it may, the first part of the Correspondence, as it stands, is a most valuable collection of materials for history, and the public may well be thankful for it. Many of these letters, it is true, have been published before: some in a collected form under the Restoration, others, interspersed in the memoirs or correspondence of those to whom they were addressed; but the effect is much heightened by the circumstance of their being now presented in one series. The same subject was often treated by Napoleon in several letters, and the mode of treatment generally varied greatly according to the correspondent. The discrepancies and contradictions thus brought forward are not the least curious parts of the work.

We have said that our first care must be to circumscribe our field. The fact of limiting our review to the first fifteen volumes would scarcely prove a sufficient precaution. These range over fourteen eventful years, from the siege of Toulon in 1793 down to the end of August 1809, after the conclusion of the Peace of Tilsit, and comprise nearly fourteen thousand documents of different kinds. Naturally—we had almost said fortunately—these are of very unequal interest, and many may pass unnoticed without any great effort of self-denial on the part of the reviewer. The distinction between what strictly comes under the head of Correspondence and the

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general works of Napoleon has not been sufficiently kept in view by the Commission. Proclamations, bulletins, messages to the Senate exposing the general situation of the affairs of the Empire—all of which are to be found in the 'Moniteur'—have been reprinted. Official documents, which, though signed by the Emperor, were certainly the work of ministers or even of employés of an inferior order, instructions for the fleet, long lists of the works of art taken from foreign capitals, extracts from publications of the day which have been, with more or less good reason, attributed to Napoleon, and fragments of speeches reported secondhand, swell the bulk of these volumes. Even as regards the Correspondence properly so-called, the rules laid down by the Commission have not been strictly adhered to. The selection is arbitrary and incomplete. Letters have been inserted into the collection which in no way relate 'to branches of public interest,' while they are too few and too uninteresting to give an idea of Napoleon's familiar correspondence. A dozen unmeaning notes to Joséphine, for instance, are given for no other reason, it would seem, than to show that some sparks of common humanity lingered in the Imperial breast. Again we might well have dispensed with the conventional letters of condolence addressed to the families of those who died in battle, or the official letters notifying the birth of infant princes or princesses of the Imperial family. Still, after deducting all that is useless and uninteresting, there remains an almost bewildering mass of attractive matter, and some rules of selection must be laid down to avoid losing ourselves hopelessly. We purpose, therefore, dwelling only on such portions of the Correspondence as explain the traditions of the Imperial system which still survive in France and influence her government, or on those which illustrate the personal character of Napoleon. We cannot attempt to follow the great events of history by the help of the Correspondence. On these it throws no new light. But it does throw great and powerful light on much that must seem incomprehensible to most Englishmen in the domestic politics of France. It brings the theory of personal government, and the whole machinery, so to speak, of centralisation so forcibly before the reader, that the shortcomings and backslidings of France in her search after liberty are explained. The network of administrative tyranny, without a loophole for escape, as it is exhibited in these pages, is fearful. No nation which had been subjected for years to such a *régime*—or, to speak more properly, no nation which had submitted to it—could recover without long and patient efforts. France has not yet recovered and perhaps never may.

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Strange to say, the Editorial Commissioners appear to have been principally guided in their selection of letters by their desire to show the perpetual interference of Napoleon in all the affairs of his Empire, great and small. The ubiquitous and all-pervading nature of his authority is dwelt on and brought out with evident pride and complacency. One might almost suppose the object had been to prove how minute and yet how powerful an engine of despotism personal government could be. In the first Report this is clearly expressed:—

'The most surprising result of the perusal of this varied Correspondence is the impression it conveys of the universal and powerful mind which embraced everything, and could in turn rise to the sublimest and loftiest conceptions, or condescend with equal facility to the most trifling details. At one time, soaring high above the world, Napoleon marks out the limits of new States; at another, his solicitude centres in the humblest hamlet of his Empire. . . . Nothing seems to him beneath his notice when he seeks to put his designs into effect. He is not satisfied in giving the most precise orders, he sees to their execution himself with indefatigable perseverance.'

Napoleon was singularly desirous of making it believed that everything emanated from himself, and the well-known decree for regulating the internal organisation of the Théâtre Français, which he dated from Moscow, is only one among a thousand instances. At the very zenith of his power, with one half of Europe under his rule and the other half in arms against him, he concocted little police-plots, planned scurrilous pamphlets for literary hirelings, suggested caricatures which he thought might be telling against his enemies, found time for the ordering of fêtes and monuments, read reports on the chitchat of the *salons* of Paris, and denounced their intrigues himself, with great pride in his superior vigilance, to his mortified Minister of Police. The pettiness of his administration would in the present day be considered ill-judged in a moderately large household. This activity, however, might have been admired had it been successful, but, unfortunately, the pamphlet, the caricature, and the monument designed by the imperial meddler were generally bad. In spite of his police and counter-police, his empire was so insecure that—as was shown by the momentary success of the Malet conspiracy—its very existence was at the mercy of a handful of resolute men. Neither literature, nor art, nor trade, nor agriculture, throve under this unvarying and stifling solicitude. All was done in France by the Government, and all, or almost all, was ill-done. The genius of Napoleon could not create even a life-empire, and its only lasting result, as regards his internal policy, was to perfect the machinery of centralisation,

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which had been handed down from the old monarchy, and strengthened by the Convention. That machinery has remained unimpaired, and may be seen at work to this very day.

The wild and varied schemes of conquest which dictated Napoleon's foreign policy are not less curious to follow in the Correspondence. When exhibited in their rapid succession, and in their first crude state, some of them hardly appear compatible with sanity. They are the unruly offspring of a restless imagination and a stubborn will, unchecked by statesmanlike prudence or indeed by principles of any kind. They chase each other like the phantoms of dreams without order and without method. From the first wild project of turning Turk and attacking Europe in the rear ('*prendre l'Europe* '*à revers*,' as he said at St. Helena), down to the day when he claimed—and found the claim allowed—to be considered as the heir of Charlemagne, Emperor of the West, no principle save that of self-aggrandisement appears to have inspired his acts—unless indeed his unvarying hatred of England be taken into account. The Correspondence shows him to have been much more the creature of imagination and impulse than is generally supposed. Of far-sighted policy, of plans carefully laid and patiently carried out, there is no trace. Slavery which had been abolished in the Colonies was restored, populations were liberated only to be handed over once more to their oppressors, thrones were set up and pulled down, treaties were made and broken, kingdoms were erected for his brothers, to be partitioned or annexed to the Empire within the space of a few months, as the blind misleading impulses of selfish ambition prompted. As a general ever watchful of his soldiers' welfare, as a military administrator, knowing everything, seeing to everything himself and guarding against the most remote contingencies when the safety or the strength of his army was concerned, Napoleon undoubtedly appears to great advantage in the Correspondence. When one reads his innumerable letters, orders, and proclamations on military matters, even M. Thiers seems scarcely to have done him more than justice on that score; but these are subjects from which we must perforce abstain. In all that constitutes real greatness, Napoleon, painted by himself in his own letters, as we have him here, is thoroughly wanting. Never was the moral littleness of a hero more manifestly shown. A wise enemy—to borrow the expression of the French fabulist—might have done better service to the fame of the modern Cæsar than the friendly compilers of these truthful Commentaries. *Mieux vaudrait un sage ennemi.*

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A voluminous collection of letters, without the corresponding answers and unaccompanied by any explanatory notes or connecting text, is rather difficult reading for the general public. In France, few, we fancy, have gone really through the task, and still fewer readers may be expected in England. We would advise the resolute students of History, who may desire to read the Correspondence with fruit, to go through it year by year conjointly with the contemporary volume of M. Thiers' History of the Consulate and the Empire as a running commentary. With all its faults—or rather on account of its faults—M. Thiers' work gives a very fair idea of the average amount of knowledge and the generally received ideas respecting the facts of Napoleon's reign. It would of course be but a rough standard, for many documents and letters are to be found dispersed in private Memoirs which M. Thiers either glossed over or chose to ignore. Still the comparison would be a curious one. We should be much surprised if for most readers a new Napoleon, instead of the old stereotyped image, were not the result of the study, and—in the case of those who have admired the 'national historian' on the faith of imperial approbation and innumerable editions—a new M. Thiers likewise.

The first letter of the Correspondence is dated October 25th, 1793. Napoleon was then in command of the artillery at the siege of Toulon and was just twenty-four. He was accustomed to say in after life that his political career commenced at the siege of Toulon, and the editors of the Correspondence were perhaps therefore justified in beginning their work at that date. The few letters belonging to that period relate almost exclusively to military matters. There was probably no wish to call attention to the ties which bound the young general to the Terrorist party and especially to the two Robespierres. He himself at a later period took great pains to efface the remembrance of his connexion with the Montagnards, and persecuted with strange animosity, during the whole course of his reign, the scattered remnant of the party to which he owed his early success. There can be no doubt, however, that the protection of Robespierre the younger was most useful to him when he first joined the army of Italy, as a general of artillery; and both the Robespierre brothers so completely reckoned on him as their man, that they even summoned him to their aid when their power seemed threatened, in order to give him the command of the troops in Paris. But Bonaparte, even at that early age, was not one to sacrifice ambition to friendship, and he remained with the army. In the Correspondence there is

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no mention of the events of Thermidor and of the fall of Robespierre, though there are letters of that time extant which would certainly have been worth including in the collection. Nor is there more than a passing allusion to the accusation which the reactionary party brought against Bonaparte himself, and which threatened to nip in its very bud his wonderful career. On the events of Vendémiaire and of the victory he obtained for the Convention in the streets of Paris we have only his official reports to the authorities, and a few lines addressed to his brother Joseph announcing his safety and success. In truth, the Correspondence may be said only to begin fairly in March 1796, when Bonaparte* on the occasion of his marriage with Joséphine de Beauharnais, and thanks to the patronage of the Director Barras, had been nominated to the much-coveted post of Commander-in-Chief of the army of Italy.

French historians have dwelt fondly on the 'pure glory' of the young victor of Italy, and have generally spoken of these early campaigns, undertaken nominally for the liberation of oppressed nations, as being very different from the imperial wars of conquest. It seems, indeed, natural to suppose that a general of six-and-twenty should have preserved some of the generous impulses and uncalculating enthusiasm of youth; but any such delusions will be quickly dispelled by a perusal of the Correspondence. '*On vieillit vîte sur les champs de 'bataille*,' Bonaparte had said some time before to Aubry, the Member of the Committee of Public Safety, when this latter opposed his promotion on account of his youth. In his case the battle-field had certainly done its work thoroughly, and had eradicated all the amiable weaknesses of youth. No veteran campaigner, inured during half a century to the task of wringing tributes out of conquered provinces, no wily diplomatist, grown grey among protocols and treaties, could have been troubled with fewer scruples than the young general of the army of Italy. Time and experience had little to teach him. When he took possession of his new command he was already armed at all points to do battle with the world and cut his way to the highest fortune. As he was at Austerlitz such he was on the eve of that first battle of Montenotte. Unshackled by party-ties, prejudices, or principles, or even by any fixed plans of greatness, he trusted to his genius, to fate, to what is vulgarly called 'circumstances,' and when an opening offered he was ready and able to weigh chances dispassionately

* Up to this date all the letters are signed *Buonaparte.*

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and to choose that course which best favoured his ambition. It was thus he had acted when he sided with the Convention in the riots of Vendémiaire. His intuitive knowledge of character joined to a thorough contempt for mankind in general, his self-command when calmness was required, his curious talent for giving way to apparently involuntary violence when violence could serve his purpose, his unscrupulousness in corrupting others while he himself—as far as vulgar temptations were concerned—remained incorruptible, gave him strange power over all who approached him. Such patriotism as he had been capable of feeling had been given in early youth to his native Corsica, but that had died out long ago. He had chosen France as the best theatre, and her soldiers as the best instruments for his future glory, but no love, no pity for her ever hampered him in one of his schemes of usurpation or of conquest. He was free—free from the meanness and temptations which enslave weak minds, but free likewise from the noble fears and doubts which have checked the ambition of men more really great. The world lay before him, and by the help of his genius he would make himself a place.

That first Italian campaign, with its splendid feats of arms ending in the scandalous treaty of Campo-Formio, is one long tale of violence, rapine, and deceit. It might almost be read and understood in the three first volumes of the Correspondence without any previous knowledge of the subject, so clearly do the letters speak for themselves. And we may observe here that for affording insight into the character of the writer the early letters of Napoleon are by far the most valuable. In a comparatively subordinate situation—as, for instance, when writing to the Directoire Exécutif—he was obliged to give an account of his motives for action and his secret plans, as well as to relate what had actually been done; whereas, when he became omnipotent, he gave orders which he rarely deigned to explain, and which he often intended merely as a blind. At a later period still, after his fall, the retrospective account he gave of some of the incidents of his life was utterly worthless, except inasmuch as it showed what he wished others to believe.

The first proclamation issued to his army on opening the campaign gives the key-note:—

'Soldiers, you are naked and ill-fed. Government owes you much and can give you nothing. . . . I will lead you to the most fertile plains of the world. Wealthy provinces and great towns will be in your power; you will reap honour, glory, and riches. Soldiers of Italy, will you be wanting in courage or in constancy?'

Up to this time the armies of the Republic had been led on

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to battle to the cry of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and with high-sounding proclamations about the liberation of peoples and the destruction of tyranny. These were but empty words perhaps in most cases, but they appealed, at any rate, to feelings of a higher order than those which Bonaparte invoked and they did not demoralise the soldier. But, according to the instinct of his nature, he trusted especially to the worst qualities of those he had to deal with. His half-starved eager troops were not slow in understanding his appeal. No wonder he wrote shortly after the battle of Mondovi:—

'Le soldat sans pain se porte à des excès de fureur qui font rougir d'être homme. . . Je ramènerai l'ordre ou je cesserai de commander à ces brigands.'*

Two days later, he writes—

'There is less pillage. The first thirst of an army destitute of everything has been slaked. The poor wretches are excusable. After sighing for the promised land during three years on the summit of the Alps, they have at last reached it and wish to enjoy it.'

Who first had designated Italy as a promised land?

In the same letter, he adds:—

'Horrors have been committed which make one shudder; *fortunately* the Piedmontese army during its retreat behaved worse still. This beautiful country, if preserved from pillage, will afford us great resources. The province of Mondovi alone can pay us a tax of a million.'†

With the young general the question was not one of humanity or of honesty. Military discipline was to be maintained; pillage was to be organised in order to make it more productive. Here is one order out of many concerning private property:—

'Tax the lord of Arquata at 50,000 livres. In default of payment raze his house to the ground and lay waste his land. He is a furious oligarch, an enemy of France and of the army.'‡

The war in Italy was not only to be self-supporting, it was to replenish the empty coffers of the Republic. Bonaparte well knew the hold that the millions he forwarded to Paris gave him over the perplexed Directors. They were fully alive to the danger of allowing their General to exercise uncontrolled authority over his army, and to conduct the war according to

* Letter to the Directoire Exécutif, April 24th, 1796.
† Ibid. April 26th, 1796.
‡ To General Pelletier, May 4th, 1796.

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his own views; but whenever they attempted remonstrance or interference, they were met by a threat of resignation and a promise of more treasure. When Bonaparte took the command of his army, 12,000*l.* was all that the Government could give him to distribute to his starving soldiers; within a few months, the army was living in plenty, and millions had been forwarded, not only to Paris but to Kellermann and the army of the Rhine. A man who could effect such miracles could not well be spared, whatever dangers his love of power might threaten in the future. He himself had but one passion, ambition, and he used the vices as well as the virtues of men to gratify it. The cupidity of the Directors and of the officers under his command was as useful to him as the valour of his soldiers. They were all tools in his hand. Italy was a mere farm, and exactions soon became not only the chief result but the primary object of war.

From Milan, where he had been received as a liberator, he wrote to the Directoire:—'We can get twenty millions out of 'this place. The country is one of the richest in the universe, 'but completely exhausted by five years' war.' Of these twenty millions of francs, he says two days later in a proclamation addressed to the people of Lombardy: 'This is but a 'very slight tax for such fertile provinces, especially when the 'advantages they are to reap are taken into consideration.' Yet these were the same provinces he described as *exhausted by war.*

What the advantages of French occupation were to be it would have been hard to explain satisfactorily, but the invading army was still self-styled an army of liberation. The old pompous phraseology was adhered to; glory and cupidity went hand in hand. Piedmont, Lombardy, Parma, and Modena had been conquered and heavily mulcted, yet, in a proclamation to his soldiers before marching on Rome he said:—

'Mais que les peuples soient sans inquiétude; nous sommes amis de tous les peuples et plus particulièrement des descendants des Brutus, des Scipion et des grands hommes que nous avons pris pour modèles. Rétablir le Capitole, y placer avec honneur les statues des héros qui se sont rendus célèbres, réveiller le peuple romain, engourdi par plusieurs siècles d'esclavage, tel sera le fruit de vos victoires. . . .'

A few months later we find the bust of Junius Brutus and that of Marcus Brutus particularly specified among the articles of value which were to be given over by the Pope in conside-

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ration of the armistice signed at Bologna. For the liberator of Italy had introduced a form of spoliation which had been hitherto unknown in modern warfare. The peoples he conquered were, for the love of art and for the greater advancement of France, robbed, so to speak, even of their glorious Past. Wherever he went the choicest treasures of museums and palaces were carried off and sent to Paris. Some French historians have been found to speak with pride of this new kind of pillage, as evincing an intense love of art; while others have been content to extenuate the sin by pleading that a less discriminating conqueror might have destroyed instead of robbing! The idea, such as it was, may, we think, be ascribed to Napoleon himself, and did more to beget hatred of France than any of the other misdeeds of her armies. An artist named Tinet was attached as agent to the army of Italy for the purpose of 'extracting and picking up' (*ramasser et extraire*) the works of art which were worthy of being forwarded to Paris. The expression, 'works of art,' was rather loosely interpreted; for we find jewels, diamonds, harness, and even still stranger articles included under that head.

'Monge, Berthollet, and Thouin (the naturalist) are at Pavia, where they are busy enriching our Jardin des Plantes and Museum of Natural History. I trust they will not overlook a complete collection of snakes which seemed to me well worth removing.'*

And again to the same:—

'A hundred horses, the finest to be had in Lombardy, start from Milan to-morrow. They are to replace the sorry beasts that drag your carriages.'

Bonaparte himself summed up the results of that first summer campaign in a letter to the Directoire, from which we will borrow our last extract on this subject. We have quoted enough to show with what perfect candour the Correspondence exhibits the true nature of the war in Italy, and the relations between the general and his nominal chiefs. He demanded uncontrolled power in return for money, and got it:—

'Enfin, Citoyens Directeurs, plus vous nous enverrez d'hommes, plus, non-seulement nous les nourrirons facilement, mais encore, plus nous lèverons de contributions au profit de la République. L'armée d'Italie a produit dans la campagne d'été vingt millions à la République, indépendamment de sa solde et de sa nourriture; elle peut en produire le double pendant la campagne d'hiver si vous nous envoyez en recrues et en nouveaux corps une trentaine de mille

* To the Directoire Exécutif, June 21st, 1796.

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hommes. Rome et toutes ses provinces, Trieste et le Frioul, même une partie du royaume de Naples deviendront notre proie; mais pour se soutenir il faut des hommes.'

A prey! that was the true and fitting word; but a strange one, it must be allowed, in the mouth of a self-styled liberator.

We have said that the character of Bonaparte, when he first took the command of the army of Italy, was completely formed, and that it was but slightly modified in after-life by success and the possession of unlimited power. A careful observer, for instance, would easily recognise in his treatment of the Papacy during that first Italian campaign, the strange mixture of deference and contempt which characterised in later days all his dealings with the Church. The young general who, in 1797, signed the Treaty of Tolentino, which reduced the Papal Government to impotence, while it spared the existence of the temporal power, foreshadowed pretty plainly the man, who as First Consul, and as Emperor, was to reopen the churches of France, establish the Concordat, and become the gaoler of the Pope. He was discerning enough to perceive, in spite of the atmosphere of revolutionary impiety which surrounded him, that the Church still possessed considerable power, and no power that could be turned to account ought in his opinion to be destroyed. He saw dimly his way to making religion useful. Advices from Paris—and among others a letter from his friend Clarke (afterwards Duke of Feltre), which has been preserved—told him that Catholicism was regaining ground in France. In very truth, the world was to him but as a chess-board, and some good moves might soon be made, he thought, with the help of the Church.

In the eyes of the Government of which he was supposed to be the servant, the Papacy was the natural enemy of the French Republic, and there is little doubt that in the origin the plan of the Directoire was to destroy the temporal power of the Pope root and branch; but the time had gone by when they could hope to control their general, and they were ready to let him do as he pleased, provided Rome paid a heavy ransom. Bonaparte was free from the anti-religious prejudices of the revolutionists; that he was equally divested of all sympathy with the Church is clearly proved by the fact that on his first entering Italy he proposed, among other wild schemes, to cede Rome to Spain in order to secure the alliance of that country. A year later, when at peace with Rome, he wrote to the Directoire: 'The Pope has had an attack of apoplexy 'and has been blooded. He is eighty-three. Give me positive instructions as to the conduct to be pursued if the Pope 'dies. *Am I to allow them to make a new Pope?*'

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On the treaty of Tolentino the Correspondence has many letters which show in a singularly clear light the unblushing duplicity of the young negotiator. To Cacault, the French minister at Rome, he writes:—

'You may assure the Pope by word of mouth that I have always been adverse to the treaty which has been proposed to him, and especially to the manner of negotiating it. It is in consequence of my private and reiterated entreaties that I have been empowered by the Directoire to open fresh negotiations. I am far more ambitious of the title of Saviour of the Holy See than of that of its destroyer. You know yourself that on this point you and I have always held the same opinions, and, thanks to the unlimited latitude left me by the Directoire, if there be any wisdom at Rome we may manage to give peace to this fair part of the world, and to tranquillise the timid consciences of many nations.' (October 28th, 1796.)

Yet only a few days before, in writing to this same Cacault, he designated his Holiness as 'that old fox,' whom it was especially desirable to deceive.

In a letter to General Joubert, dated from Tolentino, where he was carrying on the negotiations with the Papal Government, he says:—

'L'armée est à trois jours de Rome; je suis à traiter avec cette *prêtraille*; et, pour cette fois-ci, Saint Pierre sauvera encore le Capitole, en nous cédant ses plus beaux États et de l'argent, et, par ce moyen, nous sommes en mesure d'exécuter la grande tâche de la campagne prochaine.' (February 17th, 1797.)

Two days later the treaty was signed, and he wrote on that occasion to the Pope:—

'All Europe knows the peaceful intentions and the conciliatory virtues of your Holiness.

'The French Republic will, I trust, prove one of the truest friends of Rome.

'I send my aide-de-camp (Marmont) to express to your Holiness the esteem and profound veneration with which I have the honour to be, &c.'

It is necessary to carry one's self back to 1797 in order to understand how strange were such expressions of respect under the pen of an agent of the French Republic. What the treaty of Tolentino really was, and how far Bonaparte's veneration had influenced his conduct, may be gathered from a letter written *on the same day* to the Directoire (19th February, 1797):—

'My opinion is, that Rome, when once deprived of Bologna, Ferrara, Romagna, and the thirty millions we take from her, cannot exist; the old machine will tumble to pieces of itself' (*cette vieille machine se détraquera toute seule*).

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And in a second note bearing the same date:—

'The commission of the *savants* has made a good harvest at Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Ancona, Loretto, and Perugia. All will shortly be sent to Paris. When to this is added what will be sent from Rome we will have taken all that is worth having in Italy (*tout ce qu'il y a de beau en Italie*), except a small number of articles which are still at Turin and at Naples.'

The liberating army had accomplished its mission.

We are inclined to dwell on the first volumes of the Correspondence because they exhibit far more clearly than the others the character of the man, and it is as an illustration of the character of one who for many years governed half Europe that this collection of letters is especially valuable. In after years, when as the all-powerful ruler of France he spoke in the name of a great nation, the selfishness of his policy ceased to be apparent; when his plots and artifices were backed by more than half a million of soldiers they scarcely could seem mean and petty; but in the history of those early days, in Italy and in Egypt, the moral littleness of the man stands out in all its nakedness. There were no rags of imperial purple to cover it then. At no time of his life did Napoleon properly understand even the uses of truth, but at the outset of his career he hardly seemed to understand the uses of hypocrisy. Some of the letters are truly cynical in their confessions of deceit. On no subject are they more curiously instructive than on the cession of Venice to Austria; we will therefore choose that episode as an example.

All the Governments of Italy were cajoled and betrayed in turn. We have shown how it fared with Lombardy and with the Pope; the King of Sardinia, the Republic of Genoa, the Duke of Tuscany, were not better treated, but in all that history there is no page so dark as the one which relates to the betrayal of Venice. It was but yesterday she came out of the bondage into which she was sold by Bonaparte seventy years ago, and of all his misdeeds none has borne more lasting and more bitter fruits. If any doubts exist in the present day as to the perfidious part he played, they will be cleared up by the Correspondence.

We have not space, nor is it our business, to relate at length the conduct pursued towards Venice by the French general from the very beginning of the campaign against Austria. At first his intention appears to have been merely to extort money;* but as the war proceeded the idea of a more whole-

* 'Peut-être jugerez-vous à propos de commencer dès à présent

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sale spoliation grew upon him. Her consistent and honest neutrality was considered by him as a crime. One by one, under various pretexts, all her fortresses on the Adige fell into his hands. Under the influence of French intrigues, and indeed by direct appeals to that revolutionary spirit which the armies of Republican France seemed to carry with them wherever they went, the Venetian provinces of terra-firma had been estranged from the Government, and insurrections had broken out which Bonaparte would neither quell with his own soldiers nor allow Venice to put down herself by force. Villetard, the French chargé d'affaires at Venice—who acted with perfect good faith a most odious part—was at last commissioned to propose to the Doge and the Grand Council their abdication as the only means of saving their country from anarchy. The aristocracy, which had ruled the Republic in its most glorious days, was to make way for a popular and provisional government under the protection of a French garrison. The sacrifice was agreed to at once by the Doge and Council, with more patriotism than political wisdom. Not, indeed, that any prudence on the part of her rulers could have saved Venice. Her doom was sealed, and Bonaparte had determined irrevocably that she should be the compensation offered to Austria in order to secure to France the frontier of the Rhine.

On the 16th May, 1797, a treaty was signed at Milan between the French Republic and the Republic of Venice. It stipulated, in the usual terms, perpetual peace and amity, and the cessation of hostilities. The Grand Council then decreed the abdication of the hereditary aristocracy, and recognised the sovereignty of the people. The French Republic on the other hand, in compliance, it was said, with the request of Venice, was to furnish a division of French troops to maintain order in the town, insure the safety of life and property, and assist the new Government in all branches of administration—the said troops to retire as soon as the new Government should no longer need their services. By secret articles attached to the treaty it was agreed that the two republics were to take measures for the exchange of divers territories. The Republic of Venice was to pay to France three millions

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une petite querelle au Ministre de Venise à Paris, pour que après la prise de Mantoue et que j'aurai chassé les Autrichiens de la Brenta, je puisse trouver plus de facilité pour la demande que vous avez intention que je leur fasse de quelques millions.' (*Letter to the Directoire Exécutif*, July 12th, 1796.)

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of francs in money, three millions more in hemp, ropes, and other articles to be selected from the arsenal, to furnish three ships of the line and two frigates in complete sailing order; and lastly—according to the fashion of the times—to hand over twenty pictures and 500 manuscripts at the choice of the general-in-chief. The conditions of this treaty were hard enough, for the 'exchange of territories' consisted in the cession of all the Venetian provinces of terra-firma either to the Emperor of Germany or to France; the compensation offered being a mere mockery. Venice, in fact, was reduced to the limits of her native lagoons. Still, the name of the old Republic survived, and all was not lost. The plan of handing over Venice herself to Austria had not yet been disclosed, and even the unprincipled Government of the Directoire would not have consented without demurring to so shameful a deed. They were to be drawn into it by their still more unprincipled general.

But this was not all, and Venice was to be utterly stripped before she was handed over to the stranger. General Gentili was despatched to take possession of the Ionian Islands. Here are his orders (26th May):—

'You will have received the order, Citizen-General, to go to Venice. General Baraguey-d'Hilliers will place at your disposal two battalions of the 77th demi-brigade, fifty gunners, four field-pieces, an officer of the engineers, and 150,000 cartridges. You will find at Venice five frigates commanded by Citizen Bourdé. You will embark with your troops as promptly and as secretly as possible, and repair to Corfu to take possession of all the Venetian establishments in the Levant.

'You will take care to act merely as the auxiliary of the Republic of Venice, and in concert with the Commissioners sent by the new Government; also to do all in your power to win over the population, as it is necessary that you should be the master in order that, whatever may be the ultimate decision in respect of these islands, we may be able to execute it.'

In the body of the letter there is a curious injunction:—

'Should the inhabitants of those countries seem inclined to independence, you will take care to flatter their propensities, and in the proclamations you issue you must not fail to speak of Greece, Athens, and Sparta.'

The future author of so many pompous, bombastic, lying bulletins here stands confessed. We can scarcely imagine a more characteristic remark. How at one flash it illumines the depths of charlatanry that lay hidden under his high-sounding phrases! In a confidential letter to Talleyrand a

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few months later, he recurs to the same idea: 'tout ce qui est 'bon à dire dans des proclamations et des discours imprimés 'sont des romans.'

On the very same day that General Gentili was despatched on his filibustering expedition Bonaparte wrote to the Municipal Government of Venice:

'. . . I have also directed that troops should be sent from Venice and Ancona to your islands of the Levant, in order to second your Commissioners, and to prevent the enemies of your country and of liberty taking advantage of present circumstances, to obtain possession of those islands and hand them over to the bondage of some foreign power.

'. . . Under all circumstances, I will do everything in my power to prove my desire that your liberty should be secured, and that wretched Italy, free and independent of foreigners, should take a glorious place in the world, and resume among great nations the rank to which nature, her situation, and Fate alike call her.'

A few hours later—for the letter is dated 27th May, one o'clock in the morning—he wrote to the Directors to inform them that the first conference for the definitive treaty of peace between France and the Emperor of Germany had been held the day before, and that according to the project agreed upon *Venice was to be given over to Austria!* Some passages of this letter are so curious that they must be given in the original:—

'Il m'a paru aussi que c'était moins à nous accorder la limite du Rhin que l'on avait répugnance, qu'à faire aucun changement qui accrût la puissance du roi de Prusse et qui culbuterait entièrement le Corps germanique.

'. . . Culbuter le Corps germanique, c'est perdre l'avantage de la Belgique, de la limite du Rhin; c'est mettre dix ou douze millions d'habitants dans la main de deux puissances de qui nous nous méfions également.

'Si le Corps germanique n'existait pas il faudrait le créer tout exprès pour nos convenances.

'Approuvez-vous notre système pour l'Italie?

'Venise, qui va en décadence depuis la découverte du Cap de Bonne-Espérance et la naissance de Trieste et d'Ancône, peut difficilement survivre aux coups que nous venons de lui porter. Population inepte, lâche et nullement faite pour la liberté; sans terres, sans eaux, il paraît naturel qu'elle soit laissée à ceux à qui nous donnons le continent. Nous prendrons tous les vaisseaux, nous dépouillerons l'arsenal, nous enleverons tous les canons, nous détruirons la banque, nous garderons Corfou et Ancône pour nous. . . .

'L'on dira que l'Empereur va devenir puissance maritime? Il lui faudra bien des années, il dépensera beaucoup d'argent et ne sera jamais que de troisième ordre; il aura effectivement diminué sa puissance.'

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Yet of this same town of Venice he says in a subsequent letter to the Directoire: 'Si votre ultimatum était de ne pas 'comprendre la ville de Venise dans la part de l'Empereur, je 'doute que la paix se fasse (*cependant Venise est la ville la plus 'digne de la liberté de toute l'Italie*) et les hostilités recom- 'menceraient.' That short parenthesis is the most sweeping condemnation of his own conduct that can well be imagined.

The Directoire could have no other will than that of their too powerful general. The treaty of Campo-Formio, of which the worst clause was cancelled scarcely more than twelve months ago, was signed on the 17th October, 1797, and one of the greatest political iniquities since the partition of Poland was consummated. Not the least disgraceful part of Bonaparte's conduct were the insults he heaped on the city he had betrayed. Villetard, the French agent,—himself deceived, as we have said—had helped to deceive the Venetians, and remonstrated bitterly. The General's answer is one of the most striking specimens of cruel irony that can well be imagined:—

'J'ai reçu, Citoyen, votre lettre du 3 brumaire; je n'ai rien compris à son contenu. Il faut que je ne me sois pas bien expliqué avec vous.

'La République française n'est liée avec la municipalité de Venise par aucun traité qui nous oblige à sacrifier nos intérêts et nos avantages à celui du comité de salut public ou de tout autre individu de Venise.

'Jamais la République française n'a adopté pour principe de faire la guerre pour les autres peuples. Je voudrais connaître quel serait le principe de philosophie ou de morale qui ordonnerait de sacrifier 40,000 Français contre le vœu bien prononcé de la nation et l'intérêt bien entendu de la République.

'Je sais bien qu'il n'en coûte rien à une poignée de bavards que je caractériserais bien en les appelant fous, de vouloir la République universelle. Je voudrais que ces messieurs vinssent faire une campagne d'hiver. D'ailleurs la nation vénitienne n'existe pas: divisé en autant d'intérêts qu'il y a de villes, efféminé et corrompu, aussi lâche qu'hypocrite, le peuple d'Italie, et spécialement le peuple vénitien, est peu fait pour la liberté. S'il était dans le cas de l'apprécier, et s'il a les vertus nécessaires pour l'acquérir, eh bien! la circonstance actuelle lui est très-avantageuse pour le prouver: qu'il la défende! . . .

'Au reste, la République française ne peut pas donner, comme on paraît le croire, les États vénitiens; ce n'est pas que, dans la réalité, ces États n'appartiennent à la France par droit de conquête; mais c'est qu'il n'est pas dans les principes du Gouvernement français de donner aucun peuple.

'Lors donc que l'armée française évacuera ce pays-ci, les différents gouvernements seront maîtres de prendre toutes les mesures qu'ils pourraient juger avantageuses à leur pays.' (October 26th, 1797.)

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The Venetians having taken the general at his word sent a deputation to him begging to be allowed to attempt the defence of the town with their own resources. His only reply was to throw the ambassadors into prison.*

As a finishing stroke to the picture we may add that when speaking of Venice at St. Helena Napoleon was pleased to describe her subjection to the Austrian yoke as a temporary lesson in the school of adversity, which might be serviceable to the Venetians by strengthening their patriotism and disposing them favourably towards any national government which might be their future lot. The passage which relates this last most monstrous piece of hypocrisy is to be found in the Mémorial de Ste-Hélene.

The reader will observe that we have asserted only what the Correspondence corroborates, and that we have had recourse to extracts as frequently as possible, our object being especially to show the value of the information that it affords. For the same reason we have thought it better to select a single episode and examine it thoroughly by the light of the letters than to cull our quotations right and left without order. By the same

* In the meantime Gentili had fulfilled his mission at Corfu in a manner well worthy of his employer. He had presented himself as the friend and ally of the new Venetian Government and, having obtained admission into the fortress, had taken possession of all it contained. The following letter will show that the Levantines were not the only people whose propensities Bonaparte thought it might be useful to flatter by indulging in classical allusion:—

'. . . Le 10 messidor, nos troupes ont débarqué et pris possession des forts de Corfou, où elles ont trouvé six cents pièces de canon, la plus grande partie en bronze. Un peuple immense était sur le rivage pour accueillir nos troupes avec les cris d'allégresse et d'enthousiasme qui animent les peuples lorsqu'ils recouvrent leur liberté. A la tête de ce peuple était le *Papa* ou chef de la religion du pays, homme instruit et déjà d'un âge avancé. Il s'approcha du général Gentili et lui dit: "Français! vous allez trouver dans cette île un peuple ignorant dans les sciences et les arts qui illustrent les nations; mais ne le méprisez pas pour cela, il peut devenir encore ce qu'il a été; apprenez en lisant ce livre à l'estimer."

'Le général ouvrit avec curiosité le livre que lui présentait le *Papa* et il ne fut pas peu surpris en voyant que c'était l'Odyssée d'Homère.

'. . . L'île de Corcyre était, selon Homère, la patrie de la princesse Nausicaa.

'Le citoyen Arnault, qui jouit d'une réputation méritée dans les belles-lettres, me mande qu'il va s'embarquer *pour faire planter le drapeau tricolore sur les débris du palais d'Ulysse.*' (*Letter to the Directoire Exécutif*, August 1st, 1797.)

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process all the events of Napoleon's reign may be judged with the help of the Correspondence, and in almost every case the same crooked, selfish policy will be discovered. The soldier who, before he was thirty, could act towards Venice as we have shown, was not likely in after years to become frank, honest, or generous. When once the character of the man is well understood his conduct towards every country in turn, whether it be St. Domingo, Switzerland, Holland, Poland, Italy, or France herself, seems natural. The tree bears its fruit.

Bonaparte had resolved to make peace at almost any price with the Emperor, chiefly because new schemes had taken possession of his restless mind. Italy had afforded him all the military glory he could desire, and he was sick of legislating for still-born States like the Cisalpine and Cispadane Republics. It would be well, he thought, to change his scene of action in order to keep men's eyes fixed upon him. The capture of the Ionian Islands had opened to his imagination vistas of Eastern conquest, and he was already planning the expedition of Egypt. He had written to the Directory that he considered the possession of Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia, as more important than that of all Italy put together, and that he would rather give back Italy to the Emperor than give up the islands: 'The Turkish Empire,' he said, 'is crumbling to 'pieces, and the possession of the islands will give us the 'means of maintaining it as long as possible, or of taking our 'share of it. The time is drawing near, when to destroy 'England, we must get hold of Egypt.'

Great politicians even in those days were speculating on the chances of bolstering up the sick man, or of taking their share of his inheritance if things came to the worst. 'A war with 'England,' he added, 'would open a wider and more brilliant 'field for French activity.' The English people, he was pleased to say, were more estimable than the Venetians, and the 'liberation of England' would consolidate the happiness and liberty of France. As to himself, he only wished for repose. He had done his duty, and he was satisfied:—

'Il ne me reste plus qu'à rentrer dans la foule, reprendre le soc de Cincinnatus et donner l'exemple de respect pour les magistrats et de l'aversion pour le régime militaire qui a détruit tant de Républiques et perdu plusieurs Etats.' (Oct. 10th, 1797.)

With Talleyrand, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, he was more explicit, and the liberation of England was viewed under another aspect:—'We must concentrate all our activity on 'the navy and destroy England. *Cela fait, l'Europe est à nos 'pieds.* Salut.' (Oct. 18th, 1797.)

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Two volumes of the Correspondence are devoted to the Expedition of Egypt. Although they contain much that is interesting, the interest is rather of a restricted kind, and there is a certain degree of sameness in the subjects treated. Barely a month after the French had landed at Alexandria, all communications, as it is well known, were cut off with France by the destruction of their fleet at Aboukir, and the consequence is that the letters written during the campaigns of Egypt and of Syria relate exclusively to objects concerning the war. Of all that was going on in the rest of the world, Bonaparte himself knew nothing. The collection, however, is very complete, and we will glance over it rapidly.

It scarcely seems credible that the expedition should ever have been sanctioned by the Government. That Bonaparte, young and ambitious as he was, should have been eager for any undertaking in which he could earn glory and attract public notice, was natural enough; but that the Directory, with an empty treasury—for the millions from Italy had ceased to pour in—with England mistress of the seas, and with war threatening the frontiers of France, should have allowed their best troops and the flower of their generals to be employed in a distant conquest, can only be explained in one way; no sacrifice seemed to them too great to get rid of their unmanageable general. He was allowed to plan the expedition as he pleased, and to select the officers who were to command under him. The necessary funds were obtained by means of two other expeditions, both of which were conducted in accordance with the system of extortion that Bonaparte himself had introduced into the armies of the Republic: the occupation of Rome, for which the murder of General Duphot furnished a pretext, and the invasion of Switzerland, undertaken nominally to free the oppressed democrats of the Pays de Vaud from the tyranny of Berne. Napoleon, in his Memoirs, has asserted that he blamed both these undertakings, and that he had nothing to do with them; but on this head, the Correspondence gives him the lie. Not only are the instructions for Berthier at Rome and for Brune in Switzerland written by himself, but the Correspondence furnishes proof that he continued to direct the operations of the troops in both cases. Some of the millions seized at Berne were forwarded by his order direct to Toulon for the use of the army of Egypt. This is but one example out of hundreds of the discrepancies between the Correspondence and the Memoirs. The fact of his having recommended and directed these two expeditions would not, however, be a proof that he did not consider them

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as ill-judged and likely to produce disastrous results. He himself wrote at St. Helena that it was necessary that the Directory should suffer reverses during his absence, and that his return should be the signal of victory, in order that he might become master of France. We may safely conjecture that whatever he considered necessary to the establishment of his power he also thought desirable.*

The mission of the army of Egypt, as described in the decree of the Directoire, authorising the expedition, was: to conquer Egypt, so as to open a new road to India, where the forces of the Republic were destined to 'vanquish the satellites of 'England, and dry up the sources of her corrupting wealth;' to drive the English from their possessions in the East, and more particularly to destroy their establishments on the Red Sea; lastly, to cut the Isthmus of Suez, and secure to France the exclusive possession of the Red Sea. Bonaparte himself, in his first proclamation, designated his army as one of the wings of the army of England, and reminded his soldiers that 'the Roman legions whom they had often imitated, but not yet 'equalled, had fought Carthage by sea as well as on the plains 'of Zama.'

Bonaparte's proclamations play an important part in the history of the Egyptian expedition, and the Correspondence gives them all. The idea of Napoleon in Egypt is associated in most minds with that of bombast and absurd magniloquence. Everybody has read, and many have smiled in reading of the forty centuries which looked down upon the French soldiers from the summit of the Pyramids, but that was one of Bonaparte's least ambitious flights of rhetoric. The East exercises a species of fascination even on the least imaginative minds, but Napoleon seemed to think that the neighbourhood of the Desert and of the Nile justified him in indulging in more than Oriental hyperbole. His proclamations and orders of the day, when read in succession, as they are given in the Correspondence, produce a ludicrous effect. There is every reason to believe that he overshot the mark, as regards those whom he most wished to please. While French soldiers smiled and shrugged their shoulders, the native population read with hatred and contempt. He could not captivate fanatics by feigning to be

* In a letter which, as First Consul, he addressed to Talleyrand, we find:—'You must have articles written in the "Moniteur" to make it apparent that if I had remained in Egypt, that magnificent colony would still be ours, as also that if I had remained in France we should not have lost Italy.' (*Correspondence*, vol. vi. p. 284.)

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half a renegade. There seems to be some providential rule that condemns great deceivers to commit almost without exception the same mistake: they overrate the credulity of the rest of mankind. If liars told lies with the same moderation and discretion that honest men use in telling the truth, honesty would not be so generally recognised as it is by wise folks as the best policy. There is evident proof, for instance, that Bonaparte presumed too much on the credulity of the Sultan, when he informed him that the French had landed in Egypt only to prevent the partition of the Turkish Empire between the Emperors of Germany and of Russia.

Still, with all his contempt for the understanding of others and the boldness of his oratory, Bonaparte felt hampered by the prosaic times he lived in, and the comparatively sceptical generation he had to deal with. He openly envied Mahomet, who could make himself obeyed as the Envoy of God, and still more Alexander, who could hope to be believed when he claimed to be the son of Jupiter Ammon. We may rest assured that no scruples would have stood in his way if by imitating either of these glorious impostors he could have increased his chances of success. But the days of Alexander and Mahomet were gone by, and as far as his soldiers were concerned, he was obliged to rest satisfied with appealing to their scepticism, which he dignified by the name of tolerance. He reminded them in a proclamation published before landing at Alexandria that the people among whom they were going to live were Mahometans, whose principal article of faith was: There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet. 'Do not contradict them,' he added; 'act towards them as we 'acted towards the Jews and the Italians; show to their Muftis 'and to their Imaums the same deference you showed to the 'Rabbi and the Bishops. Show in respect of the ceremonies 'prescribed by the Koran the same toleration which you 'showed towards convents and synagogues, towards the religion 'of Moses and that of Jesus Christ. The Roman legions 'protected all religions.' When he addressed the people of Egypt a few months later the religion of Christ scarcely appeared on a footing of equality with that of Mahomet. 'Are 'we not the men who have destroyed the Pope because he said 'that it was right to make war on Mussulmans? Have not 'we destroyed the Knights of Malta because they were mad 'enough to believe that it was God's will they should make 'war against Mussulmans?' Indeed, as time went on, he bid higher and higher for the favour of the natives, and his latest proclamations, which are invariably headed by the Mahometan

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profession of faith, and affect the most exaggerated fatalism, might have been those of a true believer. To General Menou, the renegade, he expresses satisfaction, at hearing that the General has gone publicly to pray at the mosque. In a letter addressed to the Divan of Cairo a month before leaving Egypt he speaks with contempt of the Russians 'who believe in three 'Gods,' and remarks that it is not the number of Gods that gives victory. At all times, and in all situations, there was in Napoleon much of the quack, but at no period of his life was his charlatanry more grossly conspicuous than during his stay in Egypt.

In the preliminary and in the early stages of the expedition —as for instance in the taking of Malta—rapacity was a distinguishing feature, but the occupation of Egypt by the French was especially marked by cruelty on the part of the commander-in-chief. Bonaparte, in deeds as well as in words, borrowed more than one lesson from the Turks. The revolt at Cairo was punished with a barbarity which would scarcely be credible if the Correspondence did not furnish vouchers. He had ordered that every man found in arms in the streets of Cairo should be put to the edge of the sword—a measure which might be excused on the score of the necessity of immediate repression, but which, at any rate, ought to have been considered sufficient by the most energetic commander: however, the next day he wrote to General Berthier an order to have all the prisoners beheaded, and their headless bodies thrown into the Nile. To General Regnier, a week after the insurrection, he wrote with an equal want of humanity and good grammar: 'La tranquillité est parfaitement rétablie au Caire '. . . . . Les révoltés ont perdu un couple de milliers 'd'hommes; *toutes les nuits nous faisons couper une trentaine de 'têtes et beaucoup des chefs*; cela, je crois, leur servira de bonne 'leçon.'

Even before the breaking out of the insurrection he had written to Generals Menou and Zajonchek: 'You must treat 'the Turks with the greatest severity. Every day I have 'three or four heads cut off and carried through the streets. 'It is the only way of managing these people.'

The Correspondence in its unflinching truthfulness gives also the order, signed Bonaparte, for the well-known massacre of Jaffa: 'en prenant des précautions de manière qu'il n'en 'échappe aucun.' (Vol. v. p. 438.) More than two thousand men who had surrendered were thus butchered in cold blood. But no revenge connected with war strikes us as so simply cruel as some acts which seem to have been ordered by the

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general in perfect good humour. We will give one example: 'I am extremely vexed at that scandalous scene with the com-'mandant. I have sent him an order to go to Upper Egypt 'under the command of General Desaix. As to the woman, 'on my return I will have her drowned.'*

It would be difficult to follow the events of the campaigns in Egypt and Syria by the help of the Correspondence alone, for it contains no narrative of events such as was furnished by the long letters addressed to the Directory from Italy; but the closing scene, the stealthy departure, the shameless abandonment by the commander-in-chief, under circumstances of peculiar danger, of an army which trusted in him alone, is very clearly indicated. There is the letter addressed to Kleber, his successor, appointing him a rendezvous for a day when Bonaparte well knew that he would be far on his way to France; the proclamation announcing that he has sailed in order to take the command of the fleet, and that he will return in a couple of months; and, lastly, his letter written to the Directory, immediately after landing at Fréjus, in which he informs them that having heard of the reverses of Jourdan in Germany and of Scherer in Italy, he has come to the succour of France, leaving Egypt in safety and prosperity under the care of Kleber: '*L'Égypte bien organisée et à l'abri de toute in-*'*vasion est entièrement à nous.*' The instructions left to Kleber were less confident in tone:—

'If, by some unaccountable mischance, all my attempts (to send reinforcements) fail, and that before next May you have received no news or succour from France; if, in spite of all the precautions taken, the plague breaks out and carries off more than 1,500 men, I do not think you should, in that case, attempt another campaign, and you are authorised to conclude a peace with the Porte, even though the evacuation of Egypt should be one of its principal conditions.' (*To Kleber*, August 22nd, 1797.)

Fate had served the young general to his heart's content. He might safely reckon that reverses would follow his departure from Egypt, and hope that success would attend his return to France. At any rate he did all he could to bring about this consummation by taking from the army of Egypt its best generals. Lannes, Murat, Berthier, Marmont, Duroc, Bessières, and Lavalette accompanied him to France. When Kleber, to whom he had left the command of the colony, was assassinated a few months later, there was no French general to take his place but the notoriously inefficient and despised renegade Abdallah Menou.

* To General Dugua at Cairo.

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The four next volumes of the Correspondence relate to the period comprised between the Coup d'État of Brumaire which made Bonaparte First Consul of the Republic, and the establishment of the Empire. If our object were to retrace the history of Napoleon's power, instead of merely reviewing his correspondence, the few months which followed the usurpation of Brumaire would form the most important part of our subject. It was then that the destinies of France were fixed; for the successive measures which transformed a consul, elected in the first instance for ten years only, into an hereditary emperor were the almost unavoidable result of a law of natural development. We might dwell with interest on the Consular Constitution, known as the Constitution de l'An VIII., of which so many features may yet be traced in the Constitution of the second French Empire. Then it was that the great administrative hierarchy, the powerful machinery of centralisation, which at each successive revolution has made France the prize of any party who obtained possession of the Hôtel de Ville of Paris, was organised. Then it was that the local and elective bodies—established by the Constituent Assembly of 1789—which still survived, and in the midst of anarchy contained the germs of political liberty, were swept away, and that *préfets* and *sous-préfets, conseils de préfecture* and *conseils généraux* reigned in their stead.*

No stipulations were made on the part of a weary and, so to speak, decapitated nation. The scanty elements of resistance

* Even at the present day an article of the Constitution de l'An VIII. (Art. 75), which is still in force, is the great stumbling-block to the liberty of the subject in France, and places, so to speak, a whole arsenal at the service of arbitrary power. It provides that no public functionary of whatever degree can be prosecuted without an authorisation from the Conseil d'État. The Conseil d'État, in its turn, by two recent decisions in 1866 and 1867 has declared: first, that no functionary can be held responsible for an act committed in pursuance of an order from his hierarchical superior; secondly, that in the case of acts of a political character, the Conseil d'État, as a tribunal, is incompetent. In a word, all public functionaries in France are *by law* assured of impunity in their most arbitrary political misdeeds, if the central authority so wills it. Centralisation is a plant of constant and all-invading growth, and the roots and branches which it has, year by year, struck out in French public life, till it threatens to stifle every germ of individual energy, would present a useful study to many among ourselves who are impatient at the inertness of local bodies, and the comparative inability of individual efforts and private associations to compass brilliant and prompt results.

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which still existed were too scattered to combine. Provided quiet men were secured against the return of Terrorism, provided the Terrorists were assured that no inquiry would be made into past misdeeds, provided, above all, that the holders of *biens nationaux* were confirmed in their property, all classes were content.* Bonaparte gave France all she asked for—order. As regards his internal administration, he was as completely supreme after Brumaire as after Austerlitz or Tilsit.

But of these matters there is no trace in the Correspondence. Of the events of Brumaire there is no other record than the two speeches made by Bonaparte in the Conseil des Anciens, and a few official proclamations. It is probable that he wrote but little in those days, when his ambition still wore the form of conspiracy—a form, indeed, of which it was never completely divested, even when his power was absolute. His whole reign was one long conspiracy against the peace of Europe—a series of plots with the allies of to-day against the enemies of to-morrow. The crooked path seemed ever to him the safest. When he could command, he did not scorn to dissemble. He condescended to deceive his feeblest adversaries, and even—in some instances—his most servile tools. At St. Helena, and with his dying breath. he sought to mislead posterity.

Events do not fill in the Correspondence a place by any means proportionate to their rank in history. If we consider, for instance, the principal occurrences of the Consular period, we find that the Concordat is scarcely mentioned; on the negotiations which preceded and followed the peace of Amiens there is no new light thrown, and on the subject of the death of the Duc d'Enghien we have only the orders signed by the First Consul for the seizure of the Prince and his prompt and secret judgment. On the other hand the St. Domingo expedition occupies great space, and more than half a volume is filled with

* The coronation oath taken by Napoleon (December 2nd, 1804) ran as follows :—'Je jure de maintenir l'intégrité du territoire de la République; de respecter et de faire respecter les lois du Concordat et la liberté des cultes; de respecter et de faire respecter l'égalité des droits, la liberté politique et civile, *l'irrévocabilité des ventes des biens nationaux . . .*'

Historians have dwelt complacently on the generous and patriotic influences which were undoubtedly at work during the French Revolution; it would be a less pleasing, but a useful task, to point out the part that cupidity played, and the influence on politics of the purchase of national—or, to speak more correctly, confiscated—property.

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military details concerning the second Italian campaign. But by far the most curious letters in this part of the collection relate to the internal policy of Napoleon. The great events of his history are less interesting to note than the uses to which he put his newly-acquired power at home. The fruits of the victories of Napoleon were wrested from France more than half a century ago; the lines he drew on the map of Europe with his sword's point have long since been obliterated; the kingdoms he established have been destroyed and others have arisen in their stead, but the impress which his administration has left on France is distinctly visible to this hour and may prove ineffaceable.

One of the first and most signal services rendered to France by her new ruler was the pacification of La Vendée. The theories of repression on the part of military commanders and the jurisprudence of martial law have been so much debated of late, that it is interesting to see what the First Consul's ideas were on the subject. The following is an extract of his instructions to General Hédouville, commanding temporarily in the rebellious provinces of the West:—

'You are invested, my dear general, with full powers—I say, with every power (*oui, de tous les pouvoirs*); act as freely as if you were in the midst of Germany. All minor interests and individual considerations must give way before the necessity of repressing rebellion, and causing the Government to be respected.

'It is unnecessary to attach military tribunals to the republican troops. The consuls are of opinion that the generals should have the chief rebels shot at once, when taken in arms.

'Any cabal, intrigues or denunciations directed against yourself, from whatever quarter they may proceed, will be unavailing. Government will support you; but your military acts will be judged in a military light; they will be scrutinised by one who is accustomed to rigorous and energetic measures, and whose habit it is to triumph on every occasion. However cunning the Chouans may think themselves, they are less so than the Arab of the desert. They are neither as sharp-sighted nor as rapid. You ought to conquer them.

'The First Consul is of opinion that you would give a salutary example by burning down two or three large villages, chosen among those who have behaved the worst. . . .'

To General Brune he writes:—

'Enfin commencez à faire sentir tout le poids et les horreurs de la guerre aux révoltés du Morbihan . . .'

M. Thiers in his history concludes his account of the pacification of La Vendée with the following appropriate remark: 'C'est avec la gloire, la clémence et la bienfaisance qu'on ter-'mine les révolutions.'

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The letters addressed to Fouché are innumerable. Napoleon's first care had been to institute a ministry of police to which Fouché was appointed, notwithstanding the share he had taken in some of the worst crimes of the Revolution. There is however no trace in the Correspondence of one of the most iniquitous transactions in which Fouché was implicated under the Consulate—the transportation, without any form or pretence of trial, of 130 members of the old Revolutionary party, falsely supposed to have been concerned in the plot of the infernal machine. On that occasion Bonaparte had openly declared in the Conseil d'État his contempt for what he termed 'la métaphysique judiciaire,' but which ordinary mortals call the rules of justice. His Correspondence clearly proves that he did not fear any 'metaphysical' objections on the part of his subordinates. There was also a Prefect of Police who sent in a daily report on the state of the capital which served to test the accuracy of Fouché's information. But Napoleon, both as Consul and Emperor, never let the direction of the police out of his own hands, and more than once condescended, as these volumes show, to invent plots and stratagems himself with all the relish of an amateur. Here are some of his notes to Fouché and others connected with the administration of justice, taken almost at hazard:—

'The establishment of peace allowing me to pay more particular attention to the police, I wish to be informed of everything in the greatest detail, and to transact business with you at least once, and often twice every day.'*

'I request, Citizen Minister, that you will ship off to rejoin their companions all the men who are confined in the islands of Ré and Oléron, in virtue of the senatus-consultum of the year VIII. You will add to their number the three generals: Argout, Simon, and Bertrand. I desire that these persons, about thirty in number, be put on board as soon as possible, and very secretly; their destination to remain completely unknown.'†

'I think, Citizen Minister, that it would be well that d'Avaray did not remain in Paris. Have him arrested so as to seize his papers, and, *if nothing is found* (for the man is probably on his guard), send him off sixty leagues from Paris to some small town where he may be kept *en surveillance*.'‡

'I am told, Citizen Minister, that Madame de Staël has arrived at Maffliers, near Beaumont-sur-Oise. Let her know through some of her friends, and without any fuss, that if on the 15th Vendémiaire

* To Fouché, February 24th, 1802.

† To Regnier, Grand-Juge, Ministre de la Justice, October 16th, 1802.

‡ Ibid. September 30th, 1803.

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she is still to be found there, she will be conducted to the frontier by the gendarmerie. The arrival of that woman, like that of a bird of ill omen, has always been the signal of some disturbance. My intention is that she should not remain in France.'*

'You must remove (*dépayser*) the woman Pocheton who keeps an inn at Le Mans, and have her inn kept by a safe person.' †

'The Bailli de Crussol was a captain in the Guards of the Count d'Artois. He visits at the house of Madame Grolier who paints and receives artists. It would be desirable to have an agent introduced into that set.' ‡

'If Carrier and his wife, who are mentioned in the report of the 6th Floréal, *are guilty of nothing*, they must be sent *en surveillance* to some small inland place and never allowed to leave it . . .' §

Napoleon the Emperor was not less vigilant in overlooking his police than Bonaparte the Consul, and a few months after his accession in a long and minute letter to Fouché concerning divers categories of suspected persons we find this significant sentence: '*Le seul moyen de conserver la tranquillité et un bon esprit dans Paris est de n'y souffrir des hommes d'aucun parti.*' The impartiality with which he exiled or imprisoned men and women of all parties was indeed wonderful.

'Monsieur Fouché, Minister of the General Police, have the younger brother of Georges (Cadoudal) arrested; he must not remain any longer in Morbihan; have him sent to some little town in Piedmont where means of earning a livelihood will be given him.

'General Lahorie must not remain in France. . . . If he can be caught it would be well to make sure of him by detaining him for several years in a fortress.' (September 4th, 1804.)

The following would lose much by translation:—

'Mon Cousin, je reçois un projet de décret sur les avocats. Il n'y a rien qui donne au grand juge les moyens de les contenir. J'aime mieux ne rien faire que de m'ôter les moyens de prendre des mesures contre ce tas de bavards, artisans de révolutions, et qui ne sont inspirés presque tous que par le crime et la corruption. Tant que j'aurai l'épée au côté, je ne signerai jamais un décret aussi absurde. Je veux qu'on puisse couper la langue à un avocat qui s'en servirait contre le gouvernement.' ‖

'All the young men who made a row (*tapage*) at the play at Rouen, and who happen to be unmarried and under twenty-five,

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* To Regnier, Minister of Justice, October 3rd, 1803.

† Ibid. February 18th, 1804.

‡ Note for Citizen Réal, Councillor of State, *chargé du premier arrondissement de la police générale*, March 4th, 1804.

§ To Regnier, Minister of Justice, April 27th, 1804.

‖ To Cambacérès Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, October 7th, 1804.

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must be sent to the 5th regiment of the line which is in Italy. March them off instantly.' *

Some of these orders are rendered still more curious by their dates. In a letter addressed to Cambacérès and written from head-quarters at Osterode shortly after the disastrous battle of Eylau, with the armies of Russia and Prussia arrayed against him, the Emperor recurs to his petty persecutions against a woman :—

'J'ai écrit au Ministre de la Police de renvoyer Madame de Staël à Genève, en lui laissant la liberté d'aller à l'étranger tant qu'elle voudra. Cette femme continue son métier d'intrigante. Elle s'est approchée de Paris, malgré mes ordres. C'est une véritable peste. Mon intention est que vous en parliez sérieusement au Ministre, car je me verrais forcé de la faire enlever par la gendarmerie. Ayez aussi l'œil sur Benjamin Constant, et, à la moindre chose dont il se mêlera, je l'enverrai à Brunswick, chez sa femme. Je ne veux rien souffrir de cette clique; je ne veux point qu'ils fassent des prosélytes. . . .'

Some of the notes are almost ludicrous in their inquisitorial minuteness :—

'Monsieur Fouché, Minister of General Police,—The Arch-Chancellor's mother-in-law is in Paris; she is staying with a certain M. de Marsanne, an ex-deputy. Her object is to annoy the Arch-Chancellor (Cambacérès) at the instigation of his enemies and of people of extreme opinions (*gens exagérés*). I wish you to see her and to try by fair means to induce her to go home. Let me know what you have done, that I may take, if necessary, further measures.' (October 13th, 1804.)

The power of keeping troublesome mothers-in-law out of the way might, if it could be effectually exercised, go far to reconcile many to the idea of a paternal government, but the task would baffle, we suspect, even the genius of a Napoleon. Nothing was too small or too great for his ambition. He was never so happy as when he could show himself informed of some trivial circumstance which had escaped the vigilance of his numerous police. He suggests subjects for ballets, meddles in the squabbles of actors, and gravely pronounces when he considers that the time is come for Madame Paër to give up singing at concerts on account of her approaching confinement. Evidently he was proud of his universal supervision, and the editors of his Correspondence seem equally desirous, in the interest of his memory, to make it apparent. The smallest bits of tyrannical gossip are carefully recorded. That they prove

* To Fouché, June 24th, 1806.

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activity and suppleness of mind there can be no doubt, but in truth, they indicate more restlessness than real strength. Napoleon had none of that Olympian serenity which should properly belong to the rulers of men. This was clearly shown by the petty bickerings and the querulousness to which he gave way when adversity—which elevates and appeases really noble minds—overtook him. When great men condescend to notice and direct trifles, one is justified in supposing that trifles may unduly influence them. Every child has heard the well-known comparison of the elephant's trunk, which can with equal ease uproot a tree and pick up a straw; but if an elephant, with the task before it of a whole forest to uproot, picked up every straw that lay in its path, our admiration for its varied powers would be deservedly lessened.

No correct opinion can be formed of Napoleon's domestic policy if his dealings with literature and the Press are not taken into account. Although he was certainly unable to appreciate the full value of moral and intellectual forces, and felt an instinctive antipathy for 'ideologists,' as he called them, he was not blind to the fact that the glory of letters was wanting to his reign, and he would willingly have purchased it at any price, save that of allowing men to write and speak freely. He was ready to grant pensions and favours, but he could not afford to give liberty. His system of government, he well knew, could not have stood six months under the criticisms of a free press. While he founded prizes for literature and reproached his ministers with their inability to discover literary merit and bring it to light, he persecuted Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant and silenced Chateaubriand, the only three writers of his reign whose names will go down to posterity with his own. As regards newspapers he would have preferred to suppress them altogether, though he sometimes made use of them as vehicles for directing, or rather for misleading, public opinion. But Napoleon's style is so clear and terse that we can save space by allowing him to expose his views himself. Nor are we blind to the advantage of screening ourselves by quotation from the suspicion of having misrepresented or even exaggerated the intellectual tyranny imposed on France by one who dared to claim, and to whom some historians have ventured to give, the title of the modern Charlemagne. Charlemagne! Ten centuries of civilisation and enlightenment must be placed in one of the scales before Napoleon and Charlemagne can be fairly weighed together; and, if that were done, it would certainly not be the barbarian Emperor that would be found wanting!

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The following instructions are all addressed to Fouché:—

'Bestir yourself a little to keep up public opinion. Tell the editors that, though I am absent from France, I read the newspapers, and that if they persevere in their present tone I will settle their account. Remind them that in the year VIII. I reduced their numbers to fourteen. I fancy these warnings to the principal writers will be of more use than any refutations.' (August 24th, 1805.)

'Monsieur Fouché,—My intention is that henceforward the "Journal des Débats" should not be published without having been subjected to a censorship on the previous day. You will appoint a censor; he must be a safe man, devoted to the Government and possessing tact. The proprietors of the Journal must allow him a salary of 12,000 francs. On this condition only will I allow the paper to appear. . . . The writers are animated with the worst possible spirit. If, in spite of the censorship, they continue to write nonsense I must suppress the paper. Inform the other journalists of this measure, and warn them that if they venture to give stupid news with bad intentions I will do as much by them. Any news that is disagreeable or unfavourable to France should be put by them under quarantine, as they ought to suspect that it is an invention of the English.' (May 20th, 1805.)

The newspapers were awed into submission, but as might have been foreseen the process made them rather tame and dull. The master expected his slaves to move lightly in their fetters, and had, moreover, found out that there were some disadvantages attached to an official censorship:—

'The newspapers are important. It cannot be said at present that they are malevolent, but they are too stupid. They are written unmeaningly, and the principal papers show no zeal for the Government. . . . I am not desirous to have only one newspaper. But I wish to have an organisation without censorship, for *I do not choose to be held responsible for everything they may say.* I wish the editors of the papers we keep to be devoted to the Government, and sensible enough not to put in any news which is unfavourable to the nation. They should be directed to attack England in her fashions, customs, literature, and constitution. Geoffroi has no other recommendation, and Voltaire did great mischief by constantly preaching Anglomania.' (June 1st, 1805.)

The following passage of a letter addressed to Eugène Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy, is more explicit still. The last sentence, concerning the attacks on foreign Powers, is especially curious:—

'La censure détruit les journaux; il faut déclarer que le Gouvernement ne peut répondre des sottises qu'ils peuvent dire, mais que les journalistes en répondront personnellement. Je ne me dissimule pas que cette mesure a quelque inconvénient; mais il y

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aussi dans le vague de la liberté de la presse quelque chose dont il est bon de profiter, et, quoique mon intention ne soit point de laisser aux journaux la liberté que les constitutions anglaises laissent aux journaux anglais, je ne veux point qu'on la règle comme on le fait à Vienne ou à Venise. Il faut qu'ils puissent mettre quelque article vague contre telle ou telle puissance, et qu'on puisse répondre aux ambassadeurs: Faites une plainte; on les poursuivra devant les tribunaux, ou l'on s'en fera rendre compte.' (June 12th, 1805.)

Here again we have a curious mixture of sham liberality and actual confiscation:—

'I send you the arrangement I have approved for the "Journal "de l'Empire," formerly "Journal des Débats." Let the owners know the terms I have settled. When the arrangement is concluded, you will make a similar one with the "Publiciste" and the "Gazette de France." You will extend to all the other papers the general measure of levying one-sixth or one-quarter on the profits—according to their importance—to be applied to pensions which will be granted to men of letters.' *

'M. Portalis has pointed out to me the existence of several ecclesiastical journals, and the evils which may arise from the spirit in which they are conducted, and more especially from a diversity of opinions on all religious matters. My intention is, therefore, that the religious newspapers should be stopped and be henceforward united in one journal, which will take all their subscribers. As this paper is intended especially for the instruction of priests it is to be entitled "Journal des Curés." The contributors will be appointed by the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris.' †

'Journal des Curés' was certainly not an attractive title, but doubtless the curés were made to subscribe. We can only inform our readers—among whom may perhaps be found some of the contributors to the two hundred and ten religious magazines of England—that about eighteen months later we find the Emperor writing to M. Portalis, Minister of Public Worship, to obtain information respecting the 'Journal des Curés,' and threatening to suppress it on account of its Ultramontane and anti-Gallican tendencies. The love of uniformity grew with what it fed on, and, as we turn over the pages of the Correspondence, we find continually some new step taken towards Napoleon's ideal of good government—unity in command for the ruler, equality in servitude for the ruled.

'Monsieur Talleyrand,—I desire that the political articles of the "Moniteur" be written by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. When I shall have seen, during a month, how they are done, I will forbid

* To Fouché, August 7th, 1805.
† Ibid. February 7th, 1806.

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all the other papers to mention politics otherwise than by copying the articles of the "Moniteur." '*

At last silence reigned and no warning murmur was heard in the great French Empire, save the irrepressible wail of bereaved mothers after every fresh victory. But the Emperor was not satisfied. He was surprised and disgusted to see that the soil he had made barren produced no crops. Everything in France was done by him. He acted for France in his omnipotence, and success seemed to follow all his undertakings; but somehow he found that he could not think for her. It was in vain that he publicly honoured the Institute with marks of empty respect, that he talked with Talma and regretted that Corneille had not lived under his reign that he might have made him a prince; in vain that he suggested plots for tragedies and gave hints for pamphlets; his literary acumen was just sufficient to discover the sterility that surrounded him. 'If the army does all it can to honour the nation it must 'be allowed that men of letters do what they can to disgrace 'it,' he exclaims in a letter to Cambacérès *à propos* of some more than usually bad verses which had been sung at the Opera. But the natural and only efficacious remedy never suggested itself to his mind. His plan is to have official criticism inserted in the 'Moniteur.' He thinks there are ten, or may be a dozen, poets in France who show signs of talent. These might be encouraged 'without adulation' in the Government paper, and, on the day following the favourable review, the minister might with advantage grant the author some slight favour. The great fault of the times in his opinion is that 'no pains are taken to form public opinion.' But in truth, with an unerring instinct, he mistrusted all men of learning and letters, and felt that there was a natural enmity between them and him. He never willingly employed them: 'Je re-'garde les savants et les hommes d'esprit comme des coquettes,' he writes to his brother Joseph, 'il faut les voir, causer avec eux, 'mais ne prendre ni les unes pour sa femme, ni les autres pour 'ses ministres.'

Notwithstanding his sarcasms and affected contempt, Napoleon's severity towards the press betrayed his fears. The instances of tyranny we have given are not the worst that can be adduced against his memory. The tragical fate of Palm, the bookseller of Nuremberg, is well known. During the occupation of Germany by the French in 1806, several pamphlets, hostile to the invaders, had been circulated throughout

* To Talleyrand, March 6th, 1806.

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the country. One of these was traced to Palm's shop, and, though he offered to prove that he had not sold a single copy, he was arrested and shot on the following day. The poor bookseller, more really a hero than the Emperor who caused him to be butchered, refused the pardon that was offered him on condition of revealing the name of the author of the pamphlet.

The following letter leaves no doubt that the guilt of this murder must be ascribed entirely to Napoleon himself:—

'Mon Cousin,—J'imagine que vous avez fait arrêter les libraires d'Augsbourg et de Nuremberg. Mon intention est qu'ils soient traduits devant une commission militaire et fusillés dans les vingt-quatre heures. Ce n'est pas un crime ordinaire que de répandre des libelles dans les lieux où se trouvent les armées françaises pour exciter les habitants contre elles: c'est un crime de haute trahison. La sentence portera, que partout où il y a une armée, le devoir du chef étant de veiller à sa sûreté, les individus tels et tels, convaincus d'avoir tenté de soulever les habitants de la Souabe contre l'armée française, sont condamnés à mort. C'est dans ce sens que sera rédigée la sentence. Vous mettrez les coupables au milieu d'une division et vous nommerez sept colonels pour les juger. . . .'*

We have already said that the space allotted to events in the Correspondence bears no proportion to their importance; we need perhaps scarcely add that—as might be expected in a one-sided collection of letters—while some matters are made perfectly clear even to the most careless reader, others are almost incomprehensible for anyone who is not well acquainted with the circumstances to which the Emperor alludes. In many cases those who are unable to read between the lines—to borrow a German expression—much that is unwritten, will pass over some of the most curious letters. We will give one instance taken from a period which is likely to interest English readers.

There are hundreds of letters from Napoleon on naval matters, many of which relate to his projected invasion of England. In these he not only gives the minutest directions respecting the flotilla at Boulogne, but he issues the most positive orders to his fleets in all parts of the world as to the conduct to be pursued under every possible circumstance. We confess ourselves incompetent to criticise his plans of naval warfare, but on the very face of the thing it certainly argues great presumption on the part of one totally unacquainted with the sea to speak so authoritatively, and the frequent reverses which his fleets suffered go far to corroborate this first impression. At any rate one would naturally take for granted that

* To Marshal Berthier, August 5th, 1806.

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he spoke, if not by the advice, at least with the concurrence of, his Minister of Marine. There are, however, undeniable proofs that this was not the case.

During the whole month of August, 1805, Napoleon remained at the camp of Boulogne, awaiting impatiently the arrival of Admiral Villeneuve from Spain and Ganteaume from Brest with their respective squadrons. The presence of the two admirals in the Channel, with the combined fleets of Spain and France, would be sufficient, in the opinion of the Emperor, to protect the passage and landing in England of his invading army. But while Napoleon was waiting at Boulogne, Villeneuve, instead of joining Ganteaume at Brest, and from thence making sail with him for the Channel, had gone to Cadiz. When he left that port in October he was destined, as everybody knows, to encounter Nelson and suffer defeat at Trafalgar. Now let us see how events appear in the Correspondence. We find there twelve letters for one single day, the 22nd August, 1805, six of which are addressed to Decrès, the Minister of Marine, though he was at Boulogne at the time, within two miles of his master. One of the letters is addressed to Ganteaume at Brest. It contains an order to appear in the Channel as soon as possible with Villeneuve and their combined forces, and ends thus:—

'Partez et venez ici. Nous aurons vengé six siècles d'insultes et de honte. Jamais pour un plus grand objet mes soldats de terre et de mer n'auront exposé leur vie.'

To Villeneuve he writes:—

'Monsieur le Vice-Amiral Villeneuve,—J'espère que vous êtes arrivé à Brest. Partez, ne perdez pas un moment, et, avec mes escadres réunies, entrez dans la Manche. L'Angleterre est à nous. Nous sommes tous prêts, tout est embarqué. Paraissez vingt-quatre heures et tout est terminé.'

The above letters are intelligible enough, but one of the notes written on the same day to Decrès requires explanation:—

'Monsieur Decrès,—Je vous prie de m'envoyer dans la journée de demain un mémoire sur cette question: Dans la situation des choses, si l'Amiral Villeneuve reste à Cadix, que faut-il faire? Élevez-vous à la hauteur des circonstances et de la situation où se trouvent la France et l'Angleterre. *Ne m'écrivez plus de lettres comme celle que vous m'avez écrite*, cela ne signifie rien. Pour moi, je n'ai qu'un besoin, c'est celui de réussir.'

To understand the words we have underlined, the reader must know that the unfortunate Minister of Marine, after repeated and fruitless remonstrances on the folly of his master's naval plans, had on that very day written a letter sufficiently

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forcible to shake at last even Napoleon's obstinacy. The letter is long, and for our purpose it will be sufficient to quote the concluding paragraph:—

'I consider my acquaintance with naval matters as a misfortune, since my knowledge inspires no confidence and has no influence on the plans of your Majesty. In truth, Sire, my situation has become very painful. I reproach myself with my inability to persuade your Majesty. I doubt that any one man could hope to do so. Let your Majesty appoint a council, an admiralty, as may be judged best, to direct the navy; as for myself, I feel that, instead of gaining strength, I am giving way day by day. The truth must be spoken: a minister of marine, overruled by your Majesty (*subjugué par votre Majesté*) in naval matters, does you no good service and, not only can add nothing to the glory of your arms, but may do injury. With bitterness of heart which in no way impairs my devotion and fidelity to your person, I beg your Majesty to accept my profound respect.' (*Decrès.*)*

This letter, joined to Villeneuve's non-appearance, had the desired effect. The letters of the following day (23rd August) are full of projects for war with Austria, and within little more than a month the camp at Boulogne was broken up, and the French armies had crossed the Rhine. The only allusion to the battle of Trafalgar is to be found in a letter of the 18th November, 1805, to Decrès, in which Napoleon writes:—'I 'have received your letters respecting the fight off Cadiz. I 'wait for further details to form my opinion.' At that date Ulm had capitulated, Vienna had been taken, and the victory of Austerlitz was near at hand. These were great compensations. The details came no doubt in due time, and the imperial opinion was formed, but no further mention is made of Trafalgar. France was not even informed of the defeat she had sustained at sea. Henceforward the letters addressed to Decrès are comparatively few and far between, and Napoleon appears to have despaired of his navy. Hatred towards England remained the ruling passion of his life, and he never made peace with any other Power but with the ultimate hope of securing a new ally against her; but all idea of a direct attack was given up. The continental blockade, and a still more chimerical plan of dealing a death-blow to England in her Indian Empire, took the place which the invasion from Boulogne had hitherto held in his dreams of revenge.

On the other hand, there are matters which are so explicitly treated in the Correspondence that they could scarcely have

* The entire letter is given in M. Thiers' 'History of the Consu-'late and the Empire,' vol. v. p. 455.

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been made more clear had the writer wished to draw up a full confession for the benefit of posterity. The letters addressed by Napoleon to Eugène Beauharnais as Viceroy of Italy, and still more those written to Joseph Bonaparte at Naples, expose with incomparable lucidity his plans of government and his notions of kingcraft. The letters he subsequently wrote to Louis in Holland, and to Joseph in Spain, are perhaps more valuable still, but they belong to a period which lies beyond our present subject. These letters of advice, and almost invariably of reproof, though the most interesting in the Correspondence, are also the best known; we will not, therefore, draw largely upon them. They have been published long since to the world in the separate Memoirs or Correspondences of the personages to whom they were addressed. Still, in their collected form as they stand in the Correspondence, they wear a peculiar aspect.

By their help the reader can follow step by step the progress of an idea which took possession of Napoleon's mind almost immediately after Austerlitz and the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine. The old Germanic Empire was dissolved, the ground was clear, the states which had belonged to Charlemagne lay within his grasp, why should not he revive, after a lapse of nearly a thousand years, the title of Emperor of the West? In fact, the Western Empire was nearly complete; and he thought he could foresee the time when Europe could be coaxed, or coerced, into allowing the name.

He would have vassal-kings seated on half the thrones of Europe; sovereign-princes who should nevertheless continue to be great dignitaries of the imperial court; and a Pope who should be his mere feudatory. As far back as January 1806, he wrote lightly to Joseph: 'I told you, I think, that 'my intention is to take the throne of Naples for my family. 'Naples with Italy, Switzerland, Holland and the three Ger-'man kingdoms, will form my Federal States, or, more properly 'speaking, The French Empire.' Henceforward all Napoleon's acts tended towards the same object. Countries were cut up, thrones were exchanged and bandied about without any consideration of the traditions, past associations or wishes of the peoples—sometimes with curious ignorance of their ownership. Take for instance the following letter written when Murat was Duke of Berg and of Cleves:—

'Monsieur Talleyrand,—There are three territories I wish very much to have in order to complete (*pour arrondir*) Prince Murat's possessions: first, the Abbeys of Essen and of Werden—only 20,000 souls; then the county of Lamarck, and lastly, the county of Wit-

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genstein. The two first belong to Prussia, *I do not know to whom the third belongs.* Let me have a report. I wish you to find out what can be given to Prussia in exchange; there are in her neighbourhood several petty princes whose states would suit her very well.'

Napoleon's plan of Empire was fixed and his theory of government complete in all its parts; the difficulty was to have the *personnel* required for his great schemes. His brothers and Murat were unsatisfactory scholars. Those whom he had made great sometimes 'waxed fat and kicked,' or again, like Louis in Holland, and at one time Joseph at Naples, forgot their allegiance to France and weakly sought to gain the love of their foreign subjects. He could not imbue them with his genius or with his own indomitable will. And yet as he wrote to Eugène: 'the system was very simple; the Emperor wills 'it. Everybody knew that he never yielded.' Still, simple as the system was, it did not work easily, as may be seen by innumerable letters, often written in an admirable style and containing excellent advice, but all bearing the true tyrannical stamp. We will give some quotations without comment. The few explanatory remarks we add must be merely considered as the leaden framework in which a humble artificer enchases the brilliant fragments of some illumined and gloriously-stained window. Our mosaic will, we think, present a vivid, though necessarily imperfect image of the self-styled Charlemagne, the would-be Emperor of the West.

To Eugène, Viceroy of Italy:—

'My Cousin,—In confiding to you the Government of our kingdom of Italy, we have given you a proof of the esteem which your conduct has inspired. But as at your age you cannot be fully acquainted with the perversity of the human heart, we cannot too strongly recommend circumspection and prudence. . . . Dissimulation, which is natural at a certain age, must with you be a matter of principle and of authority. Whenever you have spoken according to the impulse of your heart and without necessity, say to yourself that you have committed a fault, so as to avoid it another time. Show esteem for the people you have to govern; you must show it the more in proportion as you discover reasons for esteeming them less. A time will come when you will find out that there is very little difference between one people and another.' (June 7th, 1805.)

'My Cousin,—I desire M. Mariscalchi to forward to you the decree by which I have ordered the Legislative Body to bring its sittings to a close. My intention is, so long as I reign in Italy, not to convoke it again. I had too good an opinion of the Italians. I see there are still a great many mischief-makers and scamps among them. . . . I did not want the sanction of the Legislative Body, I wanted its opinion. You will address no message to them and

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pay them no honours; you will, however, inform them of my displeasure. You are mistaken in supposing that the Italians are like children. There is malice at the bottom of all this. Do not suffer them to forget that I am the master and free to do what I choose; this is necessary for all people, but especially for the Italians, who only obey a master's voice. They will esteem you only in so much as they fear you, and they will fear you only if they perceive that you know the duplicity and cunning of their character.' (July 27th, 1805.)

'. . . If you value my esteem and friendship, you must not, under any pretence whatever, go beyond your authority, even though the moon were threatening to fall on Milan.' (August 6th, 1805.)

Joseph on taking possession of the kingdom of Naples was especially warned not to govern too paternally:—

'My Brother,—I see that in one of your proclamations you promise not to levy a war tax, and that you tell the soldiers not to expect to be fed by their hosts. In my opinion your measures are narrow. . . . Raise a tax of thirty millions on Naples; pay your army well; mount your cavalry; get shoes and coats made; all this can only be done with money. It would be too ridiculous if the conquest of Naples did not procure ease and comfort to my army. . . I do not hear of your having had any of the lazzaroni shot, and yet I know that they have been using the stiletto. If you do not make yourself feared from the first, you will come to grief. An impost would not produce the effect you fancy; everybody expects it and it will be thought quite natural. At Vienna, where there was not a penny, and where they hoped I would levy no contributions, I laid on a tax of a hundred millions; it was considered very reasonable.' (March 8th, 1806.)

'My Brother,—I have received your letter of April 5th. I see with pleasure that an insurgent village has been burnt down. Severe examples are necessary. I suppose the village has been given over to the soldiers for plunder. That is the way to treat all revolted villages. It is not only the right of war but a duty enjoined by policy.' (April 22nd, 1806.)

These counsels were not completely successful, and soon after an insurrection broke out in Calabria with the help of the English.

'Mark my words: the fate of your reign depends on your conduct when you return to Calabria. There must be no forgiveness. Have at least 600 rebels shot. They have murdered more soldiers than that. Burn down the houses of thirty of the principal inhabitants of the villages, and share out their property to the army. Disarm the people and have five or six large villages given over to pillage. Take away the communal property from the rebel villages and give it to the army.

'Since you compare the Neapolitans to the Corsicans you should

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remember that, when Niolo was entered, forty rebels were hanged on trees, which struck such terror that nobody stirred after that. Piacenza rebelled. On my return from the grand army I sent Junot, who pretended that the country had not risen, and sent me fine phrases, French-fashion (*m'envoyait de l'esprit à la française*). I ordered him to burn down two villages and to shoot the chiefs, among whom were six priests. The thing was done and the country reduced to submission. It will not rebel again for a long while.*

'Since Calabria has rebelled, why should you not seize half the properties of the province to distribute to your army? . . . As the Calabrians have murdered my troops I will myself sign the decree for confiscating, in favour of my troops, half the revenue—both public and private—of the province.' (July 30th, 1806.)

Nor was the necessity for such cruel repression a matter of regret. It was considered a fortunate circumstance:—

'I heartily wish the rabble at Naples would revolt. Until you have made an example, you will not be master. Every conquered people must have a rebellion, and I should consider an insurrection in Naples very much in the same light as a father of a family would view small-pox for his children, provided it did not weaken the invalid too much. It is a salutary crisis. No part of your kingdom is nearer pacification than Calabria, if you deal out severe justice.' (August 7th, 1806.)

The great Emperor—and this was perhaps the severest trial of all—frequently indulged in the irritating, and, to less powerful teachers, dangerous practice of snubbing. He was never happier than when he had some disagreeable truth to tell. Poor Joseph fancied, or pretended to fancy, that the Neapolitans liked him; he was not allowed to cherish the delusion:—

'I read in your speech some phrases which I must be allowed to think very bad. You compare the attachment of the French to my person, to that of the Neapolitans for you. This reads like an epigram. What affection can you suppose the people feel for you, who have done nothing for them, and who are reigning by right of conquest with the help of 40,000 or 50,000 foreigners? . . . If you had no French army and the ex-king of Naples had no English army, who would be the strongest in Naples? I require no foreign army to support me in Paris. . . .' (June 3rd, 1806.)

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* Junot's *esprit à la française* consisted in protesting against the pitiless orders he received, and in trying to exculpate the country he was commissioned to devastate. Severity is sometimes necessary in war, but it is very rare to see a sovereign urge his generals to show no mercy—such mercy as soldiers, irritated by resistance, are likely to show.

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'One single Italian cry to drive the barbarians back beyond the Alps would rob you of all your army. It is no use saying you would come to my camp. A king should defend himself and die in his kingdom. An *émigré* and vagrant king cuts a sorry figure (*Un roi émigré et vagabond est un sot personnage*).' (August 9th, 1806.)

But in the whole Correspondence with Joseph there occurs no passage more striking than the following. It throws a curious light on the political system of the Legislator of the Code Civil, and shows that the imperial noblesse was not quite the empty institution that many people have thought it:—

'Let me know the titles that you wish to affix to the duchies in your kingdom. These are only the titles, but the chief thing is the income. There should be 200,000 livres per annum attached to each duchy. I have insisted also on the bearers of these titles having a house in Paris, because the centre of the whole system is there. I wish to have a hundred large fortunes in Paris, established at the same time as the throne; these, being entailed, will be preserved, while all the rest will be perpetually scattered by means of the Code Civil. Establish the Code Civil at Naples. In a few years, all that does not hold on to you will go to pieces, and all you wish to preserve will be consolidated. That is the great advantage of the Code Civil.' (June 3rd, 1806.)

Very nearly at the same date we have a memorandum for Talleyrand which completes the picture. It relates to some pretensions which Pius VII. had imprudently put forward on the occasion of the change of dynasty at Naples:—

'Even though it may be true that in former ages the Court of Rome has dethroned sovereigns, preached Crusades, and laid whole kingdoms under interdict, it will be found to be equally true that the popes have always considered their temporal power as depending on the French emperors. The emperor, on ascending the throne, did not claim to succeed merely to the rights of the third dynasty, whose sovereignty did not extend over one half of the dominions which compose his empire; he claimed to inherit the rights of the French emperors, and the Court of Rome cannot surely pretend to say that Charlemagne received from the Pope the investiture of his kingdom. . . . If this continues, I will have Consalvi carried off from Rome and I will hold him responsible, for he is evidently sold to the English. He will see if I have the strength and the courage to defend my imperial crown. Lay a stress on the word *imperial*—not royal, and insist upon the necessity of the Pope's behaviour to me being the same as that of his predecessors towards the emperors of the West.'*

* For a complete and accurate account of Napoleon's dealings with the Papacy, we can safely refer our readers to M. le Comte d'Haussonville's work, 'L'Église Romaine et le Premier Empire.'

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With these extracts we must bring our review to a close, not without a regret that we have had to leave unnoticed many attractive subjects and withstand many temptations to digress.

The fifteenth and last volume of what may properly be termed the first series of Napoleon's Correspondence ends with the return of the triumphant Emperor to Paris after the conclusion of the Peace of Tilsit. The year 1807 was the crowning point of Napoleon's reign. With the exception of England and Turkey he held all Europe directly or indirectly in his dependence. The Czar was to be henceforward his friend, and they had agreed at Tilsit to divide the world between them. He had at last found an ally with whose help he might hope to reduce England to the alternative of submitting, or of making war against United Europe. His brother Joseph was the recognised king of Naples, Louis reigned in Holland, and a kingdom, Westphalia, had been cut out for Jérome. Eugène was his viceroy for Italy. He was the protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. He had wrested from vanquished nations spoils with which he might hope that even his insatiate generals would be satisfied. Trade and agriculture languished, but the treasury of his army was overflowing and the sinews of war were his. France was so thoroughly mastered that he had been able to remain absent from his capital without fear during a whole twelvemonth. Apparently no irremediable fault had as yet been committed, and the Spanish war, that first downward step, was not contemplated. Well might he suppose, in the intoxication of his power, that he had laid the foundations of the second Empire of the West! But it is impossible to read in the present day the volumes in which his whole system of government is laid bare without coming to the conclusion that his Empire, even at its most glorious period, rested on sand, and that his accumulated conquests were but the heaped-up materials for a gigantic ruin.

As regards the man himself, the dominant impression that will be left on the reader's mind will, we think, be that of meanness—of moral littleness, strangely combined with great strength of will and unrivalled activity of mind. Napoleon

1800–1814. We should scarcely be fulfilling our duty towards the public, if we did not take this opportunity of likewise calling attention to M. Lanfrey's very remarkable work: 'Histoire de Napoléon 1er.' For the first time, the character of Napoleon has been dealt with, by a French historian, in a liberal and equitable spirit. The first volume only of the 'Histoire de Napoléon 1er' has been published as yet, but the second is, we believe, now going through the press. The work promises to be most valuable, when completed.

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was in truth an actor, and in his Correspondence we view him from behind the scenes. The vulgar applause of the multitude can no longer deceive those who know his history as it is there written with his own hand. His duplicity, his bombast and mock heroism, his studied violence, his love of false grandeur, his envy in the midst of unrivalled greatness, his hatred and distrust of all that was really good and great, his vulgar arrogance, his indifference to the sufferings of others, his selfish and insensate ambition, are conspicuous in every page. This greatest of modern conquerors was not a hero, for the great soul—the magnanimity—which alone makes heroes, he never possessed.

He belonged neither to the nation over which he ruled, nor to the age in which he lived. He was a phenomenon, a scourge of God, as our forefathers would have said, a man of the middle ages rather than of our times. In no respect was he French. He had the subtleness of the Italian and the stubborn will of the Corsican, but he showed neither the good nor the bad qualities which are distinctive of the French character. Had he possessed the national failings, a love of pleasure and of ease, a desire for material enjoyments would have made him seek repose when he had reached the summit. He would have wearied of war as all his French marshals and generals—even the bravest—wearied of it, and Europe might have found peace in his sensuality. Had he been a Frenchman, some pity—pity such as even Louis XIV. felt—might have touched his heart for the nation which poured out so freely for him her blood and her treasure. Even in their excesses, the Frenchmen of the Revolution had generally shown one redeeming quality, mistaken though they might be—a wish for the general improvement of the world. A feeling, call it as one will, love of progress or love of mankind, but, in short, an ennobling and generous feeling, had been theirs. In this respect, too, Napoleon was not French, and, to borrow the words of Fichte, 'no idea of the higher moral destiny of man 'ever entered his mind.'

It seems almost incredible that the name of Napoleon should ever have been the watchword of a party, which reproached the successive Governments of France with unconstitutional tendencies. Under the Restoration, Bonapartism and liberalism were synonymous; even in our time, we have seen the resurrection of Cæsarism hailed by a large fraction of the democratic party who denounced Louis-Philippe as a tyrant. Strange to say, Literature, which suffered so much at the hands of Bonaparte, has been mainly instrumental in creating this

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confusion of ideas. Béranger the popular chansonnier, and, at a later day, Thiers—the Béranger of history—have been the chief authors of the Napoleonic legend. This latter has stated the only good reason for Napoleon's enduring popularity, when, in recording a tardy censure at the end of the twentieth volume of an unwearied apology, he says that Frenchmen should preserve for his memory 'those feelings that every army 'owes to the general who has long led it to victory.' But even this implies forgetfulness of the fact, that the long-victorious general brought on his country the humiliation and misery of a two-fold invasion. Be that as it may, it is certain that the advent of the Second Empire has alone had the power of thoroughly and finally dissociating the idea of Napoleonism from that of liberty in the popular mind of France.

Even in the present day there are many liberal Frenchmen, who, while they blame the policy of the great Napoleon, profess deep respect for the legislation and administration which he bequeathed to France, and which, to use a French cant phrase, 'all Europe envies.' Yet it is as a legislator and political administrator that Napoleon has done most mischief to France, as we have already pointed out. He left her, and she has remained to this day, completely organised for despotism, with a central authority armed and equipped at all points with irresistible power. Self-government, a word which has been introduced bodily into the French language, has many partisans in France; but the first tools and implements for the work of self-government are wanting. Even were France suddenly placed in a condition of complete political freedom it would require long and patient application of the law of 'natural selection' to enable her to discard gradually the institutions which would be worse than useless in her new state, and to develope the barely rudimentary capabilities of self-government which a long course of centralisation has condemned to atrophy. As it is, one might as well expect a bird to use its wings under water or a fish to soar in the air, as to expect that France, with her present organisation, can practise self-government. Few Frenchmen, however, acknowledge this, and, if they did, it is a difficult task to alter the whole political understructure of a nation. It is far easier to exchange a constitutional king for a republic, or a republic for a dictator.

We cannot take leave of the Imperial Editorial Commission without once more expressing our gratitude for the service which it has—voluntarily or involuntarily—rendered to the cause of historic truth. It has dealt an irrecoverable blow to one of the most wide-spread delusions of the present day—the great Napoleonic superstition.

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ART. II.—1. *Codex Theodosianus.* Instruxit GUSTAVUS HÄNEL. Bonnæ: 1843.

2. *Civil Code of Lower Canada.* Ottawa: 1866. From the Amended Roll deposited in the Office of Clerk of the Legislative Council, as directed by the Act 29 Vict. cap. 41: 1865.

IT is now just half a century since attention was called in these pages to certain proposals which had been put forth by perhaps the greatest theoretical jurist who has ever lived.* Mr. Bentham, despairing of encouragement from the Government of his own country, had offered his services as legislator to the United States of America, and to the Emperor of Russia. By neither were his offers accepted, but from both he obtained a respectful hearing. England in those days was indeed beginning to bestir herself towards legal reforms, but her first steps were not in the path which had been most carefully explored by the philosophic jurist. The object at which Bentham chiefly aimed was the re-expression and re-arrangement of the law according to a scientific method. A more pressing necessity for English statesmen was to alter the law itself; to adapt to the ideas and wants of modern civilisation a system which had grown together in the comparative barbarism of the feudal ages. We had to get rid of a series of penal enactments, the indiscriminate severity of which defeated its own object, while it rendered our name a byeword throughout Europe; we had to sweep away some of the more obtrusive absurdities which beset all dealings with landed property; and we had to emancipate our procedure from a network of scholastic subtleties, which seemed woven expressly to prevent causes from being tried upon their real merits.

The Romillys, the Mackintoshes, the Peels, and the Broughams have done their work; our laws, in humanity and in comprehensiveness, are not unworthy of our civilisation; but the task to which Bentham devoted the best powers of his intellect has still to be commenced. The form in which our law is expressed remains just what it was, and is probably worse than that of any body of jurisprudence now extant in Europe or America. It may be as well to state at once what is meant by so sweeping a condemnation. The case is simply this: while almost every other civilised country has arranged its laws upon some sort of

* Ed. Review, vol. xxix. p. 217.

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connected system, our law is identical with our legal history. The rules regulating, for instance, the relation of landlord and tenant, or of husband and wife, are to be found scattered at irregular intervals over the whole space which separates the days of the Saxon dominion from the present time. The records of our Parliament, stretching from the reign of Henry III. to that of Victoria; the words which from day to day have fallen from the lips of judges in courts of justice during the last six or seven centuries; the published opinions of such sages of the profession as have been, as it were, canonised by an admiring posterity—these are, not the raw material out of which our law has been constructed, but our very law itself; and we have none other. The statutes of the realm fill about fifty volumes; many of them have been repealed, but it is difficult to say which. The reported cases fill about 1,200 volumes; many of them have been overruled, but none of them bear any outward sign of their fallen estate. Statutes and reports alike have accumulated, layer above layer, in a merely chronological order; so that a given legal topic resembles, not the plan of a well-defined field, but rather the vertical section of a geological formation. The most skilful jurisconsult, when asked to exhibit any particular rule of law, can do so only after first laboriously examining all the legal strata in which any traces of it are to be found, and then piecing together from the fragments thus collected what after all he can only present as a probable reconstruction of the required entity.

The Poet Laureate has described, with his usual fineness of perception and precision of language, the disheartening labours of the law-student who toils—

> 'Mastering the lawless science of our law,
> That codeless myriad of precedent,
> That wilderness of single instances,
> Thro' which a few, by wit or fortune led,
> May beat a pathway out to wealth and fame.'
>
> (*Aylmer's Field*, p. 73.)

Such disorder and complexity in a body of law can but result in uncertainty, expense and delay to the suitor. The evil, however, does not stop here. While cognate topics are scattered over a thousand different volumes, and totally dissimilar subjects are found in the closest proximity, it is utterly impossible either for the judge to form a clear conception of the principles which he is called upon to expound, or for the legislator to see precisely what the rule is which he desires to repeal or amend. The tardy recognition by the nation of these practical mischiefs has fortunately synchronised with the growth of

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a small class of theoretical jurists, who have, however, been obliged for some time to contend with the narrowmindedness of the profession and the apathy of the public,—to wait till the patient was sufficiently aware of his illness to be ready to welcome the physician. Our object in the following pages will be to promote, if possible, the movement towards scientific legislation, which was initiated by the writings of Mr. Bentham and by the lectures of his distinguished follower, Mr. Austin.

The non-legal world is very far from realising the importance of the cause which we advocate—the cause of the formal as contrasted with the material amendment of the law. The distinction here drawn, although somewhat scholastic in sound, is in reality simple enough. To change the matter of the law is to change the nature of its provisions; to enact, for instance, that persons, instead of being allowed to make a will at the age of eighteen, shall not be capable of such an act till they attain twenty-one. To change the form of the law is to alter the mode of its expression; for instance, to gather into one chapter the various enactments upon the subject of forgery which had before been scattered through the statute-book. The formal amendment of the law is indeed one of the most useful services which can be rendered to the human race, and one which never fails of an ample reward of fame. Justinian is far better known for his legal reforms than for the success of his arms; and Napoleon was doubtlessly truly prescient of the final estimate which will be made of his greatness, when he said, 'I shall 'go down to posterity with my Code in my hand.'

We propose to show, by a slight historical sketch, that England stands alone among civilised nations in never having methodised her law; we shall then mention briefly the preliminary efforts which she has of late years made towards improvement; and shall offer in conclusion some suggestions as to the object which our legal reformers should propose to themselves, and the means by which that object is most likely to be attained.

I. In order to keep our historical survey within moderate bounds, it will be necessary to confine it to the legislation of the European races. We must also leave unconsidered those very ancient codes which seem to have made their appearance at an early stage in the history of almost every nation. The Draconian tablets and the Twelve Tables at Rome mark an epoch when reading and writing have become common, when law has become so far fixed that it may be exhibited in a permanent form, and when the people are so far enlightened as to care to have their laws generally accessible. Our attention

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must be confined to a very different species of legal reforms, which appeared everywhere at a far more advanced stage of history, and which had for their object not so much to fix the law, or to take it out of the hands of a particular caste, as to render intelligible by arrangement upon scientific principles a mass of enactments, the growth of many centuries of ingenious litigation.

The legal reforms of the Roman emperors are not only the earliest instance, within the scope of our present inquiry, of the concurrence of an unmanageably bulky body of law with a school of jurists competent to reduce it into some sort of order, but they may also afford many hints for the similar work which has now to be undertaken in England. The sources of law were as numerous with the Romans as with ourselves. Cicero enumerates—'statutes, decrees of the senate, decided 'cases, the authority of the sages of the law, the edicts of 'magistrates, custom, and equity,'* to which in later times were added the Rescripts and Constitutions of the Emperors. No wonder that the 'immensus aliarum super alias acervatarum 'legum cumulus,' of which Livy speaks,† became some centuries later 'a load for many camels.'‡ Cæsar seems to have intended to reform this confusion;§ and much was gained when, under Hadrian, the prætorian edicts were consolidated into the 'edictum perpetuum.' But the first decided step in the right direction was the publication of the Gregorian and Hermogenian codes in the time of Constantine.‖ These compilations, in which the imperial rescripts, from Hadrian to Diocletian, were conveniently digested under appropriate titles, though apparently the work of private individuals, soon acquired a very high authority. They were closely analogous to those arrangements of the statutes which have been from time to time attempted in England, by Tyrwhit and Tyndale, Chitty, and others. For the imperial constitutions bore an exact analogy to our Acts of Parliament, while the writings of the great jurists corresponded accurately enough to what we call common law; and it was through these two sources alone that the other sources of law enumerated by Cicero were under

* Top. c. v. † iii. c. 34.

‡ Eunap. in vita Œdesii, p. 72.

§ 'Jus civile ad certum modum redigere, atque ex immensa diffusaque legum copia, optima quæque et necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros.' (Sueton. *J. Cæsar*, c. 44.)

‖ These codes, which exist only in fragments, are best edited by Hänel, in the 'Corpus Juris Antejustinianeum' of Böcking (Bonnæ, 1837–41); where he shows their probable arrangement.

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the Empire practically known or operative. The constitutions, or as we should say the statutes, had become very numerous, and had been of course issued from time to time, just as the occasion prompted, upon no system whatever. But the enactments which these contained were simple and few when compared with the vast labyrinth of principles and illustrations which derived its authority from the independent and often conflicting writings of generation after generation of great jurists. Statute law and common law were equally in need of re-arrangement, but the Romans wisely attacked the easier task first; and thus it was that their first step towards legal reform was the introduction into the Constitutions, by Hermogenianus and Gregorianus, of a scientific method in place of a merely chronological sequence.

And the next step was of a similar character. In the year 429 the Emperor Theodosius II., with the concurrence of Valentinian III., undertook to continue the work of Gregorianus and Hermogenianus, by editing the constitutions which had been promulgated since the date of their publications. He therefore issued a commission to Antiochus, 'ex-quæstor 'and præfect,' with some others, empowering them to arrange and abbreviate the hitherto unarranged constitutions. Nothing having been in the meantime accomplished, another commission was issued in 435, to the same Antiochus and fifteen others, with larger powers than before: 'Demendi supervacanea, et 'adjiciendi necessaria, et mutandi ambigua, et emendandi 'incongrua.'*

At length, in 438, Theodosius was able to promulgate his new code, and to decree that after the first of January in the following year, no imperial constitution should be quoted except from the three recognised compilations. The three codes were almost simultaneously adopted in the Western Empire, and arrangements were made by which such constitutions as should be subsequently promulgated by either emperor (*novellæ*) should be forwarded to the other for his acceptance.

The preamble of the constitution by which the code was enacted, though expressed in a viciously florid style, gives a clear idea of the state of things which the Emperor wished to remedy:—

'I have,' he says, 'often wondered, that considering the great prizes which are held out for the encouragement of arts and learning, the instances are so few and far between of a full and ripe acquaintance

* These commissions are preserved in the codex.

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with the civil law; and that, although so many faces are weary and wan with study, it is rare to find anyone who is solidly and thoroughly educated. But this state of things will cease to be a difficulty, when one reflects upon the vast abundance of books, the variety of actions, and the difficulty of the cases; and, lastly, the mass of Imperial Constitutions, which has hidden the knowledge of itself from the human mind under a mountain of thick blackness and obscurity.*

He says that he has preserved the names of the emperors by whom each constitution was originally promulgated, 'manet 'igitur manebitque perpetuo gloria conditorum, nec in nostrum 'titulum demigravit nisi lux sola brevitatis.'

The code thus published contains constitutions varying in date from 312 to 443 A.D., arranged in sixteen books. It was augmented by various novels; and, though involved at first in the overthrow of the Western Empire, and, upon the re-conquest of Italy by Narses, superseded by the reforms of Justinian, long continued to exercise a very powerful influence over the legislation of the barbarians. It may be as well at once to observe that neither this code nor any of the Roman legal compilations (except to a certain extent the Institutes) possess that character of logical distribution which is essential to a 'code,' in the modern sense of the term, and in the sense in which we shall have occasion hereafter to define it. The Roman codes were in fact merely what we should call 'Digests;' and the method adopted both in the so-called codes and in the digest is almost identical. No logical distribution of the whole field of law according to the fundamental conceptions of jurisprudence was attempted in any of these works, but the various legal rules were gathered into certain large groups, and these groups were arranged one after another in an order which, though little more than arbitrary at first, became habitual, and was not only adhered to more or less from the time of Theodosius to that of Leo, but exercised a marked influence over the legal compilations of the middle ages. This order may be said to be roughly as follows:—First, the law and judges are discussed, next contracts and successions, then the administration and the revenue, then local government, criminal law, and the Church.

The other great source of law was not entirely neglected by Theodosius. In 429, in order to put some limit upon the citation of authorities, binding and final weight had been given to

* This Constitution is printed as the first novel. See Cod. Theod. by Hänel.

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the opinion of the five greatest jurists, and of certain others whom these had honoured by frequent quotation; and Theodosius in his first commission, already mentioned, intimates an intention which was however never carried into effect, of dealing with the writings of the jurists after a fashion much more ambitious even than that subsequently adopted by Justinian. He in fact projected an unification of statute law with common law in one great work, which would thenceforth form the complete rule of life.*

A century after the reform of Theodosius it was felt that a similar work was again necessary. Many new constitutions had been issued in the meantime, and many of them had effected important changes in the law. The writings of the jurists, moreover, still remained unarranged. Justinian therefore, in the year 528, commissioned Leontius, ex-quæstor of the palace, Tribonianus, and eight others, to arrange all the imperial constitutions, as well those included in the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes, as those of later date, in a new code to be called by his own name.

He instructed the commissioners:—

'Cutting off all prefatory matter, which is useless as adding nothing to the laws themselves, all repetitions, and all contradictory passages, unless they are explained by another division of law, and all that is obsolete,—to compile definite and shortly-expressed laws from the aforesaid three codes and the later constitutions; to arrange them under appropriate titles, adding to, and curtailing, and even changing their words, as convenience may require: collecting into one enactment what is scattered through several constitutions, and making the meaning clearer: yet so that the chronological sequence of those constitutions shall be evident, not only by references to dates and consulships, but also from their arrangement itself; the earlier constitutions being placed first, and afterwards the later ones.'

The code was completed, and received the force of law, in the following year, but was shortly afterwards suppressed, and in 534 republished in the form in which we now possess it. No constitution might thenceforth be cited from any other source. Except that it gives the first place to ecclesiastical law, its order is not materially different from that followed in the code of Theodosius.

In 530 the Emperor confided to Tribonian and such colleagues as he might himself select, a far heavier task. He begins by saying that he had observed: 'omnem legum tra-

* This meaning is not generally given to his certainly obscure expressions, but it is submitted that they will bear no other interpretation.

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'mitem, qui ab urbe Roma condita et Romuleis descendit tem-'poribus, ita esse confusum ut in infinitum extendatur.' He mentions that he had remedied this confusion in the case of the constitutions, but has now a higher ambition:—

'To collect and emend the whole of the Roman jurisprudence, and to exhibit, compressed into a single code, the scattered volumes of innumerable writers, which no one else has ventured to hope or to wish for. The thing appeared indeed to us to be very difficult, or rather to be impossible, but lifting up our hands to heaven, and imploring the aid of the Eternal, we have accepted this responsibility also. We command you therefore to read the legal treatises of the old lawyers, to whom the most sacred emperors gave authority to compile and interpret the laws, and sift them, and so to collect your material out of all of these; omitting, as far as possible, both repetitions and contradictions.'

The matter was to be arranged in fifty books, 'according to the 'order of the new code and of the perpetual edict,' and the books were to be grouped into seven parts.

The Digest or Pandects, the result of these instructions, was published in 533, and received the force of law. It contains the substance of more than two thousand treatises of the great jurists, and covers nearly the same ground as the first nine books of the code. Justinian had previously, in 530, caused to be published for the use of students, the 'Institutes,' which are arranged upon the model of the 'commentaries' of Gaius, and treat successively of persons, of things, and of actions; a distribution of subject which has exercised much influence upon modern jurisprudence.*

Great as were the achievements of Justinian, he fell short of the aspirations of Theodosius, who, as already mentioned, had dreamed of weaving together both statute and common law into one harmonious system. This project was, however, carried out three centuries later by the emperor Leo the philosopher, whose 'Basilica' were a translation into Greek, and a consolidation, in sixty books, of Justinian's code and digest, together with his novels, and those of the later emperors. Leo uses in his preface words which our own statesmen would do well to ponder: 'It seemed to our majesty that the dis-'persed state of the law was the cause of its difficulty and

* This arrangement seems to have prevailed in the Edict. Hermogenianus (Juris Epitom. lib. i.) says, 'Cum igitur hominum 'causa omne jus constitutum sit, primo de personarum statu, ac 'post de ceteris, ordinem Edicti perpetui secuti dicemus.' (Apud Dig. i. Tit. v.)

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'its want of precise arrangement.'* The Basilica were the law of the Eastern Empire till the fall of Constantinople; and upon the recent establishment of the independence of Greece, were declared to be law in the new kingdom.

Even the barbarians, who in the fifth century overran the Roman Empire, saw the importance of employing their newly-acquired familiarity with the art of writing in the compilation of bodies of law. This was indeed the more necessary on account of the personal, rather than territorial, obligation which was then almost everywhere the characteristic of legal systems. Romans, Goths, and Lombards, though all living under the same sovereign, were amenable only to Roman, Gothic, or Lombard law respectively. The conquerors, therefore, on the one hand, caused collections of Roman law to be published for the benefit of the conquered race, while, on the other, they committed to writing for the first time the rules which had guided themselves when as yet they were on the further side of the Rhine and the Danube. As these attempts preceded the reforms of Justinian, the compilations of Roman law were founded on the code of Theodosius. In the earlier of them little or no order is discernible. The edict of Theodoric the Ostrogoth (A.D. 500) contains 154 unconnected titles, entirely derived from Roman sources. The 'Breviarium' of Alaric the Visigoth was published in 506, with the following heading:—'In hoc corpore continentur 'leges sive species juris de Theodosiano et diversis legibus 'electæ, et sicut præceptum est explanatæ.'† It contains abridgments of the Theodosian code, of the novels, and of several approved treatises. It was superseded about 650 by the 'Lex Romana Visigothorum,' which is arranged far more scientifically than any of its predecessors. The Burgundians, who shortly before the Frankish conquest, i. e. about 520, had published a law for their own race, published a few years later a compilation for the use of their Roman subjects, which is generally known as the 'Papiani Responsa.' It is quite unsystematic.

A few of the more important collections of pure barbarian law will next claim our attention. About the year 638, Rothar,

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* ἡ τῶν νόμων ἀπομεμερισμένη οὖσα κατάστασις ἐλλείπειν ἔδοξε τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἡμῶν, εἴς τε τὸ παρελεῖν τῆς τῶν νόμων δυσχερείας, καὶ εἰς τὸ αὐτὴν τάξεως τυχεῖν ἀκριβοῦς· τοιγαροῦν τὰς πάντας τῶν νόμων πραγματείας ἡμεῖς σωματοποιησάμενοι ἐν τέυχεσιν ἓξ συνεκεφαλαιώσαμεν.

† See these codes in Canciani, 'Leges barbarorum.'

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king of the Lombards, published his edict, of which he says: 'Leges patrum nostrorum quæ scriptæ non erant condimus.'* The Lombard was the most generally received of the barbarian systems in Italy, and was even translated into Greek for the use of the Southern provinces.†

The characteristic of the Teutonic group of codes is that they are almost exclusively occupied with the subject of pecuniary composition for offences. The salic law of Clovis contains eighty titles all devoted to this topic; and the 'lex salica 'reformata' of 798 is of the same character, as are the Ripuarian and Allemannic compilations; that of the Bavarians is considerably more artificial. The laws of our own Ethelbert closely resemble these continental codes. Its eighty-nine titles are all devoted to composition, and bear no trace of Roman influence. After the laws of particular Teutonic peoples, come the 'capitularies' of the Frankish kings, affecting all their subjects alike. These were first digested in 1327 by Ansegisus. His order is inartificial enough. The first book of his 'Capitula-'rium regis Francorum' contains the ecclesiastical ordinances of Charlemagne, the second those of Chlodovic, the third Charlemagne's mundane ordinances, and the fourth the mundane ordinances of Chlodovic. Benedictus Levita, in 1345, added to the work three more books. The early legislation of the Teutonic races was however soon superseded by, on the one hand, a revived study of Roman law—the natural consequence of advancing civilisation; and, on the other hand, the growth of feudal customs.

In Italy, the old jurisprudence, after a long competition with various barbarian systems,‡ became the common law of the country; although by the time of Petrarch such inroads had been made upon it by the 'Statuta' of the various cities, that he says 'Senescunt pæne jam Romanæ leges.'

The Roman law also regained its sway in France south of the Loire, the 'pays du droit écrit,' and continued paramount there till the Revolution of 1789; but France north of the Loire, the 'pays coutumier,' was quite overgrown by local customs.

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* In the twelfth century the laws of Rothar and his four successors were digested into the 'Lombarda.'

† The translation was published by Zachariæ, Heidelberg, 1835.

‡ Agobard in a well-known passage says: 'Plerumque con-'tingit ut simul eant aut sedeant quinque homines, et nullus eorum 'communem legem cum altero habeat.' (T. vi. p. 356.)

Sclopis ('Législation Italienne,' i. p. 57) enumerates five distinct systems which were simultaneously in force in Italy.

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The Visigothic law prevailed generally in the kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula till the thirteenth century.

Germany long divided its allegiance between local customs and Roman ideas imported by the emperors from Italy.

Of the various legal compilations produced by this state of things a cursory notice must suffice. The Italian municipalities very frequently revised their 'Statuta.' This was done, for instance, by Milan in 1218, by Verona in 1228, by Florence in 1285, 1353, 1408, and 1415. The most famous revision of the Venetian laws was that of the Doge Tiepolo in 1242.*

The earliest *coutumiers* of France were compiled in the thirteenth century. They were succeeded by the *coutumes*, the earliest of which is that of Ponthieu, 1495. At a later period came the reformation of the *coutumes*, which commenced in 1580, and produced revised editions of the *coutumes* of Paris, Orleans, Amiens, and other places.

The national jurisprudence of Germany gave rise also to bodies of customary law, such as the 'Sachsenspiegel,' written in the thirteenth century by Eike von Repgow, and, later, the 'Schwabenspiegel,' the 'Kaiserrecht,' and the 'Richtstieg.' The customs of certain great towns were followed by neighbouring cities; and the customs of various provinces were consolidated into a 'Landrecht,' such as the 'Oestreichisches Landrecht' of the thirteenth century.† The introduction of Roman law on a large scale into Germany led in the sixteenth century to general revision of the national customaries.‡

In Spain, the period of the collection of local customs (*fueros*), e.g. the 'fuero de Leon,' 1020, was followed by attempts at legislation for the whole country. In 1258, Alphonso X. of Castile promulgated the 'Siete Partidas,' which however were not ratified by the Cortes till 1348. Partida I. relates almost exclusively to ecclesiastical matters; II. to the king and great officials; III. to judicial procedure; IV. and V. to contracts, &c.; VI. to testaments and successions; VII. to crimes. In 1567, Philip II. published a Digest of laws, each entitled according to the year and reign of its proclamation, which is known as the 'Recopilacion.' This was revised and republished in 1776 and in 1804.

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* Many of these collections have been recently edited by Italian antiquarians. Sclopis, ii. p. 135, gives an abstract of the Florentine revision of 1415, and, p. 140, of that of the Doge Tiepolo.

† The Landrecht of Bavaria, 1300, the 'leges Upstalbornicæ,' 1326, and the 'Charte de Hainault,' 1200, were of the same character.

‡ To this movement was due the publication of the Bavarian customs in 1578, of those of Frankfort in 1578, 1611, &c.

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The local statutes of Portugal were collected in the fifteenth century in the 'Codex Alphonsinus,' and, during the union of the country with Spain, in the 'Ordinatio Philippina.'

The Slavic customs of Russia were compiled under the title of 'Pravada' in the twelfth century. Individual princes also left their mark upon legislation. In 1231, Frederic II. published in three books the 'Constitutions of the Kingdom of Sicily'; and in 1395, Eleonore, Judge of Arborea in Sardinia, promulgated the famous 'Carta de Logu.' In 1430, Amadeus VIII. of Savoy edited his five books of decrees.

As the stream of European legislation widens, it becomes impossible within moderate limits to attempt a complete survey of its course; the general character of which may however be suggested by a few features which must serve as specimens of the rest. In 1532, the Emperor Charles V. published the 'Carolina,' which is an ordinance embodying the criminal law, as established by custom or derived from the Roman jurisprudence. It contains 219 articles. In 1610, was published the 'Des Hertzogthums Würtemberg erneuert gemeines Landrecht.' The laws of Norway were codified by Magnus Lagabæter, who died 1280, and republished in 1604 by Christian IV. Christian V. of Denmark, in 1683, promulgated a code in six books; which, when Mr. Laing visited Norway, was to be found, comprised in one pocket volume, in every peasant's house in the country.* In 1608, Charles IX. of Sweden published a Code, which had been preceded in 1442 by the Code of King Christopher.

Up to this point Europe had added nothing to the ideas of legal method which it had inherited from the Romans. The Romans had introduced three great improvements into formal jurisprudence: first, they had substituted, for a multitude of heterogeneous sources of law, the sole authority of certain definite volumes. Secondly, they had gathered together the various enactments which had been promulgated at different times upon any given legal topic, and had grouped them under an appropriate title. Thirdly, they had arranged the titles or groups thus formed, one after another, in a regular, though unscientific, order. The Digests, as we should call them, which were thus produced, were very rudely imitated by the barbarians, and with better success by the legislators of the middle ages.

Two further improvements were, however, necessary to carry the process of codification to perfection; and these were,

* Laing, 'Residence in Norway,' edit. 1851, p. 143.

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First, to consolidate the arbitrarily arranged laws contained in each ultimate subdivision of a digest into one new and self-consistent enactment; and, secondly, to subordinate the various divisions of the digest to one another according to a scientific method. It was reserved for the eighteenth century to make these improvements. Then it was that legislation began to be guided by really philosophical principles. Then appeared a series of jurists by whose writings a flood of light was thrown upon the relations which law bears to history on the one side, and to ethics on the other; while experiments were made in the practical application of scientific views destined to lead up to the solid successes of the century following.

The movement began in Italy. In 1729, Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy reduced into six orderly books the Constitutions by which, concurrently with the Roman law, the country was governed.* In the time of Charles de Bourbon, the competition of no less than eleven systems of law in the kingdom of Naples led, in 1741, to the appointment of a commission for the purpose of codifying them; which, however, produced no result. The good intentions of Francis of Tuscany (1745) were attended with no better fortune, although his son Leopold succeeded in making great improvements in penal law. In 1771 Francis III. of Modena commenced the publication of the 'Code d'Este.' The Swedish civil code, which is still in force, appeared in 1734.

The 'Code Frédéric' must, however, be regarded as the first fruit of the legislative ideas of the eighteenth century. Where Roman law was accepted as of concurrent authority with the particular law of the country, attempts at codification had hitherto been confined to the latter; the grander conception of the 'Code Frédéric' was to supersede the Roman codes as well as the local compilations by one well-ordered work which should assimilate whatever was worthy of imitation in either system. It was published in German and French in 1751, but did not receive the force of law till 1794. It is drawn up on scientific principles, and is thoroughly comprehensive in scope. The evils which it was intended to remedy are set forth in the preface,† viz. 1. The difficulties of the Roman codes;

* This was republished by Charles Emanuel in 1770.

† See French edition of 1751. The preface, §§ 23, 26, 27, states that no attempt at codification had been made by the Empire, and that the bodies of law compiled by Prussia, the Palatinate, and Wurtemburg respectively, were none of them systematic, and all allowed a co-ordinate authority to Roman law.

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2. The disputes of the commentators; 3. The contradictions of German and Roman law. Its object is described as being to promulgate a 'droit général du pays, qui comprenne toutes les 'loix de la société civile: de faire précéder à chaque matière 'les principes généraux; d'en déduire les conséquences qui en 'découlent nécessairement; et de former ainsi un système 'universel, qui puisse être appliqué à tous les états que 'prennent la raison pour règle et pour fondement de leur 'loix.' It follows the Institutes in dividing the subject into the law of persons, of things, and of obligations. Other German states were also fertile in attempts at codification during the latter half of the century. Bavaria promulgated a criminal code in 1751. Maria-Theresa in 1768, and Joseph II. in 1786, issued penal codes for Austria. Maria-Theresa, indeed, authorised the formation of a civil code, which, however, was not produced till 1811. But it was from the French Revolution, and the ideas disseminated by that event, that legal reforms derived the impetus which has carried them so much further in the present century than at any preceding epoch.

Commissioners were appointed in 1800 by Bonaparte to consider the question of a reconstruction of the law of France, and their labours resulted in the production of the famous five codes. The 'Code Civil' became law in 1804. Like the 'Code 'Frédéric' its arrangement is derived from that of Justinian's Institutes. It was followed by the codes of civil procedure, of commerce, of penal procedure, and lastly in 1810 by the penal code. The successes of the French arms, of which the legislative have in many instances survived the military and dynastic consequences, diffused these codes throughout Europe. The 'Code Pénal,' for instance, was introduced into Italy, Sicily, Holland, Belgium, the Rhine Provinces, Poland, and Switzerland; and where it was once planted it took firm root. In most of the Latin races of Europe either the French penal code, or some close imitation of it, is law at the present day. And the civil code has had almost as many imitators.

Ever since the fall of the first French Empire, the Latin races have been engaged in voluntarily assimilating their legal systems to that which was for a time imposed upon them by force. The Two Sicilies, in 1819; the Netherlands, in 1822 and 1837; Haïti, in 1826; Sardinia, in 1837; the Ionian Islands, in 1841; and the Swiss Cantons from 1819 to 1855, produced civil codes closely resembling the French. And Bolivia, alone of the Spanish settlements in South America, did the same in 1843. In Spain the 'Commission de Codigos'

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has drawn up commercial, penal, and civil procedure codes, which became law in 1829, 1848, and 1856 respectively, and in 1852 published a project for a civil code, which is still under consideration. Portugal has produced a code of commerce 1833, a procedure code (novissima riforma judicial) 1841, and a penal code, 1852; but no civil code as yet. The latest specimen of this group of codes is probably the Italian Code of 1865.

While the French codes have thus widely influenced the kindred races of the Continent, Germany has followed a somewhat different method. The criminal code of Bavaria, drawn by the celebrated Feuerbach and promulgated in 1813, has been adopted by Saxe-Weimar, Würtemburg, Oldenburg, St. Gall, Bâle, Zurich, Sweden, and Greece. A new penal code for Bavaria, was, however, issued in 1862. The Austrian penal code was revised in 1806, 1813, and 1852. In Prussia the penal laws were codified in 1851; in Hanover in 1824; in Hesse-Darmstadt in 1831; and in Baden in 1836. The formation of civil codes has not been so rapid. That commenced for Austria by order of Maria-Theresa was not published till 1811, and only in 1852 was it extended to Hungary. In Bavaria no less than sixty-two different species of civil law was found to be operative in 1811; and the labours of the commission which was then appointed to remedy this state of things have as yet produced no result. Several of the minor states have, however, codified their civil law, and a code of commerce (das allgemeine deutsche Handelsgesetzbuch) has been prepared by the Bund and accepted by most of its members, including Austria and Prussia.

Penal and procedure codes were drawn up for Greece by M. Maïrer, and promulgated in 1833, but instalments only of the civil code have appeared, and, pending its completion, the Byzantine laws contained in the six books of Harmenopulus were, by a royal ordinance of 1835, declared to be still in force.

Not the least curious chapter of a History of Codification would be that which should trace the progress of law reform in Russia. The foundation of Russian law at the present time is the compilation which, under the title of 'Ulogenie,' was promulgated in 1649 by the Czar Alexy Michaelovich. In 1700 Peter the Great organised a commission for the purpose of remodelling the Ulogenie and of incorporating with it the later ukases. But this body, during 130 years of its existence, which was virtually uninterrupted for this long period, produced no tangible result. It was frequently reconstructed, notably by Catherine II. in 1767, who after studying Mon-

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tesquieu, Puffendorf, and Beccaria, wrote instructions for the guidance of the commission with her own hand, which were much admired by Frederic II. of Prussia. The Emperor Nicholas placed the distinguished jurist Speranski at the head of the commission, which under his superintendence at length published the 'Sobranie Pervoe,' containing all the laws from the date of the Ulogenie of 1649 to the accession of Nicholas in 1825, and the 'Sobranie Vtoroe,' comprising laws promulgated between the latter date and 1832. These works were arranged in chronological order and accompanied by convenient indices. They served as materials for the construction of the 'Svod 'Zaconow rossuskii imperii,' i.e. 'Co-ordination of the laws of 'the Russian Empire,' which appeared in 1832, and became the exclusive source of law in 1835. The 'Svod Zaconow' comprises eight codes, devoted to the following subjects:—1. The state and imperial family; 2. Public services; 3. Finance; 4. The classes of persons; 5. Civil law; 6. Administration; 7. Police; 8. Penal law. It contains about 38,000 articles, to each of which is added a reference to the ordinance from which it was taken. It provides for the publication of an annual supplement, arranged according to the order of the codes, to be confided to a permanent commission. By this commission the Svod Zaconow was republished in 1843.*

It was not until the law of the continent of Europe had almost everywhere assumed a scientific shape that the English of the old and new world at length turned their attention to legislative reforms. The English-speaking races not subject to English rule were the first to move in the matter; then an English colony here and there attempted to deal with the question. Surely England herself, the stronghold of the law which is not made but grows, must some day yield to the ideas which have triumphed in every other quarter of the civilised world. It is quite in keeping with the general history of the movement that the French-speaking state of Louisiana should have been the first on the American continent to accept these ideas. As early as 1820 Mr. Livingstone was commissioned to prepare a penal code for Louisiana, which was followed in 1824 by a civil code. In 1836 the statutes of Massachussets were consolidated under four heads:—1. The government of the state; 2. Property; 3. Courts and civil procedure; 4. Crime

* Full information upon Russian codification may be found in 'Études historiques sur la législation Russe,' par Spyridion Zezas, 1862; and in 'Précis de notions historiques,' &c., par Speranski. 1833. A Translation into French of the Civil Code was edited by V. Foucher. Paris: 1841.

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and criminal procedure. In 1841 the statutes of Maine were consolidated in twelve titles. In 1853 Maryland appointed commissioners who produced a statute-code, which became law in 1860. It consists of two volumes, superseding statutes which occupied forty volumes, and is arranged alphabetically, from 'abatement' to 'wildfowl.' The state of New York, after several tentative efforts, has at length caused to be compiled one of the best codes of modern times. It embodies both common law and statutes, and occupied three commissioners for eight years, 1857–1865. It is divided into 1. The political code; 2. The civil code; 3. The code of civil procedure; 4. The penal code; 5. The code of penal procedure; and 6. The book of forms. The civil code, following the order of Justinian's Institutes, the Code Frédéric, and the Code Napoléon, treats successively of the law of persons, of property, and of obligations. A fourth division is a repository of miscellaneous matter. Faults might easily be pointed out in the arrangement of the work,* which is doubtless also somewhat more roughly put together than would be approved of in England, but it will afford much help and encouragement to our own efforts in the same direction.

The Canadian statutes have for some years been consolidated in three groups, viz.; those relating to both provinces, those relating to the upper, and those relating to the lower province; and now the whole civil law of Lower Canada has been recently codified, with the exception of the rules affecting the seignioral tenures, in pursuance of the local Act 20 Vict. c. 43. The task was one of no slight difficulty. The customary law which in France had been swept away by the Revolution and replaced by the Code, was still in force throughout the province; and the ancient French jurisprudence had been complicated by the legislation of the English Government. The whole was, however, accomplished in four years, 1860–1864, by three commissioners. The Code is divided into four books, treating respectively of persons; † of property; of the modes of acquiring ownership, and obligations; ‡ and of commercial law.

* E.g. Corporations are treated of in the third chapter of Part III. (concerning movable property) of Division II.; the law of torts is dismissed in four pages (252–266); and civil actions are said in the procedure code to arise (1.) out of obligations, (2.) out of injuries.

† Under which head the law of corporations is very properly included.

‡ Under obligations, those rights the violations of which are *délits* are very inconveniently and meagrely treated.

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A series of codes for British India have also for a long time been in course of publication. A penal code was drawn up by a commission, of which Lord Macaulay was a member, and was presented to the Governor-General as long ago as 1837, but did not become law till 1860 (Act xlv.). This is doubtless the most scientific piece of legislation in the English language; its definitions are metaphysically precise, and where such language is likely to perplex an ordinary reader illustrations are added for the purpose of explaining it. A code of civil procedure became law in 1859 (Act viii.), and was followed in 1861 (Act xxv.) by a code of penal procedure. The code of substantive civil law is now in progress. The Law Commissioners in India having, in 1840, reported that 'There 'is not in actual operation, beyond the limits of the capital 'towns of the three Presidencies, any *Lex Loci*, any sub-'stantive civil law for the various classes of persons who 'have not, like the main portions of their population, special 'laws of their own, which our judicatures are required to en-'force;' a commission in England, of which Sir J. Romilly, Lord Chief-Justice Jervis, and others, were members, in their second report, in 1855, arrived at the conclusion that 'what 'India wants is a body of substantive civil law, in preparing 'which the law of England should be used as a basis; but 'which, once enacted, should itself be the law of India on the 'subjects it embraced.' They added: 'Not only must there 'however be large exceptions in respect of amenability to this 'body of law, but there are important subjects of civil law 'which we think it would not be advisable that it should em-'brace.' To carry out this recommendation, a commission was issued in 1861, to Sir John Romilly, Sir W. Erle, Sir Edward Ryan, Mr. Lowe, Sir J. S. Willes, and Mr. Macleod,* who, in June 1863, reported to Her Majesty the completion of a portion of their task. This first instalment of a civil code received the force of law by Act x. of 1865. It relates wholly to 'suc-'cessions,' and does not apply to the successions of Hindoos, Mahometans, or Buddhists, or of any other sect which the Governor-General may by order in council except from its operation. A further instalment, devoted to several branches of the law of contracts, and intended to be applicable to the whole population of British India, made its appearance in July 1866. The method of the civil code is the same as that of the

* Mr. W. M. James and Mr. J. Henderson were substituted for Sir W. Erle and Mr. Justice Willes, in 1864. Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Baillie are the secretaries of the Commission.

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penal code. Every clause has been drafted with the utmost precision, and copious use has been made of illustrations, which the Commissioners declare to be 'not merely examples of the 'law in operation, but the law itself, showing by examples 'what it is.'* It is probable that the future effect of this great work will not be confined to our Eastern Empire. A code based upon the law of England, but in which all feudal peculiarities have been omitted, and such changes have been freely made as the advanced opinion of modern times seemed to require, can hardly fail to influence our home legislation.†

II. There can be little doubt that England must soon make up her mind to do what the rest of the world has done, and what she has herself sanctioned in the case of some of her remote dependencies. People are now far too busy to be inclined to submit to unnecessary labour merely as an exercise of ingenuity. Even Englishmen will not much longer be persuaded that the most convenient way of making known a rule with which every citizen is presumed to be acquainted, is to leave it to be guessed at as the result of a comparison of perhaps fifty statutes and a score of reported cases. The absurdity of the present state of things has indeed long been recognised, but our legal reformers till of late years seem never to have conceived of any more sweeping improvement than some slight consolidation of tautologous statutes, and a repeal of such as are wholly obsolete. The common law was left untouched by the most audacious theorist. King Edward VI. long ago wrote: 'I could wish that, when time shall serve, the super-

* A somewhat different force was given to them by the framers of the penal code, who said: 'the illustrations make nothing law 'which would not be law without them,' &c. (*Letter to the Governor-General*, Oct. 14, 1837.)

† We may perhaps be allowed to suggest that, in future editions, the Indian codes should be broken up into books, titles, and chapters, duly subordinated to one another, and that the sections should commence *de novo* with each chapter, instead of, as now, running on continuously through a whole branch of law. And we would respectfully urge upon the Commissioners the propriety of laying down beforehand some provisional plan of the whole work. Had such a plan been present to their minds they would surely never have treated of the liability of a master for the negligent driving of his coachman, under the head of agency, as a branch of the law of contracts. Second Rep. sect. 223. The use of the term 'Substan-'tive Law,' in the sense in which it was defined by the Commissioners in India in 1845, and in which it is apparently still employed by the Indian Law Commissioners in England, as excluding penal law, appears to us very objectionable.

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'fluous and tedious statutes were brought into one sum toge-'ther, and made more plain and short, to the intent that men 'might better understand them.'* And Lord Bacon's remarks are admirable as far as they go;† but although many a commission has debated the subject from his time to the present day, and although of late certain preliminary steps have been taken towards improvement, it is literally true that no essential change has yet been effected in the form of English law. Indeed, a solemn conference of the two Houses of Parliament came to the conclusion in 1816 that even a consolidation of the statutes was impracticable. As we have already had occasion to remark, the reformers of the earlier part of the present century were necessarily so much engaged in carrying out material changes in the law as to have little leisure for its formal amendment.

The criminal legislation of Sir Robert Peel, which extended from 1826 to 1832, did but little for the form of the law.‡ The most tangible result of the criminal law commissions, which sat from 1833 to 1849, was a Bill professing to be 'A digest of the 'written and unwritten law relating to the definitions of crime 'and punishment,' which was introduced into the House of Lords in 1848, but was afterwards abandoned. For the appointment of these commissions we are indebted to Lord Brougham. In 1853, Lord Cranworth addressed a circular letter to the judges, requesting their opinions upon certain Bills for consolidating the criminal law. The judges were unanimously opposed to the scheme, and their answers form a good collection of the usual objections to codification.§ Mr. Justice Talfourd, for instance, says: 'To reduce the *statute law* into a narrow 'compass is an object entirely free from objection, and, if ac-'complished with care, can produce nothing but good; but to 'reduce unwritten law to statute is to discard one of the 'greatest blessings we have for ages enjoyed in rules capable 'of flexible application.'

To Lord Cranworth belongs the credit of having in 1854 appointed the 'Statute Law Commission,' which, after making

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* See Burnet, History of the Reformation, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 102. edit. 1829.

† 1 Law Tracts, 9, cf. De Aug. aph. 54–64.

‡ Although Anthony Hammond published, 1825–9, 'by authority 'of Sir Robert Peel,' a draft criminal code, formed by a consideration of the then existing criminal statutes, which has some pretensions to method.

§ Parl. Papers, 1854 (liii.), 391.

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numerous reports,* came to an end in 1859. By this Commission were prepared the Criminal Law Consolidation Acts of 1861, which superseded the legislation of Sir Robert Peel. How little pretension these have to any methodical arrangement will appear from a bare enumeration of their subjects: 1. Accessories and abettors; 2. Larceny; 3. Malicious injuries to property; 4. Forgery; 5. Coining; 6. Offences against the person. The Commission also, by causing accurate registers to be made of repealed statutes, prepared the way for those operations which immediately followed.

In 1860, Lord Westbury, then only Attorney-General, announced the intention of the Government to take measures for the express repeal of all the obsolete Acts with which the statute-book was still encumbered. This great work of expurgation has just been completed by the skill and industry of Mr. Wood and Mr. Reilly; and a formidable list of wholly useless Acts has been upon their recommendation expressly repealed.† The present Lord Chancellor, Lord Chelmsford, has announced that it is the intention of Government to exhibit the fruit of these labours in a revised edition of the statutes, containing only those which are actually in force, which will be accompanied by careful indices, and will, it is hoped, be comprised in about six or seven volumes.

In 1863, Lord Westbury, as Chancellor, in a great speech in the House of Lords, reviewed the whole subject. He proposed that, in addition to the work already in progress, a digest should be made of the reported cases, with a view to an ultimate combination of statutes and cases alike in a digest, and, at a future period, in a code, of the whole English law.‡ In the autumn of 1866 a Royal Commission was issued to Lords Cranworth, Westbury, and Cairns, Sir T. P. Wilde, Mr. Lowe, Vice-Chancellor Wood, Sir George Bowyer, Sir R. Palmer, Sir J. G. Lefevre, Sir T. E. May, Mr. Daniel, Mr. Thring, and Mr. Reilly: 'To inquire into the expe-'diency of a Digest of Law, and the best means of accomplish-'ing that object, and of otherwise exhibiting in a compendious 'and accessible form the law as embodied in judicial decisions.' It would have been difficult to name a list of Commissioners whose opinions upon the subject would carry greater weight, and their appointment will doubtless mark an epoch in the

* Parl. Papers, 1855, xv. 829; 1856, xviii. 861; 1857, xxi. 203; sess. 2, xxi. 211; 1859, sess. 2, xiii. pt. i. 1.

† By 24 & 25 Vict. c. 101; 26 & 27 Vict. c. 125; and 30 & 31 Vict. c. 59.

‡ Hansard, vol. clxxi. p. 776.

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history of the question. Their first report, which is dated May 13, 1867, does little more than clear the ground for future operations, by affirming the utility of a digest, and recommending that they should be empowered to superintend the preparation of a portion of it, sufficient in extent to be a fair sample of the whole. The mode in which the Commissioners propose that the work shall be carried out will doubtless be described in future reports. In the meantime we shall state with great diffidence what, in our opinion, is the end which should be aimed at in all efforts toward the formal amendment of the law, and what are the means by which that end is most likely to be attained.

III. The object which law reformers ought constantly to keep in view is the formation of a Code. The idea, whether it be regarded as immediately attainable or not, will be of inestimable value as the guide and regulator of their endeavours.

By a 'Code,' we mean a homogeneous body of law, axiomatically expressed, and logically distributed. In all these essential characteristics it differs from a 'Digest,' which is a distributed body of law, but its distribution is not necessarily logical; nor is it homogeneous, because its ultimate subdivisions are merely groups of selected laws, each of which retains its individual vitality; nor need it be axiomatically expressed, because it may consist merely of extracts from reported cases. The most important of the processes by which a Digest is convertible into a Code, is 'Consolidation;' but this is, of course, equally available for many operations of minor importance. It consists simply in fusing a number of separate rules into one new enactment. A Digest is, therefore, an imperfectly developed Code. The two differ only in degree, and, as compared with unsystematic law, stand very much in the same position.

It may appear surprising to anyone who has considered the statements contained in the preceding pages, that there should still exist at the present day persons of eminence who are sturdy opponents of the introduction into English law of a logical in place of its present historical arrangement. One would suppose that the enormous evils of an unwieldy jurisprudence must be acknowledged on all hands; nor is one prepared to be told that difficulties which every other nation has attacked with success are insuperable by ourselves. Many, indeed, of those who are hostile to any general scheme of codification are willing to admit that the Acts of Parliament might be with advantage consolidated throughout; for it can hardly be pretended that anything but incredibly bad draughtsman-

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ship could prevent them from being thus rendered much more accurate and accessible than they now are. In the common law, however, as embodied in the reported cases, we are often assured that we possess an elastic rule, capable of adapting itself to new circumstances as they arise, such as we should seek in vain in any body of law imposed by legislation. Now, in point of fact, case-law is either perfectly definite or it is no law at all. A set of cases establishes a rule with certain exceptions; a new combination of facts arises; does it come within the rule or within the exceptions? The judge comes to a decision, which he arrives at either because the new case is virtually provided for by the old rule, or because, failing to find guidance in the cases cited, he is led by his own sense of what is just. If he is acting upon a rule which he finds laid down in the cases, that rule, the *ratio decidendi* of those cases, is of course a grammatically expressed proposition, and is no more susceptible of two senses than if it occurred in an Act of Parliament. If he is really, in the exercise of his own discretion, legislating for a *casus omissus*, and if this be considered desirable, it would be better that he should be allowed to do it without disguise. The judge who can be trusted to make law clandestinely, under cover of interpreting the reported cases, may also be trusted to make it openly, in order to supply the deficiencies of a code.*

If the imaginary advantages of judge-made law in point of flexibility are disproved, few would be found to deny that it is necessarily accompanied by a host of inconveniences. Its enormous bulk, its confusion, and its preference for special rules rather than general principles, are some of these; to which may be added the incoherent and merely supplementary character which its predominance impresses upon the statutes.† That it will ever cease to be a source of law is neither to be expected nor to be desired. All that can be wished is to sweep away and supersede all the case-law which exists at the present moment, and to provide, in a way which we shall presently describe, for its periodical absorption, as it springs up again, into the Digest or Code.

The main objections urged against codified law are that its provisions will be rigid and inapplicable to new cases; this objection we have already discussed; and further, that being

* The utility of judge-made law at certain stages of civilisation, when the enlightenment of the courts is superior to that of the legislature, is another question, and beside our present purpose. See Maine, 'Ancient Law,' ch. ii.

† See Austin, 'Jurisprudence,' vol. ii. p. 369.

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thus rigid, it ought to provide expressly for every conceivable case, which of course it will fail to do. These objections to a code have always appeared to us to rest upon a misapprehension of its real nature. Because it defines the *terminus a quo*, the general principles from which all legal argument must start, it seems to be imagined that it also defines the *terminus ad quem*, the extent of the application of which those principles are susceptible. A code is therefore asserted to be either an impossibility or an evil. An impossibility, if it attempts to state the infinite variety of subsidiary rules which must necessarily be recognised before its general rules can be applied to every case which may conceivably arise; an evil, if it rests satisfied with a statement of the law with reference to cases which have been already considered; because it must thus leave new cases wholly unprovided for. The fallacy upon which these alternative charges are grounded seems to be the idea that law when expressed in a code has any greater pretensions to finality than when expressed in statutes and reported cases.* Clearness, not finality, is the object of a code. It does not attempt impossibilities, for it is satisfied with presenting the law at that precise stage of elaboration at which it finds it; neither is it obstructively rigid, for deductions from the general to the particular, and 'the 'competition of opposite analogies,' are as available for the decision of new cases under a code, as under any other form in which the law may be embodied.†

If, as we hope, we have satisfactorily disposed of the principal objections to codification, it will be unnecessary to do more than briefly enumerate the obvious advantages of such a measure. A code, and the same remarks will apply though in a less degree to a digest, will greatly popularise the knowledge

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* The true idea of a code is well described by the New York Commissioners as follows:—'All that we now know of the law we 'know from written records. To make a code is therefore but to 'make a complete analytical and authoritative compilation from 'these records.' M. Portalis ('Discours préliminaire du projet de 'Code Civil,' Locré, vol. i.) said well: 'Tout simplifier, est une 'opération sur laquelle on a besoin de s'entendre; tout prévoir, est 'un but qu'il est impossible d'atteindre.'

† Mr. Austin, whose lectures are a mine of thought upon the question of codification (see especially vol. ii. pp. 308–378, and vol. iii. pp. 275–298), maintains, in opposition to the distinguished writer of the article in vol. xxix. of the 'Edinburgh Review,' to which we have already had occasion to allude, that the 'competition 'of opposite analogies' takes place as much under a code as under judge-made law.

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of law. This is truly stated by the Digest Commissioners to be nothing less than a national duty. 'Your Majesty's subjects,' they say, 'in their relations towards each other, are 'expected to conform to the law of the State, and are not held 'excused, on the plea of ignorance of the law, from the consequences of any wrongful act. . . . It is, as we conceive, a 'duty of the State to take care that these laws shall, so far as 'is practicable, be exhibited in a form plain, compendious, and 'accessible, and calculated to bring home actual knowledge 'of the law to the greatest possible number of persons.' The knowledge of law which under a well-arranged system is practically attainable by the people is much greater than may be imagined. There are many countries of Europe where the man of business is in the constant habit of consulting his code for guidance in his affairs, and where a certain acquaintance with the law of the land is made the condition of admission to a public employment. But a still more important point in favour of a code, is that it makes it possible for lawyers at least to know the law thoroughly. And this, not only because the law itself will be more rational, and therefore more knowable, but also because the profession will be released from those merely mechanical operations of bringing into juxtaposition statutes separated in date by hundreds of years, and cases decided without the remotest reference to each other, which at present absorb so much of their time and ingenuity; and will thus have leisure for attaining a real mastery of principles, and a habit of logically applying them to the new cases which will continually arise. In this way not only will the subject become better understood by the profession, but it will afford a better intellectual training to all who have to do with it. The existence of a code would also effect a vast improvement in our legal education, by providing it with an object susceptible of systematic study.

Legislation, it is almost needless to say, would be greatly facilitated by the existence of an authoritative statement of those laws upon which, by way of addition, subtraction, or alteration, the legislature has to operate. Local judicatures would be more readily established if a succinct body of law were always at hand for the guidance of the judge; and were our commercial law embodied in a definite division of a code, it would be possible, by mutual concessions, to assimilate it to the corresponding division in the codes of the Continent.

A code may or may not be attained *per saltum*. In times of revolution the law of a country has been occasionally recast in a very few years, or even months; but in these cases

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an old system of law has suddenly given place to a new one generally drawn from a foreign source.* Here the matter of the law has itself been changed, but such a change is no essential accompaniment of the formation of a code, which is essentially only a re-expression of what previously existed in a less convenient form. Where however no important change in the matter of the law is contemplated, a code must be preceded by a digest; and, especially in a country where so much respect is paid to antiquity as in England, must be a work of much time and labour. A remark, made originally by Mr. Austin in a wider sense, is especially true as applied to codification: 'What,' he says, 'is commonly called the *technical* part of 'legislation, is incomparably more difficult than what may be 'styled the *ethical*. In other words, it is far easier to conceive 'justly what would be useful law, than so to construct that 'same law that it may accomplish its object.'†

Since the code, in the highest and modern sense of the term, which, as we have said, should be the ideal after which all legislation should strive, is to supersede both our written and our unwritten law, it must be produced by the union into one work of a common-law code and a statute code. It is our opinion that, to avoid confusion, each of these codes should be compiled separately; though of course upon the same plan, with a view to their ultimate unification.

For the compilation of each of them five processes are necessary. We shall consider these, first, in their application to the statutes, and, secondly, as applicable to the reports.

In order to the formation of a statute code, the Acts of Parliament must first undergo *expurgation*. The living statutes must be severed from the dead, and useless ones which still show some signs of vitality must be slain outright by the legislature. This process, which as we have already stated, has been going on some time, is now on the point of completion. Elaborate registers have been constructed of all Acts heretofore expressly repealed, and more than three thousand Acts, or parts of Acts, which though not repealed were perfectly obsolete, have been repealed in express terms by the recent expurgation Acts. The result is to be presented to the public in a revised edition of the statutes, vastly reduced

* The three codes for the kingdom of Greece, to which we alluded in p. 361, were drawn up in fifteen months. The so-called 'codices' of the Roman emperors were likewise framed in a very short space of time, but these were, according to our present use of the term, mere 'digests.'

† Jurisprudence, vol. ii. p. 371.

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in bulk by the omission of all that are no longer in force. We would however venture most respectfully to suggest to the Government, that this edition might be still further reduced in bulk and increased in utility, if before publication it were subjected to the process which we are about to describe. Nor would its progress thus be delayed for more than a month or two.

The next process may be called *sifting*, and is rendered necessary by the very heterogeneous character of our so-called 'public-general' statutes, many of which apply exclusively to Ireland, Scotland, India, and our colonial dominions. Now it hardly needs argument to prove that, in collected bodies of statutes, Acts affecting England, or the whole of the United Kingdom, should form one body, while those affecting Ireland only, or India only, should form separate publications. It is scarcely less evident that only laws of a really 'general' nature should be admitted into such collections; whereas numbers of our public-general statutes differ only from avowedly 'local' and personal' and 'private' Acts in having been introduced into Parliament at the public expense. An Act confirming an order of the Home Secretary, made under the Local Government Act, for the improvement, say of Newcastle, is not a whit better qualified for a place among the statutes of the realm, from the accident of its being passed at the public expense, than if it had been introduced as a private Act by the corporation of that city. Nor, again, should Acts be comprised in a permanent body of law which, although of a really general character, are operative only for the current year, or whose effect is exhausted in conferring exceptional powers upon the executive for some definite object. We would therefore get rid, by sifting, of (1) all non-English statutes; (2) all Acts which are really 'local and personal,' though technically 'general'; (3) annual Acts; (4) what may be called mere 'legislative warrants'; leaving only (5), true general English laws. Some idea of the reduction which this process would effect upon the Statute Book may be formed from the fact that out of 122 Acts passed in the Session for 1866, and occupying 1,007 pages, only 55, occupying 356 pages, answer the description of true general English laws.*

The residuum of statute-law, after expurgation and sifting, must be *digested*. The nature of this process will be already understood from what has been said before. We may define a

* The rest are thus distributable under the other heads: (1) 33; (2) 18; (3) 8; (4) 8.

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'digest' as a distribution, according to a preconceived system, into books, titles, and so forth, of a body of laws previously not so distributed, such laws retaining nevertheless their independent vitality, and being, under the ultimate subdivisions of the work, arranged in a merely arbitrary order. The first step towards the formation of a digest is therefore the selection of a scheme of legal classification; which should be at once logical, suitable to the comparative importance of the conceptions upon which its divisions are founded, and practically convenient.* This scheme should be selected with the utmost care, and should be adhered to in all subsequent stages of the progress towards perfection. When it has been selected, the task of fitting the statutes, and parts of statutes, into their proper places, with references to the original statute upon which the authority of each depends, will be comparatively easy.

The next step is *consolidation*, the welding together into an organic whole of the various enactments upon a given topic. This process, operating upon the various fragments of Acts of Parliament arranged under any given head in the digest, would annihilate their separate existence, omit their redundancies, and fuse them into one new enactment.

Codification is hardly so much a separate process as the completion of consolidation; for a code is a digest in which every title has been consolidated. Being a digest, it is orderly; being consolidated, it is homogeneous and organic. It speaks with its own voice only, and contains no trace of its constituent elements. The common-law code must be formed in the same way as the statute code. After the reports and such treatises as are acknowledged as sources of law have been cleared of dead law by expurgation, and of law not suitable for an English code by sifting, the residuum must be digested; the cases must be classified in accordance with the plan; and abstracts of them, or references to them, must be placed under the appropriate titles: some cases must be chosen to support universal, others to support particular propositions. *Consolidation*, and consequently *codification*, are inapplicable to common law as embodied in concrete cases, which must therefore be reduced to their net results stated axiomatically before they can be subjected to these processes.

Either the common law, or the statutes, or both, may of course remain for any length of time at the digest stage, in

* The final selection of such a scheme may, of course, be postponed till the stage of *codification*, and the arrangement of the digest may be merely provisional.

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order to receive the most mature consideration before they are carried on into codes. It would probably be proper, at the same time that the digests are promulgated, to abrogate and repeal, as independent sources of law, all the materials which have been employed in their construction. When the two codes are complete, both having been from the first arranged according to an identical method, they may be with ease woven into a single code, in which the distinction between common law and statute will have ceased to exist. Many important questions have been necessarily left unconsidered in our rapid sketch of a plan for the formal amendment of the law: such as the expediency of making any changes in the matter of the law at the same time that the improvements which we have described are effected in its form; and the bearing upon the subject of the English distinction between Law and Equity.

One essential point, however, remains to be noticed. One other process, which we may call *revision*, is necessary to perpetuate the good effects of those which we have already described. Expurgation, sifting, digesting, consolidation, and codification, may be effected once for all; but revision should be perpetually in operation, and could only be carried on by a permanent Law Council or department of Justice. The duties of such a council would be in the first place to superintend all legislation upon subjects treated of in the code;* to see that all Bills affecting this portion of the law were drawn according to a regular formula, and with expressed reference to a particular book, title, and chapter of the code. The result of such supplementary Acts, or 'novells,' would be readily noted up by the practitioner. The council ought also to keep a watch upon, sift, and classify the results of reported cases, and should from time to time cause Bills to be introduced into Parliament embodying the new rules of law thus developed, and assigning to each its proper position as a new section of the code. Lastly, the council should, say at intervals of ten years, republish the code under the authority of Parliament; each new edition repealing the preceding one, and embodying the results of the inter-decennial legislation and litigation. The absence of some such provision for the incorporation of new law as that which we have briefly suggested, and of an organ such as a permanent Law Council, by which the operation might be carried on, appears to us to be a grave

* Many Acts of Parliament, it will be remembered, would have no place in, or effect upon, the code.

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defect in most schemes of codification, and greatly to impair the usefulness of those which have been realised in practice.*

For the later stages of the progress towards perfection which we have attempted to describe, we shall doubtless have many years to wait; but there is no reason why the earlier stages should not be very speedily attained. Of one thing we feel confident; that when once the importance of the question shall be clearly recognised by the people, the day will not be far distant when our law will deserve a reputation for scientific form equal to that which it has long enjoyed for substantial equity.

ART. III.—1. *Three Visits to Madagascar, during the Years 1853, 1854–1856, including a Journey to the Capital, with Notices of the Natural History of the Country, and of the present Civilisation of the People.* By the Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS, F.H.S., Author of 'Polynesian Researches.' London: 1858.

2. *Madagascar Revisited, describing the Events of a New Reign, and the Revolution which followed; setting forth, also, the Persecutions endured by the Christians, and their heroic Sufferings, with Notices of the Present State and Prospects of the People.* By the same. London: 1867.

3. *Madagascar and the Malagasy, with Sketches in the Provinces of Tamatave, Betanimena, and Ankova.* By Lieut. S. P. OLIVER, Royal Artillery, F.R.G.S. London: 1867.

4. *A Narrative of the Christians in Madagascar, with Details of the Escape of the Six Christian Refugees now in England.* By J. J. FREEMAN and D. JOHNS, formerly Missionaries in the Island. London: 1840.

THAT an island in the Indian Ocean, larger in extent than the United Kingdom, fertile in all tropical productions, peopled by an intelligent race, and not far removed from

* A periodical revision of the Code Frédéric seems to have been contemplated; a revised edition of the Russian Code has actually appeared; and the Indian Law Commissioners have recorded their opinion that 'at intervals of only a few years, the enacted law ought 'to be revised, and so amended as to make it contain as completely 'as possible, in the form of definitions, of rules, or of illustrations, 'everything which may from time to time be deemed fit to be made 'a part of it, leaving nothing to rest as law on the authority of 'previous judicial decisions.'

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the great line of commercial traffic between Egypt and the East, should have remained for ages uninvaded by foreign conquest, and unimproved by the progress of indigenous civilisation, is one of the most curious problems in geography. It confirms the remark of Archbishop Whately that barbarous nations are generally incapable of rising to a higher grade of culture by their own unaided efforts. The native policy of the rulers of Madagascar discouraged foreign intercourse, and, from time immemorial, its inhabitants have loitered on the boundaries of civilisation, without power to pass the barriers. Their language copious, expressive, and by no means inharmonious, remained unwritten; their constituted form of government had discovered no better sanction of authority than brutal slaughter; and the native form of faith is found to consist of little more than a collection of superstitious terrors.

Radama—who may be fairly regarded as the Peter the Great of Madagascar—used to boast that his two best generals were Fever and Forest: and, no doubt, they have powerfully contributed to protect the country from foreign invasion; though the insalubrity of the island appears, on more accurate information, to have been much, and designedly, overstated, and is chiefly confined to the sea-coast and removable with the progress of cultivation. The ports were left dangerous and uncertain. The capital was placed inland, some 200 miles from the coast; and the roads were purposely suffered to remain impassable. Whether Madagascar owes its native independence to an overrated insalubrity, to stratagem, or to accident, it is scarce matter of doubt that the subjugation of the country would have involved both conquered and conqueror in many and most grievous complexities. Experience has now abundantly shown the difficulties which accompany the extension of European sway over a people which halts between barbarism and civilisation; and the natives of Madagascar, though living between Africa and Asia, will be found as wanting in the simple docility of the negro as in the refined but enervating organisation of Hindoo society.

Deferring, until we arrive at Mr. Ellis's own appearance on Malagasy soil, our notice of the two highly interesting works from his pen which we have placed at the head of this article, we propose to lay before the reader some previous account of the country, and of the cause which led the historian of South Sea Missionary enterprise to extend his labours to the Martyr Church of Madagascar.

The reduction of the several Malagasy tribes under one

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sovereign ruler dates from the present generation. Radama, a chief of the Hovas, who took up the task of subjugation from his father, was successful, within the limits of a short but highly spirited reign, in bringing all the other divisions of the island under his allegiance; though, for that purpose, he was obliged to enter into a compact with England, the most conspicuous article of which was the absolute cessation of all export of slaves—one since observed with faith, even to the putting to death some members of the royal family who attempted to violate it. In return for this important concession, he continued to receive an annual supply of muskets, cannon, and army accoutrements—which he turned to merciless advantage against the refractory provinces. Instructors of drill and military tactics were furnished to him; some noble Malagasy youths were received on board British men-of-war, and others placed at English seminaries for military and civil training. The Malagasy form of government, thus receiving a unity and centralisation more or less recognised throughout the limits of the island, may be briefly described as an absolute monarchy, uncontrolled save by popular opinion, and by certain traditions and usages which the sovereign professes to regard as binding upon him. No individual, or constituted body, is supposed to stand between him and his people. He claims all right over the lives, labours, and properties of his subjects—who, indeed, are styled servants of the monarch in all public proclamations; enacts laws; is supreme and final judge in all matters civil and criminal; and alone possesses the power of awarding capital punishment. On occasions, these high prerogatives are carried into practice, in most full and unquestioned form. Indeed, so completely have these royal powers, over which the national religion has thrown a sacred origin and sanction, caused the monarch to be regarded as the indispensable centre of the social system, that an interregnum appears to be viewed as the least desirable of all conditions of the State. When the rights of the people (if such they can be called) are imperilled beyond endurance, the fatal napkin (royal blood cannot be shed) affords relief; but a new occupant is instantly elevated to the vacant throne. Monarchy is traditionally considered a necessary condition of law and order, and, accordingly, in Madagascar an organised social system does exist throughout the island—there is an acknowledged security of private interests—and laws between man and man are recognised and administered with uniformity. The chief blot, however, on the Malagasy course of justice is the employment of the Tangena, or ordeal by a species of native poison.

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This is sometimes fatal in its action; though its efficacy as a test of guilt or innocence is made to depend on the results of certain antidotes, administered immediately after it. If appearances are declared unfavourable, execution immediately follows; in all other cases, the accused is honourably acquitted irrespective of evidence, and is conducted back to his native village by a triumphal procession of his friends. It is optional, however, with the accused to appeal to this test, though a refusal is usually deemed an admission of guilt. Vicissitudes in private, and more especially in public life, are of the true oriental character; and the subject who to-day stands beside the throne and dispenses its favours, may, to-morrow, leave the city an exile; or become a beggar in chains, to be worn until death releases him from them, or a headless trunk, to which the meanest rites of burial are ferociously denied.

The Malagasy are an industrious, intelligent, half-civilised race; strongly affectionate in their natural relations, cheerful, hospitable, and capable of the warmest friendships. Physically, they are a fine people, robust, active, and well built; generally distinguished by well-shaped heads, promising considerable intellectual capacity, and no mean moral excellence. The eye is clear and bright; the forehead full; the back of the head almost flat, and exhibiting few of the grosser animal instincts; the nose small and firm, frequently a pure aquiline; the skin of an olive tinge, more or less dark, but not seldom as fair as that found in the south of Europe. With these general characteristics, there are also sufficiently marked diversities of tribe; all, however, being remarkable for an excellent balance between the physical and intellectual capacities, both of which are of a high order. From time immemorial, and independent of all European intercourse, they have been in possession of many of the arts and habits of civilised life. Their houses are, for the most part, large, comfortable, and not destitute of a certain neatness; and they live in large communities, well defended, with considerable regularity of municipal government. They possess extensive flocks of cattle; and cultivate, and artificially irrigate, large districts, chiefly for the growth of rice—a plant wonderfully productive in the country. Slavery is a national institution, the inhabitants of refractory provinces, criminals, and even the wives and children of criminals, being reduced to this condition. Slaves, however, appear to be treated with considerable indulgence, and are redeemable, unless the contrary be expressed in the judgment which has consigned them to bondage. Military service is a

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duty incumbent on all. While under arms, the subject receives no pay; but all military rank confers honour, and includes the highest honours permissible to the subject. A private soldier holds the rank of First Honour; the commander-in-chief that of Sixteenth Honour, beyond which the subject cannot rise. Besides military service, the sovereign can claim the time of the subject for the execution of public works, which are at times onerous and severe; on these occasions he receives food, but no remuneration in money. Clanship, possibly taking its rise in the former distribution of the country under chiefs, is recognised; but there are no indications of caste.

Though not supposed to be controlled, or even assisted, by any official body in the management of the state, nevertheless in actual practice, the monarch has recourse to the great officers of his household as a privy council of advice; to whose opinion he listens, but without any obligation of shaping his course in accordance with it. All new laws are proclaimed to the people as the direct emanation of the sovereign at a solemn gathering called for that purpose, and known as a *kabary;* at which private individuals are allowed to express their views, and where, no doubt, the popular feeling is watched and estimated. These meetings are reported to number as many as 100,000 persons in attendance, and are obligatory on all residing within a specified radius, with such necessary exceptions as are also previously made known.

Such, it appears, was the form of government existing in each of the separate and independent provinces into which the island was parcelled out, and which Radama adhered to on assuming sovereign sway over all. It is one which we must naturally expect to vary widely with the inclinations of the sovereign, and the accidents by which he may find himself surrounded; the only certain landmarks being frequent appeals on the part of the occupant of the throne to the customs of his ancestors, and, to all appearance, no natural disposition in the people to deeds of violence or inhumanity. Thus, within the short limits of our narrative, we shall find pagan and Christian blood spilled at one time like water; and, anon, human life treated with a tenderness threatening to defeat the course of justice itself.

It may be said that one of the articles of the English treaty laid the foundation of the important and deeply interesting series of events which we propose to make the subject of the following pages. The London Missionary Society, having placed Polynesia under an organised staff of its teachers, had

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been for a time in quest of some other suitable and unoccupied portion of the heathen world to which to extend its labours; and, indeed, had already sent a small band to Mauritius with an ultimate view to Madagascar, should events permit. A couple of these emissaries had landed on the Malagasy coast, and made highly favourable report of the intelligence and friendliness of the natives, though wanting permission to enter the interior. Radama, who had the sharpness to perceive that Christianity and progress were very closely associated, was now readily induced to open the capital to the Society, only stipulating that religious teachers should be accompanied by persons capable of giving instruction in skilled labour; and, in accordance with this condition, a staff of religious and secular teachers and intelligent mechanics proceeded to Antananarivo, the chief city and seat of government, and took up their residence there. Thus encouraged, these labourers entered on their task; and, in a short space of time, the results were of the most marked and surprising character. The soil on which they operated may be regarded as little more than virgin. The native language was a purely unwritten one, possessing no characters of its own, and, of necessity, no records. The Society's teachers applied the English alphabet to it; and, with the aid of printing-presses brought with them, they struck off a large number of copies of grammars, spelling-books, the more suitable of the old English classics, a Malagasy dictionary, and the Bible. They organised a system of schools, which soon numbered from 10,000 to 15,000 of the native youth; the more eligible of whom were drafted to a training and model school, and, in due course, became fit and successful teachers of their countrymen. A single secretary, educated at Mauritius, and writing in a foreign language, had served to transact the correspondence of Radama—4,000 civil servants, able to write, and conducting their several departments by aid of writing, were now found in the employment of the State. All private affairs of business or pleasure were arranged through the medium of letters; and few travellers proceeded from town to town without being entrusted with a number of these missives. The craftsmen experienced like success in their own sphere, and had under training a large staff of native workers in iron, wood, and other raw products of the country; many of whose public works more recent visitors to the island have pronounced of sufficient excellence to be creditable to any European country.

But the greatest triumphs were reserved for the purely religious portion of the task. Nowhere, in modern times, has

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Christianity made more rapid and intelligent strides, or exhibited signs of striking its roots more deeply into the soil. The form of native religion was found to be rude in the extreme—strangely rude when viewed by the side of a people not wanting in a certain innate nobility of mind, and open to all the better feelings of humanity. Its sole ostensible machinery consisted in a few miserable idols—if a rod, a mysterious bag or bundle, or at most a wretchedly carved wooden figure, not even very ugly, may be so called—distributed among certain poor and squalid sacred villages, in charge of keepers who refuse direct access to them; and brought forth to take part in public processions only on solemn and critical occasions. Temples, more in accordance with the name, there are none—no other form of priesthood—no regular religious rites or ceremonies—and nothing worthy of the name of a creed. Fear appears to be the only hold which this form of heathenism exercises over the native mind. It inculcates no moral or benevolent design in the government of the universe; and Fate, as opposed to Providence, is the prominent idea which it puts forth. Witchcraft enters largely into the national belief, as well as sorcery; and both are punishable by the Tangena. The extreme jealousy, however, of the idol-keepers—and indeed of the people themselves, when this particular topic is approached—has rendered more full information on the subject exceedingly difficult of attainment. In its absence, the supposition may perhaps not be untenable, that, planted among a people intellectually superior to its nature and to the advancement of which it was capable, this native creed has remained thus dwarfed and stunted. As, however, the dwarfed and stunted shrub is not absolutely lacking in vitality, and, on actual experiment, will be found to have struck its roots as deeply into the soil as its more fair and goodly neighbours of the forest, so this plant of poor growth has been discovered to possess a tenaciousness of its own, and —the true upas of its clime—to deal deadly destruction around when shaken. It is, however, but just to add, that, as this national form of faith has been found unable to exalt, perhaps even to keep pace with, the native intellect, so it appears to have been equally powerless to engraft upon it any of the more disgusting or cruel enormities of other forms of heathenism. Among a people genial, sprightly, and warm-hearted, it has remained crude, gloomy, and spiteful.

Nor were other circumstances wanting to place the pure and benevolent truths of Christianity in favourable contrast with it. They came hand in hand with those useful arts and appliances with which the people, from natural aptitude and capa-

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city, strongly desired a more full acquaintance. Both arrived at a period when the whole island—for the first time strengthened and consolidated under a single enterprising and highly ambitious ruler—was entering on a new era, which they might be regarded as most opportunely sent to further. Hitherto, European intercourse had been confined entirely to the seacoast, and that most sparingly; but to the interior—the most populous as the most healthy, protected, and fruitful part of the island—Christianity was as the Christianity first preached by the Apostles to the Gentiles. 'All this is new to us,' was the language of the Malagasy nobles; 'put us in the way to be-'come wise.' Elementary books were eagerly sought as they issued from the printing-presses, though the missionaries had wisely annexed a scale of prices to their distribution. Old men were not ashamed to be found devoting their leisure hours to mastering their contents. Nor did the hereditary nobles, the great officers of state, and those of the royal household, refrain from expressing their regret that their own youth had been passed without these opportunities; they placed their children in the schools, and even sought to overcome their own deficiencies. The Christian places of worship were attended by ever-increasing crowds of earnest, decorous listeners; and the truths there received were carried home to the domestic circle, and made the subject of intelligent comment and exhortation. Those who had sufficiently profited by their new studies became able and successful preachers, turning to account a graceful and very effective style of oratory, which the native talents, hitherto denied all outlet by aid of a written language, exercised themselves upon with very considerable advantage. Nor was the movement confined to any particular classes, or within the immediate neighbourhood of the metropolis. On a subsequent inquiry, accompanied by the most cruel and relentless persecution known to modern times, it was found that these gospel teachings had penetrated 200 and 300 miles from the centre of their operations; that there were Christian readers and whole Christian villages at considerable distances from the seat of government; and that these faithful believers could be induced to resign only with their lives the new principles on which they had taken hold.

At this period of Christian progress in Madagascar, Radama died, at the early age of thirty-six. Ambitious, and with little disposition to allow motives of justice or humanity to restrain his ambition, he was a ruler greatly in advance of the circumstances with which he found himself surrounded; and, isolated from civilisation by a strong traditionary policy, we must

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recognise his acts of national progress as the inward promptings of a superior intelligence. There are no proofs that he himself had any inclination to embrace Christianity; and, certainly, he avowed none. But he placed no impediments in the way of his subjects, even when the new religious movement wore an aspect of changing the social and political character of his reign to far greater extent than he could have anticipated; and, from subsequent events, we can have no doubt now that his ear must have caught many a murmur from the idol-keepers and their more fanatical followers. Possibly, beyond these low mutterings of the storm, he saw the increased stability which the Christian arts and Christian precepts would give to his kingdom when they attained to sufficient maturity and hold upon the soil; and trusted—as, indeed, the trust was a reasonable one—that he himself would outlive and protect the period of their early growth. Though nominal ruler of the whole island, he left some unconquered territories at his death, and to the chiefs of some other districts had already found it expedient to grant powers little less than sovereign over their provinces. Nevertheless, it is no small proof of the extent and permanent character of his conquests that though his death was thus early, and, indeed, unexpected, the Hovas remained the royal tribe, and that his successor, though a female, held his throne undisputed. He left no child born at the time of his death, and had nominated a nephew to the sovereign power; but Ranavalo, his widow, and herself of royal blood, by prompt and decisive action—by filling the royal courtyard with the idol-keepers and her immediate adherents, and by putting to death all likely to raise a dissentient voice, was proclaimed queen.

Though freely visiting the missionaries and their wives during her husband's lifetime, Ranavalo was already known to be strongly attached to the native religion, and was now careful to attribute her accession to the throne to the power of the guardian idols. Masculine, inflexibly obstinate, and pitiless, she had hitherto shown little intelligence, and, in the general progress of learning around her, had taken slight pains to keep pace with the attainments of her humblest subjects and their slaves. Her husband's death was kept a strict secret for some days, until she and her party had matured their plans. The spear—the favourite Malagasy weapon—served for the great officers of the household, but, in the case of her husband's relatives, death by starvation was had recourse to. The mother, the sister, and the brother of Radama all perished under this cruel and refined evasion of the royal exemption; the brother, indeed, with peculiarly aggravating

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circumstances. His cries for food and water were heard for several days by one of the sentries placed over the wretched dwelling to which he had been hurried; and who afterwards became a Christian, and told the tale. On their cessation, this man looked into the room in which he was confined, hoping that death had at length put an end to his sufferings. The wretched captive pointed to his mouth, though without further power to make known his wants; soon afterwards he breathed his last.

Amid these acts of the new sovereign, the missionaries awaited with anxiety the first intimation of the change, as it was more immediately to affect themselves and their work. It came in the form of a notice to those Europeans whose allotted periods of sojourn had expired to quit the island. With such zealous care was it customary to admit all foreigners that Radama had annexed, nominally it was generally regarded, a specified duration for the visit of each: as these periods now approached their completion, it was intimated that the permission would not be renewed. In the meantime, the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper was declared illegal. A great kabary followed, in which proclamation was made that all the Queen's subjects who had submitted to the rite of baptism, who had attended a Christian place of worship, or who had made observance of the Sabbath should, within the space of one month, accuse themselves to the sovereign; that is, make public confession of having done so, and throw themselves on the royal clemency—a favourite procedure in Malagasy course of justice, but, under Ranavalo, generally used as a trap. On the subsequent hearing of these confessions, various fines and punishments were awarded. It is computed that no fewer than 400 nobles found their national honours diminished by half on this occasion, and, among them, some of royal blood. Others were reduced to the lowest ranks of the army—a sentence which obliged them to share the coarse and insufficient food, the scanty clothing, and midnight watches of the meanest soldier with scrupulous exactitude. On the completion of these self-accusations, a further royal proclamation followed, commanding all subjects in the possession of books to deliver them up to officers appointed to receive them, the detention of a single leaf being made punishable by death. These books were received with scrupulous care, stored in a building set apart for that purpose, and, eventually, transmitted to Europe. It is believed, however, that the native Christians held back large quantities. During these direct dealings between the Queen and her subjects, no personal danger appears to have threatened the

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missionaries. The traditionary policy toward foreigners, if unfriendly, was not incautious; nor was Ranavalo one to forget policy in her anger. No doubt the chief object was to get them out of the country as quietly as possible, but their remonstrances in the cause of moderation proved wholly unavailing during their remaining stay. The Queen was inexorable—'the 'customs of my ancestors change not;' and, finding their followers thus debarred from all participation in Christian worship, and books as well as all other aids to imparting secular instruction interdicted in the schools, they reluctantly quitted the island after a period of some fifteen years' sojourn.

On the departure of the missionaries, the full storm of persecution burst forth. A form of oath was instituted, by which the accused was made to renounce the principles of Christianity, and to affirm his or her belief in the efficacy of the idols and the native religion. Refusal to take this oath was followed by death by the spear. Rasalama was the first native martyr. She had been an early convert, and appears to have been an earnest, devout, simple-minded woman. After her condemnation, considerable exertions were made to procure from her a public recantation. She was placed in irons so constructed as to cause great and increasing torture. The terrors of a death most painful in itself—for the victim, pierced by a number of spears which were allowed to remain in the flesh, was left to writhe in agony on the ground until dissolution from exhaustion took place—were heightened, in accordance with Malagasy usage, by all that could impress the imagination; and, most abhorrent to the native mind, the body could not be removed for burial, but must remain a prey to bird and beast. The Christian Sabbath was appointed for the day of her execution, and the oath was frequently tendered to her as she was led to the fatal spot. Having received permission to pray, the native Christian account affirms that her spirit fled in the act of devotion, before the executioners had performed their task. Rafaralahy was a young Christian convert who had attended Rasalama to the place of public execution, and been witness of her constancy and faith. His expressions of sympathy attracted the notice of the authorities, and he became the next victim, exhibiting the same pattern of quiet firmness and resignation. Having thus tasted blood, the idol-keepers urged on the work of Christian persecution; and the capital became the scene of a series of most cruel and relentless martyrdoms by the spear, stoning, the stake, and the precipice.

On the western side of the metropolis stands a preci-

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pitous elevation, hitherto used for the execution of persons accused of sorcery. This, the Tarpeian Rock of Antananarivo, rises to a height of some 200 feet from a ravine composed of jagged crags and pointed fragments of granite. The upper ledge projects some feet over clear space; and, midway, there is a second projection, though invisible from above in consequence of the overhanging nature of the summit. A pathway, emerging from the city, winds to the top of the hill, reaching its termination at the fatal brink, here bevelled to a sloping ledge for a yard or two. European travellers who have stood on its verge assert that it unfolds one of the noblest panoramas in the world—fields of waving corn, deep pastures filled with the lowing herds which form the staple wealth of the island, an amphitheatre of mountain-side rising beyond—all that could fill with keenest regret a people deeply imbued with love of country at fixing a last gaze upon it, their beloved Imerina.* Up this pathway the doomed procession of Christian martyrs now continued to wind its way, in view of the capital, and of the many thousands of silent, awestruck spectators who lined the road. Arrived at the brink, each victim was placed on the shelving ledge, his eyes blindfolded, the test-oath offered, and, on its refusal, the rope cut which held him on the short and rapid incline. In a moment he had disappeared from view, and a crash, followed by another as the body rebounded from the second ledge to the ravine below, proclaimed that the executioner's task was completed. There were now no Europeans present to witness these scenes of Christian fortitude and trial; but several native accounts record many affecting incidents, and all preserve so remarkable an air of simplicity and sincerity as to leave no doubt of their truthfulness. In no single instance does it appear that life was purchased on the conditions offered under these circumstances of sore temptation. One old man begged that the cloth might be removed from his eyes for a few moments before death. The request was complied with, and he appeared for some time occupied in prayer. 'It is done,' was his last intimation to the executioners, and as they again proceeded to blindfold him, he commenced, in clear and firm voice, one of the hymns used in native Christian worship. After he had disappeared from view, these strains of praise were heard to float up from the deep abyss, until they

* The name Madagascar is unknown to its inhabitants. Imerina is the province of the Hovas, and contains the seat of government; and, since the reduction of the whole island under one monarchy, is generally accepted as the national name.

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were drowned in death. Another, a young girl, daughter of one of the nobles, and possessed of considerable personal attractions, had so strongly aroused the compassion of the officers entrusted with this duty that continued efforts were made to save her. The oath was pressed upon her more than once during the progress of the procession from the capital; and, again, on the fatal ledge. Her father, then a follower of the native form of idolatry, but who afterwards, with his whole family, embraced Christianity, added his entreaties to the recommendations of the royal officers. She was ordered to stand aside until all her fellow-sufferers had perished before her eyes; and fourteen Christian martyrs thus took their leave of life under her gaze. The oath then tendered to her was again refused: it is even added that in this terrible moment she made effort to impress upon her relative the truth of those principles which upheld her. The chief idol-keeper now struck her on the mouth—pronounced her an idiot; and she was banished to a distant portion of the kingdom.* Four nobles of higher rank were, on this occasion, reserved for the stake; two of them being husband and wife—the latter about to become a mother. It is even recorded that the pangs of maternity were added to this appalling hour of trial, the executioners thrusting the child back into the flames, 'where its body,' so runs the subsequent statement of a witness of the scene, 'was burned 'with its parents; its spirit to ascend with theirs to God.' The same firmness and constancy characterised the proceedings at Faravohitra, the place of burning, as at the precipice. 'Thus they prayed, as long as they had any life. Then they 'died; but softly—gently. Indeed, gentle was the going 'forth of their life. And astonished were all the people around 'that beheld the burning of them there.' †

Crucifixion was also had recourse to, the victims being exposed until hunger, thirst, and exhaustion put an end to their sufferings; sometimes, however, a fire was lighted, and cross and martyr consumed in one burning pile. Fiadana, a plain adjoining the capital, was chiefly used for stoning: witnesses describe this as the most brutalising of all the exhibitions of Christian martyrdom. By Malagasy usage, the highest honours are paid to the dead; criminals alone being excepted, to whom the laws forbid burial. At midnight, however, the relatives

* At a subsequent period, Mr. Ellis visited the native village of this Christian convert, the young Raviva; where her memory is held in great esteem, and a church has been established.

† Native account, preserved by Mr. Ellis.

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and friends of those who had suffered death on the previous day stole forth to these scenes of public execution, and carried off for interment all that could be collected of their remains.

The greatest indignities were heaped on those appointed to die. The graceful native *lamba* was exchanged for torn and dirty garments. Rags were thrust into their mouths. Now, they were carried as beasts to market;* and anon, they were bound to poles borne on men's shoulders. All testimony, however, both heathen as well as Christian, unanimously declares that the martyrs bore these indignities, as also the cruel and various deaths which released them from them, with a quiet fortitude and unassuming resolution. 'Let us go and see how 'these Christians behave—they are said not to be afraid to 'die,' was the expression of some of the great officers of the royal household. 'We were near,' was their admission on a subsequent occasion, 'and saw all that took place. But the 'Christians were not afraid, and did not recant.' That firmness, enthusiasm, and unhesitating conviction which religious persecution so seldom fails to call into play appear to have prominently marked all these terrible scenes.

The Tangena was also brought into use. Numbers were sold into slavery, with the further penalty that their slavery was to be irredeemable. To others, reduced to bondage, was annexed the condition that those who bought them should bind themselves by an obligation to keep them to continued labour. Nobles, their wives and children, were brought to the market-place, and sold under both these aggravated forms of slavery. Heavy and painful irons were attached to others, which they continued to wear through life. The property of all criminals reverts to the sovereign; but, in the case of the Christians, their houses, furniture, and cattle were allowed to become the prey of the rabble, thereby bringing into existence a numerous band of spies. The judges were incessantly occupied upon examinations; and the least act or word, the vaguest suspicion, exposed all, from the highest to the lowest, to be dragged before them. The country was scoured in all directions by the instruments of the Queen and the idol-keepers. Domiciliary visits were of daily, often of hourly recurrence; and slaves—usually an affectionate and trusty class of the inhabitants—watched their owners' every movement, and, for the first time, found themselves listened to in a court of justice. Numbers

* The 'bullock-chain' is a peculiar instrument of native torture—just alluded to in the case of Rasalama—by which the hands and feet of the victim are bound in one close knot.

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fled from these all-encompassing dangers to the mountains, or hid themselves in the depths of the native forests, eking out a scanty subsistence until want and exposure put an end to their lives. Others constructed hiding-places in their own houses, and on their own farms; and were there tended and supplied with food by their relatives for years, reappearing long after they had been accounted dead. There are few villages, few farmhouses where, at the present time, the traveller may not hear the awful tale of hairbreadth escapes, or be shown some excavation in the living rock, some dark hole among the cattle-pens which was once a human habitation under these circumstances. Six native Christians made their way, after great hardships and difficulties, to the sea-coast, and were there fortunate enough to attract the notice of a vessel, by which they were received on board and brought to England. A measure of the extent and general nature of these persecutions may be learned from a native account of the small village of Ilafy, to the north of the capital. At their commencement, this village numbered thirty-eight Christian converts. Of these, four were hunted down and put to death, three died in fetters, six were subjected to the Tangena, of whom two died. The remainder continued steadfast to the end of the persecutions.*

In this brief record of firmness and constancy under trial, we may not look for proof of the doctrine, or moral excellency of its recipients—every student of history knows that these are equally characteristic of heathen as of Christian forms of belief. We introduce it as placing beyond a doubt the imperishable hold which Christianity must now take on the native mind. Either the lessons of history are deceptive, or a church thus baptised in fire and blood, whatever may be its future vicissitudes, can never entirely cease from the land.

Through all these terrible years, not their least remarkable characteristic is the absence of any grave or unworthy accusation against the native Christians—praying, and altering the customs of the country are the only charges brought against them. Their character of 'a praying people' appears to have been their chief offence in the eyes of the authorities. 'These 'people would have been good servants † indeed, if it were not 'for their praying,' was the remark forced from one of the

* This village now possesses a church and a European clergyman; and—sufficient commentary on religious persecution—numbers 298 native Christians attending divine worship.

† Servants of the sovereign—subjects.

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judges. 'To change what the ancestors have ordered and 'done, and to pray to the ancestors of the foreigners, not to 'Nampanemerina and Lehidama, and the idols that sanctify 'the twelve kings, and the twelve mountains that are wor-'shipped—whoever changes these observances, I make known 'to all people I will kill, saith Ranavalo,' is the public edict of the monarch. Property entrusted to their keeping was returned, it was admitted, with scrupulous honesty; their private dealings were marked by industry, straightforwardness, and intelligence; and they held themselves aloof from all political or insubordinate movements.

Much, no doubt, of this violence of persecution is to be attributed to the cruel, bigoted, and deeply superstitious mind of the Queen, acted on by the idol-keepers, who beheld their influence rapidly and permanently passing away when the sudden and unexpected death of Radama gave opportunity of striking a vigorous and decisive blow. Not a little of it, however, is to be fairly attributed to the deep-seated traditions of the country, and a fear, never entirely absent, of its passing into the hand of the stranger. We have already made allusion to the close connexion in the native mind between religion and loyalty. The person of the monarch is sacred, and royal descent is deduced from the national idols, or gods, of whom they are supposed to be symbolical. On all solemn occasions, it is the custom to recapitulate this descent, and to claim the high powers and privileges of the sovereign by reason of it. Thus religion has come to sanctify loyalty, and the throne to be regarded as unsafe without it. To adopt any particular form of religion was to pay adoration to the founders of that religion, and to swear fidelity to their present lineal descendant. A follower of the Malagasy form of heathenism was bound by the principles of his religion to yield obedience to the monarch of the country—a convert to Christianity, the religion of the English, was supposed to become a subject of the English sovereign. The missionaries appear to have performed their task far too thoroughly and conscientiously—and, indeed, the native intelligence is far too considerable— to permit of this confusion of spiritual and temporal considerations in those more fully admitted to Christian communion with them. But a narrow-minded and obstinate queen, the hostile idol-keepers, and the mass of the natives still incapable of examining the question for themselves were not in this position. History does indeed repeat itself—and that in widely distant and unexpected portions of the globe; and there can be little doubt that the ruling powers of Madagascar fell into an error not very unlike that of the Jewish high-priests.

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For some years after the departure of the missionaries in 1836, the fires of religious persecution raged with great fury. In 1845, some European traders to the port of Tamatave made complaint that the native laws were being put in force against them; and the governors of Mauritius and Bourbon, on their representation, endeavoured to effect an amicable adjustment. The attempt proving wholly ineffectual, one English and two French men-of-war were despatched to the coast. These landed some forces, burned the small sea-port town, and made an attack on the neighbouring fort. A number of natives were killed and wounded; but, ultimately, the English and French were obliged to retire, leaving thirteen of their number in the hands of the Queen's forces; whose heads, according to national custom, were placed on poles opposite the fort. This disastrous attempt appears to have greatly exasperated Ranavalo. All intercourse with foreigners was strictly interdicted; the export of rice and cattle prohibited—much to the loss of Mauritius, which had hitherto trusted chiefly to the rice-fields and extensive cattle-pastures of Madagascar;—and the traditionary jealousy of Europeans considerably revived. It served, too, to blow into fresh conflagration the smouldering embers of religious persecution, now rendered all the more violent from Christianity exhibiting its influence within the court and the Queen's own family. The Queen's son, then in his seventeenth year, was reported to have undergone the rite of baptism; and Ramonja, a prince holding a high official rank, and nephew of the Queen, made public declaration of his conversion to the new faith. The year 1849 was marked by as relentless a persecution as any which had preceded. On the strong intercession of the Queen's son, Prince Ramonja's life was spared, though he was degraded to the lowest ranks of the army; but on the hereditary nobles and lesser subjects, fines, confiscations, irredeemable slavery, life in chains, and death in various and most cruel forms were imposed with relentless severity. Isolated from the rest of the habitable globe, and strictly confined within its sea-girt limits, the island seemed now entering on a night of heathen darkness and triumphant fanaticism; and intelligence of Christian progress rarely reached England, and then indirectly from Mauritius. Nevertheless, these accounts, generally written by some native convert to a Christian refugee, left no doubt that Christianity was increasing both in numbers and in firm hold over those who had embraced it; and, in 1852, the London Missionary Society, induced by these simple records of suffering, heroism, and unswerving faith, came to the determination of sending a gentleman of experience and ability to

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ascertain more exactly the condition of the native Christians: as, also, whether any hope remained open of influencing the Queen to a more lenient course of policy.

It is thus for the first time we make the acquaintance of Mr. Ellis, in connexion with missionary labour in Madagascar, in his two works which we have placed at the head of this article. Amid no lack of conflicting statement, the Society's selection appears to us a wise one. The task required delicacy, discretion, and no ordinary powers of conciliating; and these the narrative of Mr. Ellis' intercourse with native heathen and Christian enables us to trace in him. Other not unimportant qualifications we shall have occasion to recur to in the course of the second, and, if possible, more interesting, act of modern progress in Madagascar, to which he now conducts us. Here it may be sufficient to state that, while not free from certain severities in his own adoption of the Christian's life,* in the midst of a naturally warm-hearted and not over-rigid people the Independent minister appears to have gained the respect and esteem—not seldom the strong affection—of prince and noble, as of the more simple peasantry among whom his errand bore him. Following in the steps of his Society in their earlier efforts in the island, he has not been slow to perceive the advantages to be derived from exhibiting the truths of Christianity in close connexion with the temporal progress of Christian countries. A knowledge of medicine and the more simple operations of surgery thus opened to him much of native domestic life. His skill in photography proved similarly serviceable, while it has added to the attractions of his books; and he was generally in a position to satisfy the eager inquiries of the more educated with regard to the polity, modern discovery, and social progress of England, 'the happy land' of the Malagasy noble. We should have liked, indeed, to have added more fully to our slender knowledge of Malagasy government and native form of heathenism, but we recognise the difficulties of his position with regard to both those subjects: even when changing events made him the confidential and affectionate adviser of the monarch, he informs us that he forbore all expression of opinion on political matters, save when expressly invited to do so. His first work, too—as the preceding narrative of Messrs. Freeman and Johns—was written under

* Thus, at the banquets of the Malagasy nobles he refused to take wine; and when a spectator of the court dances, hesitated not to declare that the religious denomination of which he was a member did not practise dancing.

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very considerable reserve. The publication of names of native converts, in connexion with Christian progress—the least clue which might lead to the detection of those still practising Christian rites or holding Christian principles (indications are not wanting throughout the work that such had recourse to Mr. Ellis for communion and advice, and even engaged in divine worship with him under these truly dreadful risks), would have drawn destruction upon them from the merciless bigot who then held possession of the throne. But Mr. Ellis became the connecting link between the Christian world and that new and outlying portion of it whose origin we have endeavoured to trace in the preceding pages.

In the summer of 1853, Mr. Ellis arrived at Mauritius; and, by help of a small sailing craft, completed his voyage to Madagascar. The village of Tamatave, overlooking the port, contains some 3,000 inhabitants; but, owing to the extreme fear of foreign invasion already alluded to, the harbour is left uninviting—a condition in which the village takes its share. The inhabitants, desirous of a renewal of trade, were friendly and hospitable, adding strong expressions of hope that Mr. Ellis would obtain permission to proceed to the capital. In about three weeks, his letter containing this request—forwarded in company with a memorial of the Mauritius Chamber of Commerce for a resumption of trade—received its reply through the hands of the native authorities at Tamatave. It was carefully—even courteously—worded, but urged great pressure of public business upon the Queen's hands at the time, and recommended Mr. Ellis to return across the water before sickness should overtake him. Deeming the country thus closed against him, Mr. Ellis reluctantly returned to Mauritius. The few weeks, however, spent in Tamatave were not without their interest and encouragement; nor, notwithstanding the perils of the subject, was information on the progress of Christianity entirely wanting. Indeed, the meeting between native and European Christian, after an estrangement of seventeen years which had left many deep and still bleeding wounds in their course, was at times strange and moving.

'Our frequent intercourse with them' (writes Mr. Ellis, who, on this visit, was accompanied by Mr. Cameron, formerly instructor of mechanical and architectural arts under the first mission) 'was intensely interesting, and sometimes deeply affecting. Much important information was received from them; and our best advice and kindest Christian sympathy appeared to be both welcome and cheering. On one occasion, when one of the friendly natives whom we had expected to see entered the place where we were sitting, after looking earnestly at each of us for a few moments, and almost

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mechanically giving us his hand, there came over his whole countenance such an expression as I had never before witnessed in any human being. It was not ecstasy, it was not terror, and yet an apparent blending of both, marked by an intensity of feeling but rarely seen. During the whole interview, which was long, there was a strong uneasiness mingled with evident satisfaction, which it would be impossible to describe. It would be unsuitable to make any mention of his name or rank; or of the present circumstances of some, or the tragical end, on account of their faith, of others most closely connected with him.' (*Visits to Madagascar*, p. 38.)

This visit was also of service in procuring the native and very beautiful fresh-water plant, known as the *Ouvirandra fenestralis*, or lattice-leaf plant, specimens of which may now be seen at Kew, Chiswick, the Regent's Park, and the Crystal Palace, as well as some very attractive orchids.

For the attack made on the port of Tamatave in 1845, the Queen of Madagascar had demanded an indemnity of 50,000 dollars; and the merchants of Mauritius, on the return of Mr. Ellis to that island, deeming a renewal of trade worth that sum, subscribed the amount among themselves. Mr. Ellis availed himself of this opportunity to renew the attempt in the summer of the following year; though, unfortunately, with no better result. A most severe attack of cholera had broken out in Mauritius previous to his departure, and this circumstance was made use of as reasonable ground for a second refusal of permission to proceed into the interior. It was not until his return to England that this permission—in the form of a voluntary offer from the Malagasy Government—was placed at his disposal; and, acting on it in 1856, Mr. Ellis reached Tamatave in the July of that year—this time unaccompanied—and found instructions awaiting him for his escort to the capital. For the interesting details of a journey of some 300 miles through country of a beautiful and highly romantic character, we must refer the reader to the book itself, our business more properly lying with the history of native Christian progress. It may, however, throw some light on the native disposition toward Christianity to state here that Mr. Ellis's escort, some one hundred of the tall, vigorous, and athletic Betsimarakas, or inhabitants of one of the maritime provinces, exhibited much docility, willingness, and good humour; that each local chief or Government officer received him with considerable hospitality and manifestation of kindliness; and that a strong native interest, having its origin in the earlier Christian movementand the wide-spread desolation and misery caused by the persecution, appeared to pervade all classes, as well as all intermediate districts. Such glimpses of Malagasy

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peasant life as the following are not without their own attractions, while they also bear on our subject:—

'On entering the house in which I was to spend the night, I found myself in a true Malagasy peasant cottage. The inside, not above twenty feet square, was divided by a rush partition into two compartments, or rooms. The first, into which the door opened, was appropriated to a pen for calves and a pen for lambs, in which one was bleating for a long time, and also a pen for ducks and chickens. The inner apartment was working-room, cooking-room, eating-room, sitting-room, and sleeping-room. In this inner apartment, when we entered, the husband was watching a large pot of rice boiling on the fire, and the wife was seated on a mat on the floor before a fragile rustic loom, weaving a fine silk lamba, or scarf, such as are worn by the Hova chiefs on holidays or public occasions. The loom was of most simple materials and primitive construction. Four stakes, of unequal length, fixed upright in the ground, with rods across, composed the framework of the loom. In front of this, the woman sat on the ground. At the distance of six or seven feet were two short sticks, driven into the ground, with a rod stretching across; and over this the woof of silk to be woven was fastened. It is with apparatus so simple and fragile that the beautiful lambas of the Hovas, with their rich colours and elegantly figured patterns, are woven. Silkworms are numerous in some of the provinces, and silk might be produced in great abundance. Although on entering I requested that the woman would not disturb herself, she soon untied the different parts of the loom, rolled up the silk, placed it in a rush basket standing by her side, pulled up the stakes, and, in less than five minutes, no sign of the work in which she had been engaged was to be seen. The bedstead, I found, was a fixture, the parts being driven into the ground. The fire-place was near the foot of the bed, and a small window at the end.

'In the course of the evening, upwards of twenty friends came down from the capital to express their thankfulness and joy at my arrival. Some of them were remarkable-looking men, whose presence would have commanded respect in any intelligent assembly, and whose past history of peril and deliverance was amongst the most remarkable and deeply interesting of any I had ever listened to. They quite filled my little room. Ejaculations of grateful joy at our meeting were all that, for some time, could be uttered, and these were mingled with tears. Many earnest and affectionate inquiries after friends who had formerly resided in the country were made. Many deeply-affecting accounts of events and changes and deaths among themselves were related, and long, indeed, it was before we separated. How much more interesting, and permanently affecting, has the history of a number of these men since become!'

At the end of a month, Antananarivo, the city of a thousand suburbs, as the name in true Eastern hyperbole implies, appeared in view; and three of the Queen's officers—intelligent-looking young men, dressed in European fashion, and speaking

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tolerable English—met Mr. Ellis for the purpose of conducting him to the house set apart for his use. In common with all the inland towns—doubtless for better defence—Antananarivo clothes the top and sides of an elevated ridge some two miles long; and, as the highest point of each village is allotted to its chief personage, so the royal palace, its largest and most lofty building, crowns this Acropolis. This structure is some sixty feet high, well—indeed, admirably—planned for a people so lately entitled to aspire to the rank of civilisation. It is surrounded by a double balcony; and the golden eagle, the emblem of the Hovas, surmounts the whole. The residence of the Queen's son adjoins—a smaller building, but in similar good taste, and also bearing the golden eagle. The house set apart for Mr. Ellis's accommodation was a neat, well-built, two-storey house; the rooms large and lofty, measuring about fourteen feet from floor to ceiling, covered with excellent matting, and furnished with all suitable requisites. Presents of oxen, poultry, eggs, rice, and other articles followed each other in rapid succession—as, previously, had been the custom on the journey to the capital. In the evening, the courtyard was filled by persons desirous of paying visits of congratulation to the new missionary. 'Friends seemed as if they could not keep away, 'but came with anxious and yet joyous look, just to offer a 'brief though fervent welcome, and then depart.'

On the following day, took place Mr. Ellis's first and highly important interview with the Prince Royal, on whom so much of the future of Madagascar was now considered to depend. The Prince, at this period, was twenty-six years of age, and had been for some time married. Small, but well-proportioned, with expressive and highly intelligent features, quick sensibilities, and a manner marked by very considerable natural courtesy, he appears to have strongly prepossessed in his favour all Europeans with whom he came in contact. 'He deports 'himself amazingly well, and on public occasions is dignified 'and self-possessed,' says Lieutenant Oliver.* 'He is not like 'a Malagasy at all, but much more like an English gentleman,' is the character which M. de Lastelle gives of him—probably not without the delicate flattery of his countrymen—to Mr. Ellis. 'Youthful, light-hearted, and fond of fun . . . the 'benevolence and kindness of the Prince appeared innate, and

* Lieutenant Oliver was attached to the Mission sent to convey presents from Her Majesty the Queen to Radama II. in 1862. His work is copiously illustrated with sketches, which give a very lively idea of the persons, scenery, and architecture of the island.

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'was exercised irrespective of colour, rank, or nation,' is the affectionate verdict of Mr. Ellis himself on his future and favourite pupil. With an excellent ear, the young Prince played and sang well; had a ready wit; and in his domestic relations exhibited much natural affection, gentleness, and consideration. But the most distinguishing trait in his character was his sense of the sacredness of human life, and his unconquerable aversion to its destruction:—

'I have often thought that, if not originated, these were matured and confirmed by the shock and revulsion of feeling produced by the waste of life, and the spectacles of bloodshed which must have been made familiar to him during his mother's reign. I believe it was his firm purpose that no human life should be taken by his authority, and that his reign, whatever might be its duration, should be designated by succeeding generations as "the bloodless reign." At least, so he once said to me.' (*Madagascar Revisited.*)

That a strong feeling of attachment to the heir to the throne should pervade all classes of the community was to be expected from the close connexion between loyalty and religion existing in the native mind. Even toward the she-wolf who then held possession of it, sentiments of reverence and submission which a European would regard as due alone to the Supreme and Divine Ruler of all were to be heard from her subjects, whose flesh she tore and whose blood she was spilling like water. But the personal tie existing between his countrymen and the new Radama—for by such title was he already known—appears to have been of a far more close and cordial nature than this. In the cold grey of the morning and the driving mountain mist of the highly elevated Imerina, he was to be seen, cloaked and booted, among his men, superintending those great public works which were to advance his country in the scale of civilisation. As he returned in the evening, the peasant hastened from his field, spade in hand, to lay before him his simple offering of poultry, or the first fruits of his husbandry. Each chief triumph of the housewife's art, whether it might be a jar of honey, or a bale of native undyed silk, or some known favourite of the Prince's taste, was reserved for the Silver Palace; and as he handled or tasted, and pronounced it good, 'they looked at each other with satisfaction, and then 'sat for some time gazing at him without speaking, but with 'evident delight.' National usage imperatively demands that the health of the Sovereign be drank last; after which the feast ends. But at the banquets of the native nobles his name was proposed next in order of honour, and with an enthusiasm which told of a glorious future expected for their country when

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the course of nature should place him on the throne. To the native Christians he had at all times proved a ready friend in their great and sore need, manifesting, in addition to his instinctive hatred of cruelty and bloodshed, an abhorrence of all religious intolerance. When a boy, he is reported to have visited his near relative Prince Ramonja, and to have wept as he beheld his coarse fare, scanty clothing, and meanest drudgery of a private soldier; and when the tempest of religious persecution raged fiercest against lesser subjects, and they fled in crowds to his house, he encouraged them to hope, supplied them with food and money, and favoured their escape from the capital. It is even added that he broke into a council of his mother and her advisers, and pleaded their cause:—'Why should they be put to death? They have done 'nothing but good in the country. If they are to suffer 'because they are Christians, I too am a Christian. If those 'are to die who read the sacred Book and pray, I have done 'this. I too must die.' These acts had drawn upon him the attention of the idol-keepers, and more than once they had urged strong remonstrance upon the Queen. But maternal instinct appears to have been the one soft point in that cruel and unrelenting breast. 'He is only a youth, and he is my 'son,' was reported to have been her reply. We have already stated that, in earlier years, the Prince had permitted himself to be baptised by the native Christians; but his precise religious views at the period of Mr. Ellis's visit were the subject of considerable controversy. It appears beyond a doubt that he had entirely disentangled himself from the superstitions of the native religion, and even that he spoke in open derision of the idols and their power; but evidence is wanting that he had replaced these by the adoption of a purer faith. It was even insinuated that an earlier English instructor had suggested deistical views to him; and it is certain that, at a subsequent period, unhappy differences in Christian forms of belief were pressed upon his notice. So far it may be desirable to speak in anticipation of the Prince's character.

On the present occasion, Mr. Ellis describes him as entering into conversation with him with natural ease and dignity. 'What can we do to promote the prosperity and stability 'of the nation that Madagascar may become like other 'countries?'—appears to have been his leading thought on this, as on several subsequent interviews. 'We conversed,' continues Mr. Ellis, 'a long time on a number of subjects not 'connected with religion, in some of which the Prince was 'deeply interested; and, becoming greatly excited, spoke

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'a degree of earnestness and animation which, considering the 'quietness of his manner during the early part of our inter- 'view, I had scarcely expected.' On a subsequent visit, he came accompanied by his wife, the Princess Rabodo, also of royal blood. In a few days, Mr. Ellis received an intimation that the Queen would accord him a public interview; and, in the courtyard of the palace, the widow of the first Radama held her audience, and accepted from him—not without some appearance of relief and satisfaction—the assurance of friendly intentions toward the Malagasy with which he had been entrusted by the British Government. Ranavalo was, at this period, in her sixty-eighth year; apparently in good health, and not altogether unprepossessing in appearance, her countenance affording no indication of the cruelties which had marked her reign. The whole ceremony, we are assured, was characterised by a becoming dignity and propriety of demeanour in all present.

Attentions from the chief persons of the capital, indicating considerable kindness and delicacy, followed; and the subsequent period of Mr. Ellis's residence at the seat of government appears to have been fully occupied by increasing demands on his photographic skill, by visits to various portions of the city and adjoining country in company with the Prince, and by a succession of pleasant, and, to all appearances, not inelegant hospitalities. Of the Prince himself, Mr. Ellis now writes in terms of unaffected love and friendship, and there is every reason to believe that the feeling was warmly and sincerely returned. We are left in no doubt that, during this period, the English missionary entered into close and confidential intercourse with the native Christians dwelling in and around the metropolis. Many of these had remained from the time of the former Missionaries' sojourn, twenty years before; numbers had since joined their ranks, and not a few were near relatives of the martyrs of 1840 and 1849. The spirit of persecution, however, though it had now slumbered for some years, was by no means dead; and the task, we may well believe, needed the exercise of no small care and discretion.

As the period specified for Mr. Ellis's residence in the country approached its termination, the Prince made efforts to procure its extension, but ineffectually. The Queen was not unmindful of courtesy, but firm; and Mr. Ellis took his reluctant departure—apparently to the great regret of all his friends:—

'The Prince,' he writes, 'was more than usually grave; and we were long engaged in earnest conversation. He spoke much of his

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anxiety for the people, and his distress at events that occurred. He said it was like tearing his heart out. About three o'clock, we rose to depart, when the Prince, with a degree of feeling that almost overcame me, came, and taking my hand, led me out of the house through the crowd of officers and people, to my palanquin. As soon as I was seated, he entered his own, as did also the young noble his companion. Thus accompanied, I commenced my homeward journey.'

In 1857 Mr. Ellis reached England, and made report of his mission.

Neither age, however, nor signs of approaching dissolution appear to have exercised any softening influence on the merciless and inexorable heart of the Queen. The year following Mr. Ellis' departure from the country was marked by as extensive and unrelenting a persecution of the native Christians as any which had gone before. On this occasion, death by stoning was chiefly inflicted; besides which, great numbers were loaded with heavy fetters, which they wore until death released them. During a subsequent visit to the country, Mr. Ellis obtained the chains which a distinguished Christian had thus worn during life, and brought them to England; they were found to weigh over 50 lbs. All testimony concurs in attributing to the Prince great humanity, and numberless acts of direct interposition, during this terrible period. Evidence, when possible, was held back from the Queen, and many fugitives were provided with the means of escape. On this occasion, Ranavalo again recurred to her expedient of calling on the Christians to denounce themselves, but the people, warned by past experience, more sparingly obeyed the summons. Many of the native narratives of this and preceding scenes of Christian persecution—chiefly drawn up by actual sufferers in them—wear a singular charm of simple dignity, honesty, and intelligent unsuspecting faith. They are the accounts of persons who regard these persecutions as temporary and shortsighted impediments to a great and glorious future, and we look in vain in them for an expression of haste, of vindictiveness, or of doubt that the purposes of God are triumphing over the obstructions of man. At the risk of exceeding our limits, we cannot refrain from extracting the concluding portion of one of these narratives, written by a Christian convert when in chains; but who, nevertheless, was unwearied in his exertions to benefit his countrymen both heathen and Christian:—

'After this, false reports about the Christians were brought to the Queen again; and those who had been bound together wit

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in prison were loaded with additional chains, and four were sent to Isifalahy, among the Sacalavas. But we four brethren were kept in chains.

'On account of the numerous ways or kinds of occupation in the land of the Queen, I considered; and I asked God what I should do that I might learn to dispense medicine; and I translated a book about administering medicine, which Dr. Tavel [attached to the earlier missionary staff] left for those whom the Queen sent to learn at Ambodinandahalo. It was in 1852 that I was learning about medicine.

'When, by the help of God, I was able, I bought some medicine; and took it to heal those that were sick. By the blessing of God, many of the sick who came were healed, and also many of the poor who had nothing to pay, to whom I took the medicine in pity. Many were thankful for the medicine of the Europeans; and from my desire, and through the blessing of God, I had strength to visit the sick, such as I found every day, and those I met at noon in the streets of Antinanarivo.*

'The severity was relaxed in 1855; and, in the middle of the month Adaoro of that year, at the ceremony of the circumcision, the heavy chains were taken off us two brothers, and we were able to visit many more who were sick. When Mr. Ellis came in the next year, he brought medicine, and gave some to Ratsimahara and me; and we two agreed to use the medicine. And when there was more than ordinary strong disease which I did not understand, I looked in the book of medicine which Mr. Ellis left with us; and five hundred and thirty-six people among the Christians were healed; and the number of others who were healed we sent to you. And when, by the blessing of God, that medicine was increased, great was the joy of the Prince; and he gave me some little boys, slaves, to assist me in that work of compassion.

'This is the state of the work of the Lord with me, which I make known unto you, beloved brother; and all the friends here visit you. May you live, and have happiness, saith Rainitsoutsoraka and his brother.'†

Mr. Ellis was fortunate enough to obtain an excellent photograph of this truly noble man—whom he designates as 'my 'daily and most pleasant companion'—on the very morning of his departure from the capital. It indicates great simplicity of character, benevolence, and conscientiousness. Preceding portions of the autobiography record evidences of very considerable mechanical and constructive talents in the possession of the writer. He perished in this latest, and probably most

* Prisoners in Madagascar are frequently permitted to leave their place of confinement during the day, and earn a livelihood by work, or, more generally, by begging.

† The account was written and forwarded to a native convert residing in Mauritius.

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severe, ordeal through which his Christian countrymen have passed.

At length, in 1861, tidings reached Europe of the death of the Queen, and the accession of her son to the throne, under the title of Radama II. By nature superstitious, cruel, and pitiless, the idol-keepers had found Ranavalo no unwilling instrument in their persistent efforts to suppress the Christian movement. Nevertheless, strict justice cannot refuse some consideration to the peculiar circumstances in which the Queen found herself placed. The widow of Radama had succeeded to, or at least possessed herself of, a partially consolidated kingdom. Radama had, indeed, overrun the whole island; but his death was the signal for a vigorous effort to throw off the yoke of the Hovas, and the earlier years of the Queen's reign were little more than a succession of merciless and exterminating expeditions into these distant and revolutionary provinces. Messrs. Freeman and Johns, who wrote their narrative in 1840, set down the number of human beings who had fallen up to that period at 100,000, and those brought back to the capital and reduced to slavery at twice as many more. Under these circumstances of a disputed allegiance in more distant provinces, disaffection in the heart of the Hovas stimulated by the adoption of a new form of faith was all the more likely to provoke immediate and unhesitating efforts at repression.

These tidings came accompanied by an invitation from the new King to Mr. Ellis to repeat his visit to Madagascar, and take up his residence at the capital; which was complied with in the summer of 1862.

It is difficult to imagine a course of policy more opposite to the preceding one than that which Mr. Ellis now found in actual practice on landing. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the new Radama entered on the fulfilment of his promise of 'a bloodless reign,' that predominating idea of his mind, in its most large and perfect acceptation. A decent, orderly, and devout congregation awaited the English missionary at the port of Tamatave, prepared to celebrate divine service with absence of all restriction or concealment. Numbers of exiles were met along the way to the capital, now permitted to spend the evening of their lives in security amid its earlier scenes; and the city itself was found peopled by those who had been long regarded, save by their nearest relatives, as having finally succumbed to the violence of persecution. 'It is like coming 'again from the dead,' was the exclamation heard on all sides. 'Some of these,' writes Mr. Ellis, 'I found feeble, wa[illegible]

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'bedridden sufferers. Yet to them and to their friends their 'return was indeed a jubilee; but a jubilee kept with tears, 'and with touching memories of the absent. To some it was 'like coming to their Christian home and friends to die; 'to others it was to live, and to rejoice in the free course of 'the Gospel in their country. Some few of them have never 'regained any amount of robust health, but remain sickly and 'feeble.' No less remarkable a feature of the metropolis was the freedom with which Christian saluted Christian, and spoke on religious matters. The new King he found superintending the building of a school; and sites for six places of public Christian worship, on the scenes of the late persecutions, and to be known as 'the Memorial Churches,' had already been granted.

Other political changes of importance now quickly followed. The ordeal by Tangena was abolished, as also all capital punishment. All confiscations were restored, political offenders pardoned, and the inhabitants of refractory provinces who had been reduced to slavery were permitted to return to their homes; even the bones of those who had died in bondage were remitted to their native districts in order that they might repose in the tombs of their ancestors—a concession of singular value to the Malagasy, which appears to have laid the foundation of a strong feeling of loyalty in those hitherto disaffected provinces: on the occasion of a powerful and warlike tribe coming to the capital to take the oath of allegiance to the new monarch, they made public surrender of their implements of war; but the King returned them to them, requesting that they would keep them for use against his enemies. All restrictions were removed from foreign trade, and import and export duties, hitherto oppressive and vexatious, wholly abolished. Mr. Ellis strongly and frequently objects to this latter innovation, though he nowhere places us in full possession of the grounds of his objections; and, possibly, they had their origin in the religious, rather than in the economic, results of the measure, as calculated to bring the natives into sudden and close contact with an undesirable class of foreign traders. This change appears to be connected in his mind with much succeeding disaster—though that disaster was wholly internal in its origin and progress—and he made it the subject of strong remonstrance with the King. But on this point the new Radama was firm, and his firmness appears to us to have been accompanied by a largeness of view and native penetration not always found in association with better and longer opportunities of observation. He confessed his inability to see

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the necessity of a repeal of the edict—There was now no war, and his object was to perpetuate peace—Customs made things dearer to everybody, and with peace and commerce the country might hope to do without them—He himself needed money for himself, for his family, in order that he might build his new palace (which appears to be incumbent on all new sovereigns), but he could not consent that the price of necessaries should be raised on that account—Besides, he had passed his word that he would take off the duties, and if he now reimposed them both his own people and foreigners would say that he was unstable, that he did not abide by his promise; and they would neither respect nor put confidence in him. Finally, he would consider the subject, though his heart did not tell him he had done wrong. 'I am sorry, very sorry indeed, that my 'giving up the duties should not be thought well of by my 'friends abroad; but, if the country prospers, they will perhaps 'change their opinions.' 'Radama, on this occasion,' adds Mr. Ellis, 'exhibited more decision and firmness than I gave 'him credit for. He spoke with much animation, but with 'perfect self-command and courtesy.' Another change was the abolition of all restrictions on the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors, which had been of extreme rigour during the preceding reign. And here, though the most enthusiastic of free-traders may find some grounds in the actual circumstances of the case for Mr. Ellis's further remonstrances, the reply of the King is not wanting in similar indication of a clear and independent turn of thought. 'There was intoxication in 'my mother's time, when its punishment was death.'

It was under these altered circumstances that Mr. Ellis now, for the second time, took up his residence at Antananarivo. He held no official appointment in the country, and, indeed, as he himself assures us, studiously abstained from all expression of opinion on its national policy, unless when, as in the preceding instances, he received a special invitation from the King to state his views; which he did in the presence of others. Unofficially, he became the intimate friend and companion of the new King; but his public position remained that of agent or representative of the London Missionary Society, in building the several places of public Christian worship, sites for which had already been granted; in distributing the new staff of teachers which the Society now sent out; and in organising a general school system. In addition, the nobles and chief officers of state expressing a strong desire that their sons should participate in those opportunities of education denied to themselves, Mr. Ellis received them for two hours daily

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at his own residence: and writes in very favourable terms of their aptitude and general progress. The King also asked for an hour a day for his own study of English; during which Mr. Ellis read with his royal pupil in some English book, generally the Bible, and conversed on matters of European polity. We deem it thus necessary to enter into explanation of Mr. Ellis's position at the seat of government, in the face of coming disaster. The position was one of difficulty in the midst of conflicting elements—both religious and secular—now beginning to rise into notice when freed from the dire weight of the late Queen's rule; and we repeat that Mr. Ellis appears to us to have filled it with tact, delicacy, and a spirit of usefulness. A man of less reserve, or more unscrupulous freedom of action, might, indeed, have pressed his counsels upon the King with greater persistence, or thrown in his fortunes with him at the close—and it is difficult to repress a sense of regret that the hapless Radama was left friendless at his hour of sorest need—but that course, there can be little doubt, would have embroiled his own government—would have deprived the Society of its strictly spiritual character—and would have fastened on the native heathen mind a still stronger impression of the political tendencies of Christianity.

It is with very considerable difficulty we trace the rise and growth of these new elements. The impediments which lie in the way of disentangling any given fact of native origin are generally admitted by all European residents of the capital; and Mr. Ellis—though not unobservant of affairs around him, and, certainly, of all Europeans, in possession of the greatest facilities for information—is much more at home when dealing with native domestic life and manners than with political intrigues and matters of state. Other accounts—native, French, and Roman Catholic—are certainly tinged with the peculiar interests which influenced the writers. We have designated these new elements as both religious and secular; and it is at least certain that the idol-keepers were not now the only party which looked on with discontent. We have already stated that the sovereign, in actual practice, sought the advice of the great officers of state, who, in time, came to form a recognised council. But, besides these, there was also a royal body-guard, known as the Menamaso, whose duties consisted in protecting the person of the King, in forming his retinue on ceremonious occasions, and even in partaking of his social pleasures and recreations. They were young men, chiefly chosen from the sons of the nobles; but the King could also elevate

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to its ranks any one whose particular qualities caught his fancy, or whose personal appearance promised to add attraction to the corps. The close and intimate royal favour accorded to them rendered them arrogant and overbearing to their less privileged fellow-subjects; and, at all times, they appear to have been an object of jealous suspicion to the rest of the nation. The Menamaso of the new King consisted chiefly of the former companions of his youth, and his genial spirits and love of social amusement appear to have thrown him much into their hands. The chief officers of state and of the household under his mother still continued to hold office under the new Radama, but the Menamaso came gradually to invade their proper function as a council of advice. They sold offices, exercised the chief patronage, and were generally regarded as acquiring an injurious influence over the King. The preparations for the coming coronation of the new monarch—which the period of national mourning for his mother had deferred to close on a twelvemonth after his accession—had prevented any very open expression of discontent; and the coronation itself, held with all the pomp and splendour which the nation could call to its aid, and assisted by the presence of representatives of both the British and French Governments, seemed to revive in its full enthusiasm the earlier popularity of the sovereign.

But other agencies were also at work. The perfect religious toleration which had marked the new reign was all the more distasteful to the idol-keepers, as they could indulge in no hope of changing that ruling instinct of the King's nature; but, indeed, it appears to us that these guardians of the native religion received a serious, if not disabling, blow in the death of Ranavalo. However, they were now by no means idle. Mr. Ellis mentions certain native death-tokens as left at his house; and on one occasion, when reading with the King, he states that his life was placed in extreme peril. A number of idol-keepers and their fanatical followers burst into the room, armed with staves; and, though they retired in obedience to the King, who stood by Mr. Ellis, placing his hand on his shoulder, and waived them off, the more furious of them again returned, and were expelled only by force. They directed their chief efforts, however, to influence the minds of the people. Rumours of visions and voices of the royal ancestors spread through the city, though from no apparent source. Reports of a new and strange disease in the country districts followed; and, presently, the disease itself appeared in the capital. Young persons, chiefly females, exhibited themselves as seized by an involuntary dancing mania, and were to be seen daily dancing

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through the streets, market-places, and other localities of public resort. Chiefly, however, they were attracted toward the palace, the tombs of the royal ancestors, and the buildings for Christian worship now in course of erection. Slaves appeared to be peculiarly liable to the dancing sickness; but, eventually, a number of soldiers, when at drill, broke from the ranks, and exhibited all the symptoms of the strange infection. The King's son, a lad of some ten years of age, appears to have been tampered with. He was seized with fever; and, escaping from his bed and from the precincts of the palace, he exhibited all the symptoms of the dancing mania, declaring that he heard voices from the spirit world, and that the royal ancestors had spoken to him. Among a people whose native religion consisted of little more than superstitious fears and forebodings, these occurrences produced a strong impression; and even extended their influence to the mind of the King. Truth, however, compels us to add that the religious element of the coming catastrophe was not wholly confined to the native form of faith. Some short time previously, a staff of Roman Catholic missionaries, of the Jesuit order, had established itself in the capital; and, from exceedingly small and discouraging beginnings, had come to acquire influence at the palace. Mr. Ellis does not withhold his admiration from the self-sacrifice and devotion of these men to their order; he acknowledges their right to make converts to their own peculiar form of Christianity. But the Independent minister seems to have evinced slight disposition to accord sympathy or co-operation to these followers of Loyola; and, indeed, in the reports of that body—which our critical conscience has obliged us to examine—it is charged against him that 'fanatical and envious 'preacher that he is, he preferred plunging Madagascar into 'barbarism to sharing with Catholics the honour of civilising 'it.'*

* Indeed, it was not until we had consulted these reports, published under the sanction of the Propaganda, that we were aware how much forbearance Mr. Ellis had exercised in the matter. He is there described as 'the man with the long nose,' 'the designing 'plotter,' 'wretched fanatic,' 'the author of the disgraceful revolu-'tion,' 'the evil genius which directs all this disorder,' 'the individual 'whose atrocious conduct I cannot put on paper,' 'who exercised a 'sort of magnetism over the King,' and 'is, at this moment, raising 'the slaves, and urging them to assassinate the French;' we are not sure but he is alluded to as the arch-fiend himself in the following: 'We have a-hand-to-hand fight with the devil, who would fain have 'us flee before his face.' Mr. Ellis did, indeed, stand between

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However, we have already stated our opinion that the revolutionary movement was a political one, though much complicated, in all probability, by religious considerations; and these latter appear to have been chiefly instrumental in imparting to the King that hesitation, bewilderment, and final obstinacy which so fatally heightened the catastrophe. Beyond all doubt, a growing and culminating resentment against the Menamaso, as the evil advisers of the King, was the predominating idea in the public mind; nor was it long without receiving strong proofs of justification. Mr. Ellis will have it that the abolition of the customs duties gave great offence to the nobles and chief officers of state; and, in the case of such of them—a considerable number, we believe—as derived their chief revenues from the collection of those duties, he is probably right. But royal proclamations and changes followed of a far more impolitic character. A certain M. Lambert had been a resident in the capital during the preceding reign, and had strongly ingratiated himself with the Prince Royal, obtaining promises from him to be carried into effect on his accession to the throne. The King now proceeded to ratify these engagements, and they were discovered to be of an extensive and highly unpopular nature. M. Lambert was to organise a French Company, to which certain territorial alienations were to be made; and the Company was further empowered to establish a mint, to search for and appropriate minerals, and to issue a state coinage. It would be difficult to imagine concessions more in opposition to Malagasy prejudices. They abhor the idea of any alienation of the soil. The people were never free from certain fears of French invasion; and the issue of a

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Madagascar and Roman-Catholicism, be it his praise or his reproach —though he certainly appears to us to have done so more by the moral dignity of his position than by the active and unscrupulous interference here attributed to him, and which, we believe, to have had existence only in the suspicions of the writers; but the future alone may decide whether barbarism is to be the alternative. We regret that Mr. Ellis could not co-operate with the Roman Catholic missionaries; but our readers—and, most assuredly, the Roman Catholic missionaries themselves—must see the well-nigh insuperable difficulties which lay in the way. The native convert clung to his Bible when a scrap of printed paper found in his possession brought death—but distributing Bibles is one of the charges here brought against Mr. Ellis; besides which, the performance of public worship in an unknown tongue, and the employment of emblems which could by possibility bear assimilation with idolatry, were contrary to the whole previous training of the Malagasy Christian.

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state coinage was naturally regarded as a usurpation of the functions of their own sovereign. Strong remonstrance was pressed upon the King before affixing his ultimate signature to this agreement. But Radama pleaded his promise; signed the treaty, and M. Lambert sailed for France to organise his new Company.

A more astounding event followed. Hitherto, suits at law were argued before twelve judges, who appear to have exercised the functions of judge and jury together, with a final appeal to the King. The King now announced his intention to issue a proclamation that, after a certain date, all such suits were to be decided by battle, and that, in these judicial combats, it should be lawful for a man to kill his adversary. The announcement, emanating from a monarch hitherto recognised for his humanity, love of progress, and strong personal interest in the welfare of his people, appears to have come like a thunderclap on the land. Mr. Ellis boldly asserts that his royal pupil had lost his senses. From that hour, the Menamaso—to whom the whole was attributed—appear to have been doomed to destruction. On the morning of the day which was to witness the publication of this extraordinary edict at Zoma the great market-place of the capital, there was a meeting at the residence of the Chief Minister; and a long procession of nobles, clad in the graceful native lamba, wended its way, silent and thoughtful, through the streets of the metropolis to the palace, to make a last appeal to the King. Two hours afterwards, it was seen returning, more silent and more thoughtful still. The King had been obdurate; and replied, 'I will not take off my law—'it will do good for my country.' It is even added that the Chief Minister knelt to him before the assembled nobles, but without effect. Then—so ran report—the Chief Minister rose, and calling on the nobles to bear witness to his words, asked the King was it to be war with the Menamaso? to which the King replied, 'Go—arm yourselves!' *

Mr. Ellis's last interview with the King, on this eventful day, is of interest, for the light it throws on some previous matters to which we have alluded:—

'Thinking it right to go to the King again that day, in the hope that some opportunity might occur of speaking a word in favour of

* Such are the words attributed to the King in a native version of the transaction by Rainilairivony, Commander-in-Chief, and brother of the Chief Minister, himself present on the occasion. Mr. Ellis's visits to the palace appear, at this period, to have been wholly restricted to the reading lessons.

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peace, yet not wishing to be out so late as usual, I went at two o'clock, instead of three, in the afternoon. I found the King sitting in a room with two Catholic priests; and, among others who were present, was the man who, as I was afterwards told, was the leader of the party who had laid the death-tokens at my door, and intended to do what those tokens indicated, though I was ignorant of anything of the kind at the time. I asked Radama if he wished to read, and as he answered in the affirmative and rose to go out, I followed him into the room in which we usually read together. There I delivered to him a roll of specimen lithographs of places and scenes in Madagascar which I had that morning received for him from Lieutenant Oliver. As I sat down beside him, and opened the book, the two priests came in and sat down, and as we were about to begin, Père Finaz said, "I have a little business." On which I proposed to retire. The priest remarked that it was only a very short paper which he wished to read. I said to the King, "If it is very short I will stay, otherwise I must go." The priest then drew a pamphlet from under his dress, and began to speak in a very inarticulate and confused manner about something I had said on a former occasion in reference to Father Jouen, pointing to the pamphlet. Interrupting him, I said, "Not now. I have not time to hear or say anything about that now—another day;" and turning to the King, I said, "If your Majesty pleases, I will retire; I have business at home." The priest still urging that it would not be long, the King exclaimed, "He says another time." I then hastily shook hands with the King, bowed to the priests, and left the room, apparently much to their surprise.'

Such was their last meeting. In the meantime, the Ministerial party—Ministerial, of late, only in name—were by no means inactive. On returning to the house of the Chief Minister, they drew up a formal indictment against the Menamaso; and, without separating, passed a resolution of death against the entire body. The army they still possessed, its commander-in-chief being of the Ministerial party, and acting in concert with his brother, the Chief Minister. Their arrangements with regard to the troops appear to have been prompt, vigorous, and highly effective. Before sunset, every approach to the capital was garrisoned, without confusion or disorder. It is estimated that 20,000 soldiers were assembled in and around the city of a thousand suburbs, with scarcely any appearance of movement. So unexpectedly came the whole manœuvre on the Menamaso, that none of them appear to have had the least intimation until the messenger of death, armed with the fatal spear, stood before each. Ten fell on the public thoroughfare—in their houses—at their places of business; and, as they fell, their bodies lay untouched till the shades of night permitted their removal. One barely found

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time to spring upon the back of a swift horse, and escape to the depths of the native forest. Thirty-three fled toward the palace, and were received within its walls by the King, who hastened to the gate to meet them. By evening, the whole of the Menamaso were either dead, virtual prisoners, or hopeless fugitives. Not the least extraordinary part of this purely native movement was the absolute order and security of property which marked the scene of it. No private citizen was interfered with; no private house was entered, the very gardens were not trampled upon. With the morning, the Menamaso who had taken refuge in the palace were demanded of the King. Radama refused—expostulated—and, at length, consented to surrender them on condition that their lives should be spared. Exile in chains was the most lenient commutation of sentence which the King was able to obtain on their behalf from the Ministerial party; and they were led off to Zoma to have their chains affixed. Europeans who witnessed the sad procession were struck by its singularly melancholy aspect. The Menamaso had been stripped of their gay uniforms; incessant rain poured on their bare heads, and streamed down the few garments left to them; and, during the whole way, they lifted not their eyes from the ground. Arrived at Zoma, while their chains were being affixed, the spearmen fell upon them, and in a few moments they ceased to live.

Nor was the revolutionary movement to stop here. At midnight, two nobles presented themselves at the palace, and sought admission to the King. It was replied that he was asleep, and could not be disturbed. They repeated their visit an hour later; with the like result. With early dawn, they again presented themselves, accompanied by a few followers. They effected an entrance—broke into the King's apartment—and dragged him from his bed. The Queen interposed with cries, and promises that their demands would be satisfied—Radama would yield—they could depose him—both would retire from the capital; with difficulty she was forced from the apartment. The young monarch is stated to have met his end with dignity. 'I have never shed human blood,' were the last words uttered by him as the fatal napkin stifled all further speech. His body, by inexorable native usage dealt to criminals, lay unmoved until nightfall. Under the covering of night, it was stolen out of the city, and consigned to earth. With such extreme secrecy were these unhonoured rites conducted as to give occasion to subsequent rumours that Radama still lived.

So perished a ruler whose accession to the throne, but a

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twelvemonth before, was, to his own countrymen, as the sun rising on the dark and terrible night of his mother's cruel reign—an event which Europe had awaited, not without impatience, as the termination to deeds shocking to humanity. With all the causes tending to produce so singular a reverse of fortune, we may, perhaps, never become fully acquainted; but we are forced to regard a wild and unreasoning fear of foreign subjugation—a feeling that, under the new reforms, a European power was growing up in the midst of the land, as lying most largely at the bottom of the movement. No doubt, the extraordinary edict of the King legalising ordeal by battle precipitated matters; but, with the concessions to the French Company, and, more especially, those alienating native territory, the King appears to us to have sealed his doom. M. Lambert had sailed for France to organise his Company, in accordance with the terms of his treaty; and his arrival was now daily expected, in a French man-of-war, on the coast. In the meantime, the name of the late King was removed from the list of native sovereigns which it is customary to recite on all solemn occasions—the new ruler ascended the throne as the immediate successor of Ranavalo—and to assert that Radama still lived, even to repeat his name, was proclaimed a capital offence.

The character of this ill-fated monarch cannot but be accounted singular. The growth to maturity of many noble and highly prepossessing qualities amid the strangely uncongenial atmosphere of his mother's court evinces no ordinary originality and independence of mind. His love of social pleasures made frivolous the latter months of his reign; nor can they be freed from graver charges of folly and dissipation. His natural gaiety and quick sensibilities greatly heightened the effects of wine, and he was easily intoxicated. But his detestation of cruelty, his kindly affection, his freedom from all malice, and his unfailing sympathy with all that ennobles or makes truly great, remained undimmed to the close.

The Crown was now offered by the Ministerial party, without delay, to the Queen; by whom it was accepted. Rabodo was of royal birth, and was, perhaps, the next heir to the throne; but on the present occasion—the first, it is stated, in the history of the country—it was made a condition that she ascended it by the will of the people. Other conditions were also added. Capital punishment was to be again in force, but without the Tangena.* Customs duties were to be resumed;

* Not the least remarkable characteristic of this peculiar native ordeal is the hold which it appears to exercise over the country.

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and a form of trial more nearly approaching that by jury was established. Religious tolerance was to be continued, and foreign commerce encouraged. In accordance with native usage, the Queen adopted the reigning title of Rasoherina; under which name she has since continued to exercise sovereign power.

It was not without considerable anxiety the native Christians witnessed these revolutionary changes. No time, however, appears to have been lost by the Ministerial party in making intimation to the missionaries that the movement would in no way affect their position in the country; and a similar assurance was repeated on the occasion of a public interview with the new sovereign, to which they were invited. In a few weeks, complete confidence returned, and the attendance at the several places of public religious worship resumed its former appearance. Subsequently the Queen accorded a public reception to her Christian subjects; on which occasion, Mr. Ellis estimates that more than 7,000 were in attendance, including several nobles and officers of high rank. Their number and appearance—by no means inconsiderable, if we take into account that little more than a twelvemonth had elapsed since a period was put to a series of most cruel and relentless persecutions—seem to have given rise to some surprise, but no expression of alarm or displeasure was made. In 1865, opportunity was taken of an amended form of the English treaty to introduce a clause guaranteeing full religious liberty to all native Christians. The importance of such a safeguard, thus forming portion of a solemn international treaty, is greater than might at first sight appear; and should a desire for Christian persecution again arise, the traditional native policy would hesitate before breaking with a European Power. The number of native Christians in the capital and its immediate neighbourhood is now estimated at 18,000, distributed among seventy-nine churches, under care of seven English missionaries, and ninety-five native pastors and teachers. There are also twenty schools, including a training school in full working

As a test of guilt or innocence, it is most barbarous and contemptible in the extreme. Nevertheless, though thus excluded from Malagasy courts of justice by royal edict—an exclusion sought to be further confirmed by a distinct article of the subsequent English treaty of 1865—many of the more intelligent and better educated nobles have expressed desire for its re-introduction. This, as well as the unfortunate proclamation of the King legalising ordeal by combat, would seem to point to considerable difficulties in the course of Malagasy justice.

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order, with preparations to enlarge this portion of missionary work. This estimate is comprehended within a radius of twenty miles from the capital, and is exclusive of distant and more scattered fields of Christian labour.

With such brief and necessarily imperfect record, we now take our leave of this most interesting subject. Our readers will have already learned that nowhere, in modern times, has Christianity so fearlessly and so successfully grappled with brutal superstition and heathen fanaticism. But the earlier intercourse of civilisation with barbarism is at all times, and under all circumstances, perilous to the latter; and, during some succeeding years, the course of Malagasy progress must be watched with solicitude. Any considerable relapse from Christianity we regard as unlikely. The people have shown themselves peculiarly fitted for its intelligent and permanent reception, and those fierce storms of religious persecution which might upturn a more weakly growth have only sent its roots deeper into the soil.

ART. IV.—1. *First, Second, and Third Reports of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Organisation and Rules of Trades' Unions and other Associations, together with the Minutes of Evidence.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1867.

2. *Correspondence with Her Majesty's Missions abroad regarding Industrial Questions and Trades' Unions.* 1867.

SINCE the great question of Parliamentary Reform has been relegated, for a season at least, from the platform to the Statute Book, no political or social problem of the day can be compared in gravity and importance, in the magnitude of the interests which it affects, or in the difficulties with which its solution is encompassed, with that of the Trades' Unions. The great extent and minute ramifications of these Associations, the intense force of that *esprit de corps* which is the fountain of their strength, the unbounded pretensions which they assert, and the horrible fidelity with which their mandates are executed, have rendered them an object of anxiety and alarm not only to those who are concerned for the stability of our trading and industrial system, but for all who are interested in maintaining the peace of society and the supremacy of the law. With either the one or the other the uncontrolled predominance of these self-constituted despotisms is at once seen to be incompatible. The State cannot tolerate an *imperium in imp*

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The law cannot admit any jurisdiction but its own to tax, to punish, or coerce the Queen's subjects. And if Free Trade is indeed to be the rule of our commercial policy, we must grapple once more with that spectre of Protection, which reappears in no questionable shape, though backed by allies of a different class and stamp from those who were subdued or silenced in the great controversy of twenty years ago.

From the credit which may be claimed for the present Administration for undertaking to cope with this formidable question we are not disposed to detract by the consideration that such an interposition had plainly become inevitable. The defiance of the law, the impunity of crime and outrage, had culminated to a point which admitted no longer of hesitation or delay. What is more, the action of the Executive had been distinctly invoked on behalf of both parties to the controversy, the masters and the associated workmen. The employers, no less than the general public, appealed to the protection of the law under a state of things in which neither life nor property were secure; while the Unions themselves, indignant, or professing so to be, at finding outrages and crimes laid at their door which they declared to be abhorrent to their rules and principles, loudly demanded inquiry as a means of vindicating their character. From Sheffield itself, the scene of repeated and flagrant acts of violence in which workmen had been the sufferers, from the Unions of that town which, more perhaps than any other, lay under the suspicion of having been concerned in some ferocious deeds, arose the cry for investigation. The voice of the public being thus unanimous, a Commission was determined on. The choice of Commissioners for such a function was a task of some difficulty; but it is due to Mr. Walpole, whose official career closed somewhat unprosperously, to say that in the selection which he made the qualifications requisite to ensure a complete and impartial inquiry were judiciously secured. At the head of the Commission was placed one to whose award any disputants, however rancorous, might be well content to submit their quarrel. The *mitis sapientia* of Sir W. Erle, his practised sagacity and large experience, united with that kindliness of nature which, as it had endeared him throughout his long career to the Bench and Bar, had manifested itself also in a consistent, yet always temperate leaning to the popular side—such qualities and antecedents rendered the ex-Chief Justice an arbitrator whom none could challenge. The Government were fortunate in securing as his associates men of sound and clear views on economical questions like Mr. Merivale and Sir Edmund

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Head: others who had laboured to enlighten and conciliate the working class, as Lords Lichfield and Elcho; Mr. F. Harrison, the able advocate of Trades' Unions in the press, and Mr. T. Hughes, their spokesman in Parliament. These, with a suitable mixture of other elements, including that fearless utterer of hard truths and scourge of popular heresies, Mr. Roebuck, formed, it will hardly be denied, a competent and impartial tribunal.

The Commissioners have taken a considerable amount of Evidence, which they have judiciously printed from time to time, with a view, we suppose, to keep the public mind informed upon the subject, without waiting for the time, which must necessarily be somewhat prolonged, of issuing their Report. Their investigations have hitherto been confined to the operation of one department of industry, which, however, comprehends several distinct branches—the building trade. They have had before them the secretaries and officers of the Unions of the Amalgamated Engineers, the Carpenters and Joiners, the Masons, the Bricklayers, the Plasterers, the House Painters, and other cognate trades; and, on the other hand, the case of the Master Builders has been fully laid before them by some leading members of that body, but especially by the Secretary of the General Builders' Association, Mr. A. Mault, an able and efficient representative of their cause. The inquiry, therefore, which now stands adjourned till November, has, up to this date, traversed but a part of the large field over which it is destined to extend, yet the evidence already taken is so important, and involves so many of those points on which it is necessary that public opinion should be formed, that we believe we shall be doing a service to the community and helping to promote the objects of the Commissioners, if we draw attention, at this early stage, to some of the more prominent facts and features of the case as already elicited from the witnesses examined.

The subject of Trades' Unions has various sides and aspects, and it would be easy to fill a volume without exhausting the field of observation which it presents. It has its historical side, which comprehends the great struggle between Capital on the one hand and Labour striving to gain a lever from combination on the other, with all the interventions which legislation has made into that contest, from the earliest period of organised industry in this country to the present time. It has its legal side, which involves some questions of doubt and obscurity, upon which eminent lawyers have differed, and judicial decisions are not in exact accordance, as regards the

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status, under the common or the statute law, of these Associations. Lastly, it is pregnant with a large range of questions within the province of Political Economy, upon which, indeed, that science, as we interpret it, pronounces no doubtful answers, but which are by no means received without challenge, either by those who profess to recognise the legitimacy of economic principles, or by others who boldly assert that the science of National Wealth is itself but a portion of, and should be subordinated to, a higher social code. From a large portion of the matters included under all these heads of inquiry we are peremptorily debarred by want of space; we shall neither entangle our readers in a legal disquisition which, in the pages of this Review, would be out of place and distasteful, nor shall we plunge them into a discussion of those cardinal principles which regulate capital, wages, and trade. But we shall aim at setting forth in a manner intelligible to the ordinary reader, and without vexing him with dry professional details, the position in which, according to the best judgment we can form, the Trades' Unions as now carried on in this kingdom actually stand before the law; and we shall endeavour, with an equal avoidance of technical specialities, to show what are the true bearing and natural effect of those rules and practices which it is the aim of these combinations to enforce, and with what consequences they are fraught to the workmen themselves, to their employers and to the national interests, according to those principles of public economy which are recognised by the highest authorities, and which have been stamped with the deliberate and recent sanction of the Legislature.

In the first place, however, it is necessary, with as much brevity as possible, to take account of some prominent facts of the case with which we have to deal. And first as to the extent and constitution of these Associations. It appears that almost every trade and industry in the kingdom of any importance has its Union; and this is true, not only of what are termed the skilled trades, but of the unskilled labouring classes also, excluding only the agricultural. The total number of these Associations has been stated to be not less than 2,000. Mr. Mault has given the Commissioners some statistical information as to the proportion of Unionists in the building trade:—

'According to the last census,' he tells them, 'there were in Great Britain 856,472 persons immediately connected with the building trades. Of plumbers, glaziers, and painters, I estimate that 8,000 are connected with the Unions, or about 9¾ per cent. Of brickmakers I estimate that only 2,500 are connected with the Unions, or about 6 per cent. Of labourers and the other trades not mentioned,

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there may be in the aggregate 18,000 connected with the Unions. This estimate gives a total of 90,500 Unionists connected with the building trades, or about 10½ per cent. of the whole number of operatives of all branches connected with the trade.' (*Evid.* 2968.)

It should be remarked, however, that Mr. Mault is here taking the average of the whole kingdom; but there can be no doubt that Unionism is much more concentrated in certain localities than in others, and that in particular districts the proportion of Union to Non-Union men is very different from the above. Thus Mr. J. M'Donald, President of the Glasgow Master Builders' Association, tells the Commissioners that with regard to Glasgow 'there are between 80 and 90 per cent. 'of them connected with the building trade who are members 'of the Unions; and, taking in all departments of trade, there 'are little short of 80 per cent.' Another witness states that the proportion of Unionists in Manchester, in the joiners' trade, is 90 per cent. The same state of things probably exists in other large centres of industry. But even in cases where the Unionists are the minority, it is easy to understand whence they derive a power greatly disproportioned to their numbers. Being asked how it is that the employers *plus* the large majority of Non-Unionists in the building trade are not able to resist the will of the Unionist minority, Mr. Mault answers:—

'I explain it in this way, that 10, or 15, or 20 per cent. (in the case of the plasterers it is considerably more) who are thoroughly united for the attainment of any object are likely to attain it as against the rest who are not united at all, and have no common object, or no common means of pursuing the object, and who, consequently, are really taken in detail.' (*Evid.* 3441.)

With regard to the objects of these Associations it is material to observe that there are two classes of Unions, viz. the Trades' Union pure and simple, which aims only at protecting the supposed interests of the workman as against the employer; and secondly, the Trades' Union which combines that object with the character of a Friendly or Provident Society, and which undertakes to secure to its members certain benefits of allowance in sickness or accident, superannuation in old age, and payments in aid of funeral and other expenses. It may be noticed in passing, that the combination of two such incongruous objects is one of the most dangerous elements of these bodies, so far as their financial soundness is concerned. The same revenue which forms the insurance fund for the sick or disabled workman, is liable to bear the exhausting drain of a strike, and is the purse from which the capitalist is to be fought with his own weapons. It is needless to point out the danger to

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which such a financial 'misjoinder,' as the lawyers would call it, must expose the workman who fondly supposes that in contributing year after year to the funds of the Union, he is making a sure provision against 'a rainy day.' But this is not the worst of the case. The trade rules of the Union, in addition to the risk of causing an exhaustive drain upon the funds, may have the further effect of tainting the Society itself with illegality, and leaving its members without remedy in case of pillage or embezzlement of their property. In the case of *Hornby* v. *Close*, it was decided by the Court of Queen's Bench in January last, that a Trades' Union, which is also a benefit society, but which has among its rules any which in the judgment of the law amount to a 'restraint of trade,' is *ipso facto* deprived of the right of recovering from a defaulting treasurer, to which the members of a benefit society would be entitled under the Friendly Societies' Act. We are free to own that we do not altogether like this indirect mode of punishing the Trades' Unions; nor are we quite satisfied to leave the discretion of deciding what is a 'restraint of trade,' which may chance to be a nice question of Political Economy, to the legal tribunals—but such is the law. But a more serious question still impends over the financial position of these bodies. Independently of all draughts on their resources which a war with their employers may occasion, and of all inroads on their funds which the law may refuse to take notice of, there is reason to believe that, regarding them as benefit societies alone, their financial basis is utterly unsound. Mr. Mault has examined in detail the benefits held out by the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, compared with the means which their rules provide for meeting these liabilities. The benefits offered are thus set forth in their own Circular:—

'The social character of the amalgamation may be described as follows: Tool benefit to any amount of loss, or 5*l.* when a member six months; donation benefit when out of employment for 12 weeks, 10*s.* per week; ditto for 12 weeks, 6*s.* per week; for leaving employment satisfactory to Branch or Executive Council, 15*s.* per week; sick benefit for 26 weeks, 12*s.* per week, or so long as illness continue, 6*s.* per week; accident benefit, 100*l.*; emigration benefit, 6*l.*; superannuation benefit for life, if a member 25 years, 8*s.* per week; superannuation benefit for life, if a member 18 years, 7*s.* per week, and superannuation benefit for life, if a member 12 years, 5*s.* per week; funeral benefit, 12*l.*, or when a member six months, 3*l.* 10*s.*; entrance fee, 7*s.* 6*d.* under 25 years of age, increasing to 25*s.* up to 40 years of age, above which no member can be admitted; contributions 1*s.*

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per week, but members are exempt from contributions when receiving benefits.' (*Evid.* 3687.)

The witness proceeds to say:—

'3691. As I have already stated, though the rules of the Amalgamated Society to which I have been referring, have been "deposited" with Mr. Tidd Pratt under the Act, they have not been "certified" by him, and I need hardly point out how manifestly insufficient a fixed payment of 1*s.* per week, whatever the age, is to secure the benefits specified. It would be utterly insufficient in the most favourable case. Taking for my guide the tables in the appendix to the 12th report of the Registrar-General, I find that a young man aged 20 who pays 2*l.* 12*s.* per annum until he is 50 will be then entitled to an annuity of 11*l.* per annum, or, deducting the ordinary expenses of the management of a friendly society, to one of 9*l.* This Amalgamated Society would give him one of 20*l.* 16*s.*, besides, it may be, benefits to many times that value during the years elapsing between 20 and 50, and besides an inevitable funeral payment of 12*l.* To put it in another way: a young man ought never to lose a tool, never be out of employment, never sick, and pay 2*s.* 4*d.* per week from the time he was 20 to the time he was 50, to secure the superannuation benefit alone. This is of course the most favourable case for the Society, and the insufficiency of the subscription is more and more palpable the older a man is at his entrance. If the unfair method of having an uniform scale of subscription for all ages is to be adhered to, I have no hesitation in saying that its weekly amount should be at least 5*s.* instead of 1*s.*

'3692. The misfortune is that until the time that these superannuation benefits begin to be paid, from the very nature of things the balance in hand belonging to these Trades' Unions will get larger and larger, and consequently the chances are that the Society will get larger and larger; and if there is anything in the calculations of such eminent actuaries as Nieson or Dr. Farr, as published in the Registrar-General's report, I need not point how inevitably these societies must come to ruin, and there is no doubt that the longer they last before that inevitable consummation occurs the more widespread the ruin will be.

'3695. How long do you think it would take to discover the fallacy of these payments?—I should think 30 or 40 years.

'3704. The deficiency you suppose there will be may be made up by a levy, may it not?—I think that in the nature of things it cannot be made up by a levy.

'3705. If the members are wealthy enough it may, may it not?—Is it at all likely that a voluntary society would go on existing when the members who are what you may call the paying members have got to pay five or six times as much as they calculated that they would have to pay, simply for the purpose of fulfilling the promises made to a previous generation of payers?'

The Commissioners were at the pains to examine this critical part of the question more fully, and they tested the

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above statements of Mr. Mault by referring the tables and accounts of two of the societies—the Carpenters and Joiners above referred to, and the Amalgamated Engineers—to two eminent actuaries, Mr. Alexander Glen Finlaison and Mr. Robert Tucker, the actuary to the Pelican Insurance. The evidence of these two gentlemen entirely confirms Mr. Mault's conclusions. The following is an extract from Mr. Tucker's Report to the Commissioners:—

'As regards the various benefits held out by the Society: (1.) To members out of work from causes other than sickness; (2.) upon the loss of trade tools; (3.) emigration (the payments for which under the first head appear to be considerable), there are no means of calculating with any confidence beforehand the contributions necessary to provide such, but whatever those contributions should be, it is certain that no provision for them whatever exists in the present contributions of the members.

'Under these circumstances, and considering that the contribution of 1*s.* per week with the aid of the entrance fees payable, will be found insufficient to satisfy the claims of the members for allowance in sickness and old age, and to provide the sums payable at death, after payment of the expenses of management attending the same, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that if the Society continues to be conducted upon its present footing, although a continued influx of new members may defer the period, the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners Society must ultimately become bankrupt, a result which cannot fail to be attended with very great disappointment and hardship to many of the members.

'The Amalgamated Engineers, &c. Society is so similar to the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners Society—the latter being, I believe, to a great extent a copy of the former—that I have not thought it necessary to submit separate calculations for it, and the above will, I have no doubt, very fairly apply to it. But inasmuch as the Engineers, &c. Society has been longer in existence than the Carpenters Society, it will probably be the first to collapse.'

The financial position of these societies only represents the case of many others; and to those who have entered the Unions in reliance upon the *Provident* side of their prospectus, the financial situation is such as to justify serious alarm. But the motive which impels the trade leaders to conjoin the two objects is obvious enough. The Provident regulations act not only as a bait to attract, but still more forcibly as a tie to retain members in their allegiance. A member may be personally indisposed to join in a strike or other hostile measures of his associates, but expulsion would be the consequence of his dissent, and expulsion means the forfeiture of the insurance. In such circumstances the men naturally say: 'We have paid 'into the Union for so many years; if we go against the

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'Union we shall be struck off the books, and we shall have no 'superannuation; we shall have no sick benefit; in fact we 'shall lose what amounts to the saving of years, and the only 'savings that we have made.' (3685.)

The income of the Unions is derived partly from weekly subscriptions, partly from entrance fees, and it is replenished by fines which are levied upon the members for infractions of rules, and in certain cases upon the masters also. The weekly payments are in many instances as low as 1*s.*, sometimes even less, with a small additional contribution to a benevolent fund. The fines vary according to circumstances. The Amalgamated Engineers impose a fine of 5*s.* for obtaining employment for a non-society man without the consent of the President or officers; 10*s.*, and in some cases 20*s.*, for working piece-work without sharing the surplus profit with the other workmen; and a number of other sums for various offences against the rules. Expulsion, involving the forfeiture of past contributions and future benefits, is the penalty for non-payment of fines. But the most curious part of these penal arrangements is the exaction of heavy fines from such employers as disobey the provisions of the Union code. As much as 40*l.* has been levied and paid as a single fine by a master under terror of heavier pecuniary mulct; and even the expenses and loss of time of the delegates who do the manufacturer the honour of waiting upon him to inform him of the judgment of the self-constituted tribunal, are extorted by the same process. A more complete subjugation of capital to labour cannot be conceived than is exhibited by the submission reluctantly but unresistingly yielded to the mandates of the Union.

The gross income of the Amalgamated Engineers, who are stated to number 33,600 members, to be increasing at the rate of 2,000 to 3,000 a year, and to have no less than 308 branches in the United Kingdom and its dependencies, is stated to be 86,885*l.* The expenditure in 1865 was 49,172*l.*, of which 18,000*l.* was paid to members out of employment. The Society has now an accumulated fund of about 140,000*l.* These are large figures, the Union itself being much the largest of those connected with the building trades; but it must be remembered that it is not by the abstract amount of the income, nor even by the present annual excess of receipts over disbursements, that the financial soundness of a Provident Society is to be judged of, but by a comparison, such as an actuary would make between the assets of the Association on the one hand and the engagements and liabilities undertaken by it on the other.

According to the valuations made by Mr. Tucker for the

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Commissioners, it appeared that in the case of the Society of Carpenters and Joiners, the fund in hand in seven years ending 1866, amounted to 13,052*l.*, whereas in order to equal the liabilities it ought, according to the most favourable assumption, to be about 85,000*l.* In the case of the Society of Engineers the fund in hand in sixteen years ending 1866, amounted to 138,113*l.*, whereas it ought to amount to 472,761*l.*

No further comment is needed on the financial circumstances of these Societies.

The mode of administration is usually as follows. An Union comprises an aggregation more or less numerous of Branches or Lodges. Each Branch has its own Committee, which regulates its affairs, and decides cases according to the rules; a Central or Executive Council, the members of which are periodically elected by the several Branches, exercises the functions of a court of appeal from them or from individual members. In most of the Unions the practice, in case a suspension of labour is contemplated, is stated to be this. The question is first entertained by the Branch Committee immediately concerned in the dispute; from that Committee it is referred to the Executive Council for their consideration; and in the event of their approval it is submitted to the votes of all the individual members of the Union, and if decided upon by a majority the strike takes place. The staff of the Executive Council, the cost of which last year to the Amalgamated Engineers was over 4,000*l.*, usually consists of a President, Vice-President, and other officers—among whom the Secretary holds a prominent position. His tenure of office is usually longer than that of the others. In the last-named Society he holds it for three years, and is capable of re-election. These Secretaries were usually the organs of the Unions in giving evidence to the Commissioners, and there are grounds for believing that they exercise very considerable influence over their respective bodies, being in most instances intelligent men, and no doubt accustomed, to a great extent, to direct the policy which they describe. Let us now try to discern in what that policy consists.

Briefly described, the final end and aim of the Trades' Unions may be said to be, to raise to the highest practical point the rate of wages. The means used for attaining this object are various, and more or less calculated to gain the point; but they all tend in that direction. They are usually embodied in a code of 'Rules,' which form the laws of the Unions; and to these, we are told, the masters have given in many instances a formal assent, though we must take leave to doubt that any employer would voluntarily and *ex animo* subscribe to a set of

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regulations, the necessary effect of which is to limit his power, to reduce his profits, and to take to some extent the conduct of his business out of his own hands. Necessity, and the fear of worse consequences in case he should refuse to conform to the workmen's terms, can alone explain the fact of his submission.

In describing the restrictions which the Unions endeavour to impose on the freedom of contract between employer and workman, we should premise that all the rules we are about to pass under review do not prevail, or at least are not admitted to prevail, throughout all the Associations. Some of the secretaries and officers who appeared before the Commissioners repudiated them to a partial extent: some were more, some less candid, in their admissions; but we are safe in asserting that wherever the Union system is consistently and fully developed, and is true to its own principles, these rules are in operation and are enforced, or liable to be enforced, by agencies to which we shall have occasion to advert hereafter. In Sheffield, indeed, where the reign of the Unions is truly a reign of terror, and the laws by which both masters and workmen are coerced are written in blood, there is not the slightest pretext for denying that these restrictions exist and are enforced to the full extent. The case of Sheffield is, indeed, alleged by the advocates of the Unions to be exceptional, and we trust that in its darkest and most hideous features it may prove to be so, but it is certain that the same principles which are so rampant in that unhappily notorious town are represented, though it may be in a less matured and obtrusive shape, in the codes of almost all the Societies established for a like purpose.

The principal articles of these codes, then, are the following:—

1. The imposition of a certain *minimum* rate, below which wages shall not fall. The employer is not, indeed, precluded, generally speaking, from paying a higher rate than this standard to workmen of superior skill or ability, but he is prohibited from paying a lower rate to any man, although he may judge him to be—and the fact may be so—an inferior hand. And even though the workman may be willing on this account to take less, he is not allowed to do so.

2. The limitation of the hours of labour. Whatever moral or sanitary grounds may be urged in support of this claim (and to the force of these we are by no means insensible), it is clear that when workmen demand a reduction of the hours of work, without a corresponding decrease of pay, it is simply equivalent to asking a higher rate of wages.

3. Prohibition of piece-work. The objections made by several of the witnesses to this mode of working were based on its

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tendency to produce inferior and dishonest workmanship; but the more candid admitted that their dislike was founded on the fact that it formed too great a stimulant to exertion on the part of the men, and opened the eyes of the masters to what men working for their own advantage could do; thus furnishing an inducement to lower the pay of those who worked by time.

4. The interdiction in certain cases of machinery and of methods by which hand labour may be economised.

5. The prohibition of the employment, even to the smallest extent, of any class of workmen in any matter beyond the strict line of their own special division of labour; and, with a similar view, the limitation within each district to the use of materials worked or prepared by the labour of that district.

6. Regulations having for their object to check the zeal and rapidity of workmen who might be inclined to get on too fast with their work, and thus raise the standard of efficiency against their fellows, to the advantage of the employer. '*Sur-tout point de zèle*,' seems to be the principle which has dictated the rule against 'chasing,' i.e. going a-head too fast, in the masons' trade, and other curious restrictions, such as those against carrying too many bricks at a time, walking too fast to their work, the 'walking time' being charged to the employer's account,—and the like.

7. The limitation of the number of apprentices in proportion to the journeymen employed, and a similar restriction on the employment of boys, the rule being fixed, in both cases, not with reference to the efficiency of the labour, but to the supposed interests of the other workmen.

Lastly, The exclusion of Non-union men from working along with, or in lieu of, Unionists. This is a cardinal point with a large number of the Unions, and it goes to the root of the controversy between the advocates of Union principles and their opponents. The latter say: 'Combine if you will among yourselves to keep up the price of your labour, and bind yourselves, if you think it expedient, one to another, to work upon certain terms, or, if they are refused, not at all; but do not seek to coerce others who regard your principles as unjust or suicidal, and who have as good a right to dispose of their labour in the manner they think best as you have to fix the price of yours. Let freedom be the rule, except for those who prefer the yoke of voluntary self-restriction.' 'Nay,' but say the Unionists, 'it is necessary for our purpose not only that we should bind ourselves, but that we should make you act with us. If we are to maintain our cause against the masters, we must fight as one man. He that is not with us is

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'against us. It is useless for us to prescribe terms to our 'employers, unless we make ourselves masters of the situation, 'by getting the entire command of the labour-market. And 'if you, the Non-Unionists, refuse to join us, we will try what 'means we can to make you, by striking against any master 'who keeps a single Non-Union man in his employ; and if that 'is not enough, we have only to say the word, and any work-'man who persists in acting in defiance of us will receive a 'token of our displeasure which may put it out of his power 'ever to earn another day's wages.'

Proof of the existence of these regulations, and illustrations of the manner in which they are carried out, might be furnished to any extent from the Evidence laid before the Commissioners; from the admission of the members of the Unions themselves; from cases adduced and verified by names, dates, and full particulars, on the part of the masters; and, above all, from the Report of the Sub-Commissioners, Mr. Overend and his colleagues, who have reported on the outrages at Sheffield. To the revolting contents of this latter document we shall refer again presently. The difficulty is to cite from the great mass of facts such cases as will most fitly represent the practices in question without exceeding the limits within which we are compelled to restrict ourselves. The particular extracts which we shall give are selected rather because the facts may be stated within a short compass, than because they describe (as they do not) the most flagrant abuses of power on the part of the Trade Societies.

The first cases which we shall select relate to the rules enforced by the Unions against the employment of men who are not members of their body. Mr. Mault states what is a perfectly notorious fact:—

'2971. In the first place, they endeavour to establish a monopoly in labour by limiting the exercise of trade to their own members. The evidence already given here of course has borne that out, but the manner in which it is done varies with different Unions. To take the Plasterers' Union, for example: they have rules in almost all their lodges to this effect (this is taken from the Bradford rules, rule 23): "That no plasterer be allowed to work in any shop more "than six days without giving satisfaction to the shop steward that "he is a member or will join the Society." I have exactly the same rule from many other lodges besides the Bradford one. They extend the operation of this rule not only to men in general, but also to men who are connected with their masters in such a way that under ordinary circumstances one might have thought such a rule would not have been applied to them, even if it had been otherwise a just rule. I have cases from different parts of the country illustrating

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that statement and showing that the Unionists compel even the sons and the brothers of master plasterers who are at work with them to join their Union before they will allow them to proceed.

'2979. The following are the circumstances of a strike on the part of the plasterers employed by Mr. Charles Howroyd, Ashley Street, Bradford. On the 8th January last Mr. Howroyd received the following note by post: "Bradford, January 7th, 1867. Mr. "C. Howroyd. We, the operative plasterers of Bradford, do hereby "give you notice that all your sons that are working as plasterers, "which are above 21 years of age, are requested to join the Society "on or before Saturday next, and failing to do so, all our men will "cease work on Monday morning next, and not return again unless "you pay all the expenses of the strike. We remain yours, The "Operative Plasterers of Bradford." Mr. Howroyd did not comply, and as a consequence all his men struck work on the Monday as intimated in the above note. A week after this, six or seven of the principal masters joined action in a lock-out of their men, which lasted for five weeks, but it failed to alter the determination of the men, and it was withdrawn. The result was Mr. Howroyd was left without plasterers, and the Society finding that this did not compel him to force his sons to join the Society, they then withdrew the labourers from him, so that Mr. Howroyd is now employing both Non-Society plasterers and labourers. That is signed by Charles Howroyd, plasterer, Ashley Street, Bradford.'

'2979. The following is a statement signed by Mr. Benjamin Dixon, a master plasterer, of Horton Lane, Bradford. After the strike at Mr. Howroyd's shop against his sons for not joining the Society, it is intimated that neither sons nor brothers can be allowed to work in any firm unless they become contributing members of the Plasterers' Union. In consequence of Mr. Dixon having two brothers in his establishment, he receives the following communication:—"Bradford, March 30th, 1867. Mr. Dixon,—Dear sir, we "wish to inform you that you have not complied with our request, "therefore we wish you to do so to-night, or all our men will cease "work on Monday morning. P.S.—Please send an answer by "6 o'clock. Jacob Laycock, Chairman." Mr. Dixon, who is under great pressure in the execution of extensive contracts, and only to avoid the loss and inconvenience of a strike, sends back a note in answer, intimating that his brothers shall comply with the demand. The messenger returns to say that his note is not satisfactory, and that he must pay down at once the entrance fee of 10*s.* 6*d.* for each brother or else the threat of a strike will be carried out. He immediately paid the 21*s.* thus demanded.

'2991. Here is a case which occurred on the 1st of March this year. "Mr. Foster—Sir, you have three men in your employ that "do not belong to any Society. I am requested to inform you that "if they do not become members of a Society on or before the 11th "of March next, your shop will be called a black shop, and no "Society man will have leave to work in it. I remain yours re-"spectfully, J. Hayes, Secretary."'

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That notice is sealed with the seal of the Blackpool Lodge of the National Association of House Painters.

Instances of the operation of the rule against the employment of Non-Unionists might be multiplied indefinitely.

Our next extracts illustrate the mode in which an increase of wages is forced upon the employer under pressure. Mr. Mault says:—

'3007. As a specimen of the way in which a purely arbitrary price is placed upon labour I can give you two or three cases in my own knowledge. Here is a case stated in a letter from a Mr. Wood, a contractor at Derby, "March 11th, 1867. Dear Sir, I am building "a church at Rangemore, the contract for which was taken in "autumn of 1865. Masons' wages were 28*s.* per week in summer, "and 26*s.* 6*d.* in winter. After a promise from the masons to exert "themselves during the winter months I agreed not to reduce their "wages, but continue 28*s.* all the winter. See what followed. A "month before the winter quarter expired, they applied for an "advance of 1*s.* 6*d.* per week more, making 29*s.* 6*d.*, and knowing "from past experience how useless it would be not to agree to their "terms, also receiving a guarantee from them that if I gave it, all "would go on comfortable, after a week's consideration I con-"sented, feeling sure that I should not be called upon for any more. "In three weeks after the Masons' Society served me with a notice, "also some printed rules (which I have), requiring me to pay 2*s.* 6*d.* "per week in addition to the 1*s.* 6*d.*, making 32*s.* per week instead "of 28*s.* as I had expected when the contract was taken, and also "threatened to strike if I did not comply. As there was no alter-"native I yielded, and am paying 32*s.* at this time." Of course Mr. Wood gets no additional price for his contract, but just because the men know that in this case it is a time contract, that is to say, that the work must be done at a given time, they are enabled to do what I have read. I have, of course, known hundreds of similar cases. I know a case in particular in which a master commenced to build the town-hall at Congleton with wages of masons at 24*s.*, and by the judicious use of the screw the men got wages up 25 per cent. in the course of about three months; and because he would not then consent to a still further rise, but rather sub-let his work to a master mason of Congleton, the men even then struck against him.'

'3373*a*. To give another instance of the way in which the masons interfere with the masters in the conduct of their business, in many districts they claim to have a voice in the rating of the wages of all men employed. For instance, at Sheffield, this is the rule: "No "waller or builder of stone shall be paid less than 33*s.* per week, "when considered a skilled workman, neither shall an employer or "foreman be allowed individually to judge a man as to his qualifica-"tion. But a meeting shall be called of all the members on the "job, who together with the employer or foreman shall decide the "question. All members known to violate this rule shall be fined

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" at the discretion of the lodge." The same rule applies at Bristol, and the masons there say that it is a general rule of their Society; for Messrs. Beaven and Sons, who are at present building a large hotel at Bristol, where three or four strikes have occurred, have received this notice :—" Operative Masons' Society, St. John's Porter House, " Bristol, December 8th, 1866.—Messrs. Beaven and Sons. Gentle- " men, I am instructed by the Committee to inform you that the " masons who are working in your employ under the current rate of " wages are for the future to have their wages fixed by the foreman " and the men in conjunction with yourselves. That is the rule of " the Masons' Society, and one rule must be adhered to as well as " another. At a general meeting of the masons at Bristol held last " Thursday evening, December the 6th, it was unanimously resolved " that the Committee should communicate with you on the matter, " and the wages of the men to be fixed as above stated. You will " please attend to the above and get the matter settled at once. On " behalf of the Committee, I remain yours, &c., James Wornell, " Secretary." '

The lordly tone of the last communication needs no comment.

The next relates to the employment of apprentices and boys :—

'3201. This is the rule of the Bricklayers' Union in Manchester: " That no employer shall be permitted to have more than one " apprentice at one time except in cases where an apprentice is in " the last year of his servitude, then such employer may have a " second apprentice."

'3204. Here is a case from Lancaster. The employer writes: " William Waterhouse, son of the late W. T. Waterhouse, who was " a near relative to me, was taken from school at the age of 12½ " years, and was engaged as an office boy at *5s.* per week wages. " His father was out of work two or three years, and died about " 18 months ago, leaving a widow and eight young children totally " unprovided for. At the request of Mr. Alderman Brockbank, of " Lancaster, I consented to take William Waterhouse as an ap- " prentice to the trade of a plasterer. He came to me on the 10th " September, 1866, and I kept him in the office the first week. At " the end of the week, on the 16th, I got the enclosed notice from " the men who struck work on the 18th, and the question still " remains as they left it. Some of the men have left the town and " the remainder are in the receipt of 10*s.* per week. For the first " two months they received 15*s.* a-week from the club." This was the notice: " Sir,—This is to give you notice that the boy Water- " house will not be allowed to be bound apprentice to the trade of a " plasterer by the rules of this Society. If bound contrary to the " rules you hold the men will be obliged to cease work on Tuesday " morning 18th September, 1866, and if kept to assist plasterers in " their work it will be contrary to rules also. By order." '

This notice was acted upon.

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Mr. W. Allan, Secretary to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, is asked:—

'927. What is your object in limiting the number of apprentices? —To keep the wages up; no question about it.'

The following are specimens of the edicts issued by the Unions of certain towns against the importation into their limits of work done or material prepared in another district, and also against the use of machinery. Mr. Mault states:—

'3216. As I have said, Trades' Unions endeavour to lay an embargo upon the manufactured goods of each district, and they interpret the word "district" in a very limited sense indeed. The masons, I can say, invariably have a rule against the introduction of worked stone even from neighbouring quarries. Of course that is a very great loss, because, owing partly to the softness of freshly quarried stone it can be far more cheaply worked at the quarry directly it is got than it can be anywhere else; and there is no doubt also that around each quarry there are a set of men who are accustomed to work the stone, and who can work it very much better than masons who are not accustomed to work that particular kind of stone. For instance, if such a rule as I have referred to were in existence in London, the contractor for the Thames embankment, instead of having his granite axed and dressed at Aberdeen by men who have been all their life long employed in axing and dressing granite in the particular way in which it is done, would either have to import Aberdeen granite masons here, or else to pay three or four times what he is now paying to get the work done as well as it is done.'

Messrs. Barnley and Barker, of Lamb Love End, Bradford, write as follows:—

'In August 1861, we had a contract for additions to a mill in Bradford, for Messrs. J. Wade and Sons, manufacturers, in which was a stone staircase of hard Delphstone steps, which the masons are always unwilling to work. To obviate the difficulty, we got the steps worked at the quarry and brought to the place ready for setting, when the Society gave us notice that they would not be allowed to be set unless they were reworked by the Society's men, and to prevent the men from striking and stopping the work, we had to consent to these steps being reworked, thus entailing on us an additional cost of from 5*s.* to 10*s.* per step. Since that time we have frequently had cases where the best men have left our employment rather than work the hard Delphstone, which is always used for staircases, window-heads, sills, &c.'

Mr. Israel Brooks, master mason, of Guide Bridge, near Ashton-under-Lyne, writes:—

'3217. In the month of April 1862, I received a quantity of sawn base (about 20*l.* worth) from Messrs. Williamson and Sons' quarries, Kerridge, near Macclesfield. My men refused to fix it being polished,

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as it was against the rules of their club, and struck work accordingly. After standing out against what I considered this injustice three weeks, I was forced to submit *to have the polished part defaced so that they might polish it again by hand*, and the men declared after all this expense it was not so good as when it came from the quarry.'

On the 16th November, 1866, the Master Builders of Blackburn received a warning from the Operative Carpenters and Joiners against importing machine-made work from other towns into Blackburn. Their letter, which is more courteously worded than usual, concludes in these words:—

'3218. Therefore we kindly request you will abolish the system of importing machine-made work and give the machinists and the public of Blackburn the benefit of the cost of such like work, likewise allaying a grievance which has been fostered amongst our members for some time past. The resolution come to by the meeting was, that at the expiration of one month from the date of that meeting, all members belonging to the Society will cease to fix any machine-made work that may be brought from other towns. Trusting that no objection will be made on your part to the favour we now ask, we beg to remain, Gentlemen, yours most respectfully, The Operative Carpenters and Joiners.'

A Commissioner pertinently asks in reference to these cases:—

'3228. Would not the result of the principle which was asserted in these last cases, if it were carried out, be that every stage of the work, from the roughest to the finest, must be done on the same spot?'

The following is an illustration of the same rule:—

'3436. Messrs. Thomas Bates and Co. are builders and brickmakers in Droylsden, which is four miles from Manchester, and two miles from Ashton-under-Lyne, and has a population of about 9,000. They state, "Our brickyard is situated on the bank of a canal that "runs through the township, and the operative brickmakers of Man- "chester have thought fit to call the canal the boundary line of their "district, and we are forbidden to sell or use any of the bricks over "that line, and it so happens, that the only part of our township "where bricks are likely to be required in our day is on the other "side of this so-called boundary. We have now in stock about "500,000 bricks in addition to a plant worth 300*l.*, which under "existing circumstances is so much dead capital. The whole of "the bricks have been made by Union men, and according to Union "prices, but in the so-called Ashton-under-Lyne district, and they "must be used either there or not at all; consequently we have "been obliged to give up the works and discharge the men."'

Mr. E. Ashworth, of Manchester, gives the Commissioners a number of instances of the arbitrary manner in which the

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Brickmakers' Union carry out their prohibition against the use of machine-made bricks. So remorselessly do they enforce this rule, that he instances the case of seven men, their names being stated, who, for having worked at a brick-machine, are to this day, after the lapse of two years, excluded from employment. The men who carted the bricks have been placed under a similar ban. The Bricklayers' Union, in order to back up the prohibition of the Brickmakers refuse to lay the machine-made bricks. Mr. John Clark, Secretary to the Stockport Bricklayers' Union, gives a candid account of the arrangement:—

'6349. So that the bricklayers being all Trade-Unionists, and the brickmakers also being Trade-Unionists, they agree between themselves that they shall only use the bricks made by Trade-Unionists?—Yes.

'6350. So that if an employer employing Non-Union men were to send bricks among the bricklayers who were Union men, those bricklayers would not use them?—No.

'6351. In point of fact there is an alliance offensive and defensive, that they should confine themselves to laying bricks made by Union men, and to making bricks to be laid by Union men, and the Non-Union men are to be excluded on either side?—Exactly.'

Mr. E. Ashworth is asked respecting the same matter:—

'4368. The only reason of their not using them was to benefit the hand-brickmakers of the district?—Yes, most decidedly.

'4369. Therefore it is protection within a very limited space, protection in its worst form?—Yes, it is "Protect us and we will "protect you."

'4370. But it is in its worst form too, because, if I understand you, those machine-made bricks are better-made bricks than hand-made bricks?—Yes.

'4371. Therefore it compels the public to use the worst article?—Yes, and besides that I have read you from their own rules one which says that they will not allow a moulded brick to any fancy shape. The architect's fertile pencil would have put an immense amount of ornament upon the houses, but these men will not allow it.'

It appears that the Brickmakers also endeavour by their rules to limit the size of the bricks all over the country to one standard (3416). The old Excise rule, which, until it was repealed, acted as a great hardship on the building trade and an obstacle to structural improvements, is now revived in all its force by the Union legislators.

As a sample—one out of a great number—of the manner in which the employer is hampered in the conduct of his business by the dictation of the Union, and the humiliation to which he

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has to submit from their intolerably arrogant tone, we select the following. Mr. Walker is a Master Plasterer at Preston:—

'4064. On the 15th of May, 1865, he received this letter:—"Mr. "Walker. Sir,—I am requested by the Committee of this Society "to inform you that you are breaking the rules of this Society, for "having four apprentices at one time, and you must discharge Cook "or keep your son from the trade. Hoping this notice will be suf- "ficient, yours truly, James Garstang, Secretary, Preston." The next letter is dated 12th June: "Mr. Walker. Sir,—I am in- "structed by the Committee to inform you that the stranger that is "working with Joseph Fisher must pay to the Society the sum of "5*s.*, or cease work immediately. Yours truly, the National Asso- "ciation of Operative Plasterers, Preston." The next is dated August 5th: "Mr. Walker. This is to inform you that you must "stop that labourer, name of Whittle, who has laboured for Blake, "till he pays the sum of 10*s.* to our secretary. Hoping this notice "is sufficient to you. Committee of the Plasterers' Society, Pres- "ton." The next is this: "Black Bull Inn, November 27, 1865. "Mr. Walker. Sir,—This is to inform you that you have to stop "George Horkinson at once, unless you give the Society satisfactory "proof he receives the current rate of wages, besides his lodgings "and travelling expenses, and you will oblige the Committee by an- "swering this note to secretary right away. James Garstang."'

'3454. Mr. William Wildsmith says: "I am a master bricklayer "in Manchester. In November 1866 I had the building of the Bury "railway station, and at that time the building trade was very brisk "in Manchester, and I used every means in my power to get men "from Manchester to do the work (in accordance with the rules of "the Bricklayers' Society), but I could not succeed. I applied to "the men's club for them, but could get no assistance. I there- "fore told my foreman to engage any bricklayer who might "apply for work, provided he belonged to the Bricklayers' Society, "but I specially warned him not to offend the men in this respect. "Eleven men were thus engaged, when on the 17th of November "two delegates from the Bricklayers' Society at Manchester came "upon the job, and informed me that as I was a master bricklayer "from Manchester, I must employ as many men from Manchester "as I did from elsewhere, that is to say, if I employed one man from "Bury (where the work was), I must employ on the same job one "man from Manchester. If I employed six men from Bury, I must "employ six men from Manchester, and if I wanted thirteen men, "seven of them must come from Manchester. In vain I pleaded that "men could not be had from Manchester; these delegates told me "distinctly that if I could not get Manchester men the job must stop "until I could; notwithstanding the job was being pressed for "every day. These two delegates then read to me the laws of their "Society under which they were acting, and *concluded by asking me "for their day's wages, amounting to 7s. each, and 3s. each for first- "class railway fare from Manchester for coming to give me what "they called their orders.* I protested against this demand, when

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" these gentlemen told my foreman (in my presence) that if he com-
" menced working more on that job or any other job for me until I
" had complied with their demands in full, he would do so at his
" peril. Consequently my work was stopped."'

We must give a few instances of the rules against fast working, because they constitute, in our view, one of the most characteristic features, as we shall presently proceed to show, of the Union system. The spirit which dictates this portion of the code is exhibited in the following rule of the Bradford Lodge of the Labourers' Union, and Mr. Mault states is the same as exists in other lodges:—

'You are strictly cautioned not to outstep good rules by doing double the work you are required (by the Society), and causing others to do the same, in order to gain a smile from the master. Such foolhardy and deceitful actions leave a great portion of good members out of employment the year round. Certain individuals have been guilty, who will be expelled if they do not refrain.'

'3121. Where does that come from?—From the Bradford rules. That is the fifth rule of the Bradford Lodge.

'3122. Have you got that in print?—Yes. This is the fifth rule of the Leeds Bricklayers' Labourers Lodge: "Notice. Any brother in " the Union professing to carry any more than the common number, " which is eight bricks, shall be fined 1*s.*, to be paid within one " month, or remain out of benefit until such fine be paid; any mem-" ber knowing the same shall be fined the same sum unless he give " the earliest information to the committee of management."

'3123. What does "knowing the same" mean?—It means to say knowing it of any other man.'

Mr. Mault adds:—

'I should tell the Committee that this "eight bricks" is a ridiculously small number. At Liverpool the rule is twelve bricks. I believe that the usual rule all over the country is ten bricks. In the country that I have worked in,* the bricks I should think are larger and heavier than in any other district, and the rule there is ten bricks.'

The practice which the Unions denounce as one of the deadliest sins against their fraternities is technically known as 'chasing.' Mr. R. Harnott, Secretary to the Friendly Society of Operative Masons, is asked:—

'1145. There is a rule at page 31 that a man shall not work too fast; "chasing" it is there called?—It is considered that by doing so he puts himself to an inconvenience and also to distress; in many cases it is well known to be so.

'1146. That is to say that rule provides that the fastest workman

* Coventry.

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shall be reduced to the rate of the slowest?—Not altogether; there may be a dispute between one man and another, and to get to the end of it one man has sometimes overworked himself in order to distress his fellow-workmen who he is disputing with.

'1147. You judge of the regular rate not according to what he can he do, but what you think he ought to do?—The average.'

The rule against over-doing (as the Unionists consider it) their duty to their employer applies not only to extra-diligence in their work, but to too great promptitude in proceeding to it. Mr. Ashworth states that the Bricklayers' Association at Manchester have, among their other rules, the following:—

'That any man found running, or working beyond a regular speed, or trying to run off or take advantage of their fellow-workmen, is to be fined the sum of 2*s.* 6*d.* for the first offence, for the second offence 5*s.*, and for the third offence 10*s.*, and if persisted in to be dealt with as the Committee thinks proper. Any man working shorthanded, without man for man, will be fined or punished as the Committee think proper.'

They have also a rule that the men shall not walk to their work in the morning faster than three miles an hour (4332).

Mr. Mault further illustrates the practice in this respect:—

'3363. In regard to another point in connexion with the same question they are also very unreasonable in many places—namely, in reference to what is called "walking time." The masters all over the country acknowledge that when a man is asked to walk any distance to his work, that walking forms part of the day's labour, and they are willing to take their share of the payment of it, and consequently the usual regulation in the country (but it is not so in London, for the masters pay no walking time here) is that the men walk one way in their own time and the other way in their master's time. In many places they have turned and twisted this rule very much to the injury of the masters. For instance, they have in many places interpreted it that every person who is employed on any job that is at a distance from the head-quarters of the master shall be allowed walking time *whether he requires it or not.* Here is an actual case, which I may give as an illustration: this is from Messrs. McCann and Everal, contractors, at Malvern, who are contracting to do the masonry for the new County Asylum at Powick. They say, "We have a contract in hand at the County Asylum, at Powick, "where masons were employed who lived or lodged in the neigh- "bourhood. Other masons from Worcester (four miles distant) "applied on the job for work, and were set on; these latter sent "a deputation to us to demand walking time, which, as far as they "were concerned, was conceded, but they then required that the "men who were living near the work should have walking time "also; that is, that they should not commence work until the "Worcester men arrived. This we felt we could not grant, and we "were soon informed that if we did not yield to this demand all the

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" masons on our several works would be withdrawn. This has been " done, and the works have now been at a standstill for more than a " fortnight." '

Mr. G. Smith, of the firm of Smith and Taylor, the contractors for building the new Foreign Office, describes the effect of the Union rules in lowering the efficiency of labour :—

'2827. Have you ever been inconvenienced by the bad work or the slow work of Unionists ?—By their slow work, certainly. In fact, now it is extremely difficult to fix any prices for labour in estimating a contract. I should perhaps say in explanation that in taking a contract we fix the prices which we suppose to be cost prices, and at the end we put what we conceive ought to be our profit, and therefore if wages have risen 15 per cent. in a year, the putting 15 per cent. upon the labour of that contract (that labour being always taken out separately) ought to represent the fair value of the work, but we find that it does not do that, because there is less work done in a day than there used to be, and that to a very great extent.'

Mr. G. F. Trollope testifies to the same effect :—

'2920. Have you found that since the general establishment of Unions there has been a less amount of work done in a given time ? —I cannot speak to that, because they say that the Unions had begun to be established before my time, but I mean to say that it has been growing worse and worse. I have sometimes said to some of my men who were at work in the joiners' shop, "Now come, do you mean to say that that is a fair day's work?" And the answer has been, "Well, sir, it is not, but I am not allowed to beat my mates." That means, "I am not allowed to do more than others." I said to a young man from the country some months ago, who was walking along the street going to his work, "Where are you going ?" "Oh, I am going to Mr. So-and-so's to work." That was about 2 o'clock in the day. I said, "At what time do you expect to get there ?" He said, "I do not know, sir." I said, "At the pace you are going at you will get there about when it is time to leave off." He came to me afterwards and said, "Sir, I am very sorry to say it, but we are not allowed to sweat ourselves if we are walking *in your time.*" '

'2921. Are we to infer from that that there is a restriction as to the pace at which the men are to walk ?—There is a sort of understanding between them that they are not to walk too fast. Their theory is this (and a most absurd theory it is), that if there is work for three to be done, and they can somehow scheme it that four men shall be employed, they are doing their cause a service, and then they tell us, "If it is on day work it does not matter a pin to you— " the public have to pay for it, and you can put your profit on the " wages. If it is a contract we can understand how you may lose, " but if it is not, what is the difference to you?" '

We come now to the procedure by which the Unions enforce

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submission to the laws above described, or punish those who infringe them. Their penal code is one of great severity, and includes a series of penalties to be levied on property or person, ranging from a small pecuniary fine to the *ne plus ultra* of bodily violence. The employer who offends against the rules of the Society is punished by the infliction of a fine, sometimes not insignificant in amount; by a Strike, often so timed as to disable him from fulfilling an important contract, and to inflict upon him a serious, if not ruinous, loss; by malicious injuries to his manufacture, materials, or stock; by 'shelving' his works, that is to say, placing them under a ban, interdicting all Unionists from working there, and keeping off Non-Unionists by 'picqueting;' and lastly, in the extreme case, by personal violence.—(4052). Upon the recusant workman the arm of the Trades' Union falls even more heavily, since his offence is deemed to combine disobedience to the rules with treachery to the common cause. Default in payment of contributions or of fines, which are levied for a great variety of small breaches of the laws, is visited with that process of 'rattening,' with which the inquiry at Sheffield has made us familiar. The wheelbands, tools, or other materials of a workman are taken, and held in pledge until he has satisfied the Society by payment of his arrears, or by submitting to the rules which he has infringed. If the person 'rattened' continues refractory, he commonly receives an anonymous letter warning him of the consequences of his obstinacy. If this warning is disregarded, recourse is had to acts of outrage.

It is difficult to realise the fact that in a country in which the external face of things wears the semblance of tranquillity and order, where respect for the law is supposed to be a feature of the national character, and where the value attached to human life is manifested sometimes almost in a morbid degree, there exists, and has existed for many years, a power above the law—secret, arbitrary, irresponsible—exercising a despotic control over the wills and consciences, and wreaking its vengeance with absolute impunity upon the lives and limbs of those who, through fear or infatuation, have submitted themselves to its dominion. We had supposed that tyranny in all its forms, but especially when it works through the agency of secret tribunals, was peculiarly odious to the English character. Had a foreign observer on our manners and customs ventured to assert that in certain parts of England an assassin could be hired for a few pounds, and that the law of the land was so weak, and sympathy with the criminal so strong, as to make the murderer and those who hired him secure of escaping detection, we should

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have repelled the imputation as a foul libel upon our countrymen. Yet we now know, on the clearest evidence, that in Sheffield at least, and we hardly dare to hope in that town alone,* the power of the Trades' Unions defies and tramples on the law, that their funds are expended in the payment of blood-money, and that their agents, for the premium of a few pounds, do not scruple to waylay, beat, shoot, or blow into the air those who have infringed the edicts of these self-erected oligarchies. No more shameful page sullies the social history of our time than that which contains the report of the Commissioners deputed to conduct the investigation at Sheffield. It sets forth, in plain unvarnished terms, a series of acts of violence, cruelty, and wickedness which make the ordinary crimes brought up for judgment in our Courts appear slight and venial. The recitals of these atrocities, extracted from the lips of the wretches who were concerned in them, in some cases with all the signs of agonising remorse or horror, in others with the impassive coolness of hardened villany, are fresh in the memory of the public. It is only necessary to complete our exposition of the system that we should select two or three cases reported by the Commissioners, confining ourselves, as they have done, to a dry legal summary of the facts:—

1. 'James Linley, who formerly had been a scissor grinder, had shortly before this period become a saw grinder, and kept a number of apprentices, in defiance of the rules of the Saw Grinders' Union.

'He was shot by Samuel Crookes with an air-gun on November 12th, 1857, at the instigation of Broadhead, in a house in Nursery Street, and was slightly wounded.

'James Linley was lodging with his brother-in-law Samuel Poole, a butcher, whose wife and family were living in the same house. Crookes, at the instigation of Broadhead, threw into Poole's house a can of gunpowder, which exploded and did some damage to the shop, but hurt no one.

'Crookes and Hallam tracked Linley from house to house nearly every day for five or six weeks, intending to shoot him. On the 1st August they found him sitting in a public-house in Scotland Street, in a room full of people, the windows of which opened into a back yard, and from that yard Crookes shot Linley with an air-gun. The shot struck him on the side of the head, and he died from the effects

* Whilst we write another inquiry by Sub-Commissioners is proceeding at Manchester, and discloses practices almost, if not quite, as heinous as those at Sheffield. Destruction of property, savage personal assaults, hamstringing of horses, and throwing of explosive substances into houses, are the means employed to enforce the orders, or to wreak the vengeance, of the Unions.

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of the injury in the following February. Crookes and Hallam were hired by Broadhead to shoot Linley.'

2. 'Christopher Rotherham had been a sickle manufacturer for nearly fifty years, at Dronfield, five miles from Sheffield. Shortly before 1860 his men refused to pay to the Union, and he thereupon received several threatening letters to the effect that his premises would be blown up if he did not compel them.

'About the year 1860 his boiler was blown up, and shortly after a can of gunpowder was thrown, at night, into a house belonging to him at Troway (inhabited by two of his nephews, who worked for him, and were not members of the Union), and exploded. No one was hurt, but great damage was done to the house. He has had at different times nine pairs of bellows cut, twelve bands cut to pieces, and his anvils thrown into his dam.

In 1865 a two-gallon bottle, filled with gunpowder, with a lighted fuse attached, was placed in the night-time in his warehouse. The fire of the fuse from some cause became extinguished before it reached the powder. Adjoining the warehouse were sleeping rooms, which, at the time the bottle was placed in the warehouse, were occupied by a mother, three sons, and a daughter. This, he said, "beat him," and he forced his men to join the Union, adding, that since that time "they had been as quiet as bees."

'George Castles, the secretary of the Sickle and Reaping Hook Grinders' Association, told us that in the September of last year he saw a cash-book of the Union, containing entries of payments made at the time some of these outrages occurred, burnt in the Committee-room, and also that leaves had been torn out of other books of the Union which might have implicated the Union.

'We have to report that these outrages were promoted and encouraged by the Sickle and Grinders' Union.'

3. 'George Wastnidge, one of the above-named Non-Union men, lived in Acorn Street, with his wife, child, and a lodger named Bridget O'Rourke. Wastnidge, his wife, and child, slept in the garret, and Mrs. O'Rourke in the chamber below fronting the street. About 1 o'clock in the morning of the 23rd November, a can of gunpowder was thrown through the chamber window. Mrs. Wastnidge hearing a noise, ran down into Mrs. O'Rourke's room and found her holding in her hand a parcel emitting sparks. She seized it in order to throw it through the window, and it exploded in her hands, setting fire to her night dress and seriously injuring her. She ran upstairs, her husband stripped off her burning clothes, and in her fear she threw herself through the garret window into the street. Wastnidge dropped his little boy to persons who were below in the street, and by means of a ladder which was brought escaped from the house. Mrs. O'Rourke was found in the cellar shockingly burnt.

'Mrs. Wastnidge was taken to the infirmary in a state of insensibility, where she remained five or six weeks. She has not recovered from the injuries she received. Mrs. O'Rourke was also taken to the infirmary, where she died a fortnight after. A person of the name of Thompson was tried at York, at the spring assizes, 1862, [illegible] murder of Mrs. O'Rourke, and was acquitted.

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'Robert Renshaw confessed before us that he threw the can of gunpowder into Wastnidge's house, and that he was hired to do so on the promise of 6*l.* by William Bayles and Samuel Cutler, both members of the Fender Grinders' Union, and he stated that it was done because Wastnidge was not right with the trade.

'James Robertson, now secretary, and at that time acting secretary of the Fender Grinders' Union, stated that he paid to William Bayles 6*l.* which he had received from Kenworthy, the then Secretary of the Union, and that he had falsified the books of the Union in order that that payment should not be discovered.

'We report that all the above outrages were promoted and encouraged by the Fender Grinders' Union.'

The above cases are scarcely distinguishable in atrocity from many others reported by the Commissioners. Most of the outrages which they investigated had been brought before the magistrates, but although in several cases large rewards had been offered for the detection of the perpetrators, they remained with one or two exceptions undiscovered until the Commissioners, being empowered to grant certificates of indemnity to those who should make a full and fair disclosure of their guilt, were enabled to extract the truth. It is not indeed without some regret that we contemplate the escape from their well-merited doom of miscreants like Broadhead, the secretary and master spirit of the Sawgrinders' Union, a man stained with the blood of many murders effected or attempted, and dead to every sentiment of humanity or remorse—still we cannot doubt that the full disclosure obtained of the infernal system of cruelty and terrorism of which these men were the instruments, was well worth the price paid for it in their impunity. The whole truth is now before the world; the secrets of that mysterious tribunal which disposed by its absolute decrees of the lives and properties of the Queen's subjects, have been brought to light, and the public may now judge for themselves to what frightful extremities the selfish and exclusive principles of these Associations lead when carried to their full extent, without any restriction of law or of public opinion. They may judge also how mild are the restraints which a legal government imposes when compared with the intolerable yoke of a self-constituted despotism. Of the demoralising influence of these trade conspiracies no stronger proof can be adduced than the sympathy evinced by the Sheffield Unionists for Broadhead and his accomplices, notwithstanding the damning evidence of their guilt, which has amazed and horrified the minds of all right-thinking persons in the kingdom, and against which even the members of Unions in other towns have felt it due to themselves to record their

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indignant protest. Shocking it is that such atrocities should be committed, more shocking still that Englishmen should be found hardy enough to extenuate the crime, or to sympathise with the perpetrators.

Having now taken such a brief review as the limitations of our space will permit of the organisation, principles, and practical operation of the Unions, we proceed to consider in what light these Associations ought to be viewed in relation to those laws of Political Economy which, so long as this nation is under the governance of an enlightened public opinion, no body of men in this country can hope to be permitted to contravene. To the authority of those laws the most favoured and influential classes, the strongest interests, the most powerful combinations, have been forced one by one to succumb, and it would be idle to conceive that the Trades' Unions, formidable as their strength may appear, will be tolerated by the community, in so far as their rules and practices may be proved to interfere with the free action of those principles on which depend the progress and well-being of society. But upon this subject there appears to us to ~~be a~~ disposition in some quarters to rush upon conclusions, prompted in some degree by a not unnatural indignation or alarm, but which will not bear the test of a calm and rational discrimination. It is hastily assumed by one class of writers that combinations of workmen bound to each other by rules which restrict under certain self-imposed conditions the sale of their labour, must needs be at variance with the fundamental axioms of Political Economy as being opposed to Free Trade. Such a position appears to us to be untenable, since it overlooks a distinction of great importance, the distinction between freedom of exchange in the products of labour and unrestricted competition in labour itself. Our own recent legislation fully illustrates this distinction. After a controversy which exhausted all the arguments derived both from theory and experience, the ruling opinion of the nation became convinced that the exercise of the power of buying and selling commodities according to the dictates of individual self-interest alone, was the mode by which the wealth of the country and the interests of all classes in it were most effectually advanced. Experience has amply confirmed the truth of this axiom, and those who were once foremost in impugning it, some with honourable candour, others with silent acquiescence, have conceded the point. The principle of freedom of exchange reigns paramount and unchallenged. But concurrently with the statutes which have given effect to Free Trade, the Legislature has sanctioned and is still engaged in

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carrying out to a farther extent, restrictions upon freedom of labour. Is there any contradiction in this policy? Is Parliament in effect upholding the cause of truth and freedom with one hand, and smiting it down with the other? It is true that the successive Acts for restricting labour in factories, now about to be extended also to agriculture, were from the beginning stoutly opposed by many political economists as antagonistic to their principles; but it is certain, on the other hand, that these persons failed to convince the nation which assented to their doctrines in regard to free exchanges, that the same doctrines were applicable to the employment of women and children, without limit of time or check of official inspection, in mines and factories. It was not, indeed, so much any process of scientific deduction, as the impulse of humanity which brought the mind of the nation to a conviction of the essential difference between the two cases. When the maxims of supply and demand are sought to be pushed beyond their legitimate province,

'Sensus moresque repugnant,
Atque ipsa utilitas, justi prope mater et æqui.'

The instincts of humanity and the logic of facts carried the Factory Acts, which have in this very Session undergone a farther extension. No writer that we have seen has stated the distinction to which we are now referring more clearly than the Duke of Argyll, who, while he strenuously upholds the doctrine of free exchange of commodities, points out what are those principles and motives of human nature which inevitably tend, unless legal restriction be interposed, to produce a competition of labour destructive to health, morality, and the higher interests of society. It is, indeed, a misapplication of the term 'freedom' to apply it to the industry of children, who, incapable of exercising any volition of their own, are bound over to their taskmasters in the factory or the field by the cupidity or selfishness of their parents. To a great proportion of female labour similar considerations apply. It is not free competition, but authority or coercion which drives a large number of women into the labour-market. And with regard to those of the other sex, who being *sui juris* are willing and free competitors for labour, it needs only a little consideration to see how liable they are under the pressure of competition to perpetrate the sacrifice of their own highest interests.

'In all that wide circle of operations (says the Duke of Argyll) which have for their immediate object the getting of wealth, there is a sagacity and a cunning in the instincts of labour and in the love

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of gain, compared with which all legislative wisdom is ignorance and folly. But the instincts of labour, having for their conscious purpose the acquisition of wealth, are instincts which, under the stimulus and pressure of modern society, are blind to all other results whatever. They over-ride even the love of life; they silence even the fear of death. Trades in which the labourers never reach beyond middle life—trades in which the labour is uniformly fatal within a few years—trades in which those who follow them are liable to loathsome and torturing disease—all are filled by the enlistment of an unfailing series of recruits. If, therefore, there be some things desirable or needful for a community other than the acquisition of wealth—if mental ignorance and physical degeneracy be evils dangerous to social and political prosperity, then these results cannot and must not be trusted to the instincts of individual men. And why? Because the few motives which bear upon them, and which consequently determine their conduct, have become almost as imperious as the motives which determine the conduct of the lower animals.' (*The Reign of Law*, p. 396.)

If then some interposition be necessary to save those who are enslaved either to the cupidity of others or to their own reckless thirst of gain, from the consequences of such excess—if it be necessary for the good of all that some check should be placed on the freedom of individuals who would madly sacrifice their own interests, and those of others also, in a blind pursuit of selfish advantage—then may the Legislature, as representing the national will, interpose to restrict the competition of labour within the limits which the paramount interests of the community prescribe. In so doing it commits no invasion of the true province of Political Economy. That science proceeds on the assumption that the principles of human nature and the circumstances of man's external situation are so adjusted, that to leave free scope to the natural impulses of men is the surest way to bring about the general advancement of wealth and social improvement. In regard to the exchange of products, experience fully confirms this assumption. But in regard to the operations of labour, the same ground fails. The principles of human nature left unchecked do *not*, as has been just exemplified, tend to promote the well-being of all—nay, not even of the individual. There is in the heart of man a remorseless greed which is at once anti-social and suicidal. The effect of leaving it to its own unfettered indulgence is to produce, as we have seen, the most frightful moral evils—evils to which the nation, though governed as it now is by Political Economy, has been driven to apply a legislative check. The assent to the policy of these checks, resisted at first, has become as general as is the assent to the policy of free exchanges. We proceed another step. If the will of the nation

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expressed in coercive statutes may, without infringing sound economic laws, step in to restrict the competition of the labour-market, why may not voluntary combination do the same? If Parliament, in the interest of the workmen, is competent to limit the hours of labour in a factory, why not the workmen for themselves? We are now arguing the case merely as against those who condemn Trades' Unions, root and branch, on the specific ground that they involve, *ipso facto*, a violation of economic principles. That, as Unions are actually conducted, a large portion of their regulations and practices do so in the highest degree, we shall presently proceed to show. What we dispute is, that Free Trade is violated whenever men agree together not to work except upon certain specified terms of remuneration. Such agreement may conduce to very desirable moral and physical results; it may be carried out without derogating at all from any sound canon of Political Economy.

Our own legislation, since the year 1825, correctly draws the line at this point. The statute 6 George IV. cap. 129 expressly exempts from punishment, whether under its own provisions or the common law, workmen who meet or agree together for the purpose of determining the rate of wages or the hours of labour. In the late case of the journeymen tailors of London, Mr. Baron Bramwell, while forcibly insisting on the illegality of coercing, molesting, or annoying other men in the exercise of their right of disposing of their own labour, lays it down at the same time, that a combination to raise wages, even though it proceeds to the sometimes inevitable climax of a Strike, is not contrary to the law of England, so long as it is conducted without breach of the peace, or obstruction to, or interference with, other persons. This, which is the law of England, is substantially the law at the present time of the most enlightened countries of Europe, France, Belgium, and Prussia, countries in which the laws against industrial combinations had till within a very recent time prevailed in full rigour, but which now, under a more liberal commercial regimen, have relaxed those prohibitions; and while retaining severe penalties against intimidation or injury to property or person, have conceded to the workmen the right of peaceable association for the purpose of securing a due remuneration for their labour. A full account of the successive changes and present state of the law in these countries, will be found in the Correspondence with her Majesty's Missions abroad relative to this subject which has been recently laid before Parliament.

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The moral right of workmen to combine for the purpose of maintaining the rate of wages is based upon this ground. Every workman has a right to put a price upon his own labour; but the isolated labourer is at a disadvantage in contracting with the capitalist. He is individually weak. Circumstances may limit the field for his labour to a small number of employers—perhaps to one. It can rarely happen that any individual workman is a necessity to the master; it may often happen that an individual master is necessary to the man. The man cannot afford to wait—the capitalist has a reserve to fall back upon. Suspension may be to him a serious pecuniary loss—to the workman it is life or death. Capital is power: he who holds the purse has many forces on his side; but an empty sack cannot stand upright. 'Men are beginning to understand,' says one of the Union witnesses, 'that if 'they have not a good organisation, and a fund at their back, 'they may apply to their masters in vain to advance their 'wages.' (1367.) It would be unjust to say that masters *never* voluntarily raise the wages from a pure sense of equity and fairness towards their men; but it must be admitted, that as human nature is constituted, some pressure may often be needed to induce the capitalist to part with a larger portion of that profit which is to be shared between himself and his workmen. The competition of masters does indeed, in an active state of trade, naturally tend to raise the rate of wages; but as an ordinary rule it is true, as Adam Smith has said, that there is 'a tacit but constant and uniform combination of 'masters not to raise the wages of labour above their actual 'rate.' Their interest naturally dictates such a course. If, then, the masters combine, is there not an occasion for combination among the men? There is no dispute among Economists as to the law which regulates the payment for labour. It is determined by the proportion between the circulating capital which forms the 'wages fund,' and the number of labourers seeking employment; in brief, by the law of demand and supply. But the question remains, how is this law to be *enforced* on the part of the workman against the capitalist? Laws are of no avail unless means are provided for their execution. Unless the men can go to the master in a body with a reserve fund at their back, and say, '*Idem trecenti juravimus*—the 'rate of profit which you are reaping has become such as to 'exceed the fair return for your capital, and to entitle us to a 'larger participation in the produce; the workmen in other 'districts similarly circumstanced are receiving the higher 'wages that we ask for; concede this addition, or we shall

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'decline to work for you'—unless, we say, they can do this, the employer is master of the situation. It is easy enough to put off or discharge individual malcontents; but the apprehension of a 'Strike' brings him to terms.

As a matter of fact, there can, we think, be no doubt that the effect of the Union system, regarded in reference to its action upon the rate of wages, has operated to enhance that rate. There is a great weight of evidence pointing to this conclusion, especially in regard to the building trades, in which the advance has for some years been continuous and large. In other trades and manufactures also the tendency has been the same. Had there been no Unions, it is probable that the general prosperity of the country, to say nothing of the decreased value of the precious metals, would have brought about a rise; but we doubt whether it would have been so speedy, or so general, as it has in fact proved. But the legitimate action of the Unions, whereby they simply enforce the law of the market, is one thing; the illegal and extortionate action to which in many cases they resort in order to strain that law to their own advantage, is another. A 'Strike,' no doubt, is a great calamity, but it is the *ultima ratio* between masters and men; and if the power to combine for increased wages be conceded to the men, it seems to follow that the right to suspend working when their demand is refused, must be conceded also. It then becomes a fair contest between capitalist and labourer: the Strike will test the question whether demand or supply be really in excess. But instead of suffering that issue to be fairly tried, the Unionists in fact arm themselves with another weapon, which destroys all equality between the contending forces. The real question being, whether the masters can get other labour in the market on the terms which their own workmen refuse to take, the men, in defiance of law and justice, prevent by the strong hand other labour from offering itself. They exclude the action of demand and supply by forcibly shutting off supply. They fling the sword of force and violence into the scale, and admit by so doing the injustice of their demand. This they do by the abominable practice of 'Picqueting.' With the action of this system the public are familiar, as it has been exhibited, though by no means in its harshest form, in the recent instance of the London tailors. As it is frequently carried out, it consists in waylaying all persons willing to take employment at the works struck against, tracking them to their homes, deterring them by threats, annoyance, and every kind of social persecution; and if these means fail, employing actual violence, assaulting and maltreating them.

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By such means, equally abhorrent to law, to morals, and to Political Economy, the Unions seek to enforce their demand by producing a fictitious scarcity in the labour-market, which shall bring the employer to their terms. An increase of wages thus produced is nothing else than pure extortion—an obtaining of higher payment under false pretences. Nor can we describe in more lenient terms a form of Strike to which, as appears from many passages of the Evidence, the workmen are not restrained by motives of common honesty from resorting. We refer to those cases where a contract having been taken, and the work commenced under an agreed scale of wages, the workmen, without any pretext of an alteration in the market-rate of labour, but simply availing themselves of the pressure of numbers and the employer's necessity, dictate to him an advance, under threat of leaving him with the work undone, and the penalties for default incurred. Such iniquitous abuse of the power of combination needs no comment.

With regard to certain other regulations of the Union codes, such as the attempts to interdict machine-made products, or to restrict manufacture to a particular set of men or a specified district, it is scarcely worth while to discuss them seriously. That machinery does not diminish, but enlarges the field of employment, is a thesis which we should be ashamed at this time of day to argue. We are not, indeed, surprised to find that these outworn fallacies of Protection still linger in the dark places of our industrial system. The working-men, though often unduly flattered on the score of their intelligence, are after all but imperfectly educated, and Political Economy certainly does not come by the light of Nature. Nor is it much shame to their class, if economic lights which have not so long penetrated into Senates and Council Chambers, should throw as yet but a feeble ray into the factory and the workshop. The compilers of these codes after all show an ignorance of the principles of social science, which not many years since was shared by a large majority, and is still shared by a not insignificant number, of the classes above them. But the errors themselves have lost their vitality, and no power can now resuscitate them. That force of public opinion which repealed the Corn Laws and the Navigation Laws, which purged the Tariff of protective duties, and drove railways through all the fastnesses of private property, and which, in pursuit of these objects, set at nought the threats and overcame the resistance of every class, trade, and interest in the kingdom, will speedily annul, so soon as the full light of publicity is thrown upon them, these petty monopolies and entrenchments, which the ignorance and

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short-sighted cupidity of the working-men have laboured to erect around them. They will themselves perceive in due time that they have done this in their own despite. Restrictions upon the free circulation of labour, preventing it from passing freely from place to place, or changing from one employment to another, are no less inimical to the interest of the working-class than to the general weal. They restrain production, and cripple trade, and check that accumulation of capital which is the perennial well-spring of industry.

We revert for a few moments to that other class of regulations already briefly touched upon, which seem to demand, by reason of the principle to which they appeal, a separate consideration. Over a large portion of the Union rules pure class selfishness appears to dominate; but those in question seem to wear at first sight a semblance of fellow-feeling and consideration for others. The rules against piece-work, against over-time, against 'chasing,' against too much strenuousness in labour, as well as those which prescribe a *minimum* rate of wages—which practically becomes the current rate—appear to be designed with a view to level the inequalities of efficiency and skill in favour of the weaker brethren of the craft, whom the master would be inclined to place upon a lower footing as to wages. They aim also at the further object of *making as much work as possible*, of increasing the quantity of employment by rendering the labour of each man less efficient. Now, such a concern for the interests of the inferior members of the fraternity, mistaken and shortsighted as it is, might appear to have some redeeming features, were it not that the advantages which are sought to be gained for the fellow-workmen are unjustly purchased at the cost of the employer. In fact, the vicious principle that the workman owes a duty to his fellow-workmen paramount to his obligation to his employer, underlies the whole system of the Trades' Unions. No man can serve two masters, and the consequence of that *esprit de corps* which the Unionist is taught above all things to cultivate, and which, when it is made the ruling principle of conduct, supersedes in his estimate all social and moral obligations, is to annul the sense of duty to the employer, and to cut up by the roots all confidence and sympathy between them. The relation between employer and employed comes to be regarded as one of pure contract; a hard bargain between parties whose interests are conflicting, and who are associated by no tie of common interest, reciprocal respect, or good-will. The falsehood and mischief of this principle cannot be too strongly exposed. It is the bad fruit of that spirit of Association, which, wholesome and beneficial when kept

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within due limits, becomes, when uncontrolled and misdirected, the source of great evils. Introduced into the factory, the public department, or the household, it is fatal to all good, honest, and faithful service. It substitutes 'slackness' in the place of energy and diligence. The old lesson, which taught a man to 'put his heart into his work,' to regard his employer's interests as his own, to labour with a conscience of duty, 'as 'ever in the great Taskmaster's eye,' is superseded by the new code which subordinates all other obligations to the interests, real or supposed, of the fellow-workman. To be zealous for the master is esteemed as treason to the 'mate.' Under this system even all communications between an individual workman and his employer are jealously watched and interdicted by his fellows, and a man can lie under no worse imputation than a desire to stand better with the master than his associates. Now, to curry favour with an employer, we admit, is mean-spirited and base; but to labour with honest zeal to give him satisfaction, to earn and deserve his good opinion, to be regardful of his rights and interests, are not, we venture to assert, marks of a base or abject spirit, but the virtues of a good citizen and an honest man, and such as dignify the artisan no less than they tend to promote his interest and advancement. It is by acting on the old principle of cordial and energetic service, and on the faith of a community of interest between workman and master, that the industrial pre-eminence of this country has been achieved. But what must be the results of this new organisation of industry which would make it the duty of every man to do as little as he may for his wages, in order that there may be more for his fellows to do? Where is this sort of thing to end? Under it, to evade, to loiter, and to shirk becomes a merit. He who is most skilful in the practice of these arts is the greatest benefactor to his 'order.' The sluggard, according to the standard of the Unions, must be the model workman. He is making two labourers possible where only one was employed before. On the other hand, the prompt, vigorous, and energetic worker, who takes an honest pride in the amount of work that he can get through, under the double stimulus of a desire to satisfy his employer and to advance his own character and condition in life, this man is a traitor and a nuisance. He is virtually cheapening labour, and lessening the demand for hands; he is taking the bread out of the mouths of the laggards and the drones. Logically carried out, this principle of creating more employment by purposely decreasing the efficiency of labour, tends to reduce all service to a minimum. If a regard to the class interest of the bricklayers requires that

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a man should not carry more than eight bricks at a time, would it not be still better to carry six, four, or even two? If it is for the good of the fraternity that the labourer should not walk to his work faster than three miles an hour, why not *à fortiori* two or one? We can see no limit at which this dilution of the quality of labour is to stop. The absurdity to which it leads demonstrates the falsity of the whole system. Nothing could be more detrimental to the interests of the class for whose benefit it is supposed to have been devised. It depresses the skilful, the industrious, and the better-educated workmen to the level of the incompetent and idle. It takes away from the former the natural incentive to better their condition, and to rise above the rank they were born in, by virtue of their own industry and capacities, the full development of which is conducive to the general interests of society. It strikes also at the root of our national pre-eminence in the field of industry, which is mainly founded on the superior energy and efficiency of the British workman. Some of the representatives of the Unions told the Commissioners, in rather boastful terms, that they had no fear of foreign competition as the result of the higher wages which they sought to enforce, because they relied on the fact that the labour of one Englishman was worth that of two or more foreigners. But how long, we should like to ask these men, is that industrial pre-eminence of ours likely to be maintained, when the condition under which, according to their own belief, it has hitherto stood, shall have broken down, and English labour have become emasculated under that rule of 'slackness' which it is the object of their pragmatical prescriptions to enforce.

At the bottom of these contrivances for artificially increasing the amount of employment, there seems to lurk the fallacy of supposing that the labour required to be done in any department of trade, or in the country generally, is a fixed quantity; therefore, in order to secure an aliquot portion of it to the greatest number, the labour must be spread out thin. The teaching of sound Political Economy is directly the reverse of this. It shows that human labour is the source of all production which possesses value; that as the natural elements upon which labour is employed are practically unlimited, so the field of human skill and industry admits of indefinite expansion; that the greater the efficiency of labour, the greater is the profit which results from it, that profit being itself the ever-increasing reservoir by which industry is fed. Thus by virtue of self-acting laws in a well-ordered community, where freedom of exchange and an open field for industry exist, the sum of pros-

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perity spreads ever in an increasing circle, including both classes of producers, the capitalists and labourers alike, and the demand for labour increases in direct (not as the Unionists absurdly conclude, in *inverse*) proportion to the efficacy of the labour employed. If anything were needed to confirm these conclusions, derived from the postulates and reasonings of the science of National Wealth, it would be the observation of that complete accord and harmony which subsists between the moral and economical laws of Providence by which society is governed. The moral law of industry, diligence, and fidelity, of rendering to every man his due, and of improving to the uttermost the faculties which the Creator has so diversely allotted to mankind, operates in perfect unison and coherence with those laws upon which depend the increase of national prosperity and the material improvement of the human race. It must be so, for both are derived from one Author. As Bastiat has finely said, 'La pensée qui a mit l'harmonie dans les 'mouvemens des corps célestes, a su la mettre aussi dans le 'mécanisme interne de la Société.'

The inversion of the natural relations between capital and labour which the rule of the Unions has brought about, must strike any person who marks in the Evidence given before the Commissioners the practical working of the system. Under it master and workman have completely changed places. The industrial machine is turned topsy-turvy. We have heard in some quarters declamations about 'the tyranny of capital.' We are reminded of the Gracchi inveighing against sedition. The power of the masters over the men is indeed a mockery and a shadow. No impartial person can read the accounts which the Evidence contains of the complete subjugation of the employers in those places where the Unions are in full sway without a feeling of sympathy, if not of indignation, at the humiliations they are exposed to, the shifts to which they are put, the difficulties with which they have to struggle. We ourselves are conscious of no bias or prepossession in favour of the masters' cause, but we cannot shut our eyes to the painful anomalies of their situation. Without any desire to strain the claims of social position, of superior education or wealth, we have a sense of the fitness of things which is outraged by the domination of inferior over superior. In the industrial no less than in the political organisation, there are 'orders and degrees' which 'jar not with liberty.' We have no wish to see the workman cringe before his employer, but it is a still more odious spectacle to see the master crouching to his journeymen. The Evidence teems with examples of this kind. As one of the master

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builders told the Commissioners, 'It is no use denying it; the 'Union is omnipotent with us, and we have to bow to it, and 'to do its behests: we have to give up entirely our own judg- 'ment and our own independence, and we have to do as the Union 'through Mr. Williams (the delegate) bids us to do.' (4616.) This is not mere declamation. The statement is borne out by substantiated facts. We find the Unions prescribing to the master whom he shall employ—whom he shall dismiss—what wages he shall pay—what materials he shall use—what persons he shall deal with—what implements he shall use—in fact interfering in all the details of his business, and overruling him in any arrangements which do not accord with their sovereign will and pleasure; and all these behests enforced by the most stringent, and in some cases even ruinous, penalties. We are scarcely able to understand how any employer possessed of ordinary spirit and self-respect can submit to carry on his trade under conditions so humiliating. A fraction, indeed, of the masters have had the moral courage to resist this dictation, to brave all penalties, and even at the risk of their own lives and those of their workmen, to maintain, and sometimes with success, a struggle for independence. But to do this requires extraordinary nerve and strength of will, with which few men are gifted, and the sacrifice is far too great to be expected from the majority of employers.

The natural tendency of the state of things now described is one which we would implore the working classes, if they have any sense of their own interest, seriously to consider. Do they suppose that it is the nature of capital to be so hardy, so confident, so dead to the sense of insecurity, that no obstruction, no persecution, no terrorism, are sufficient to drive it away? Experience teaches a very different lesson. Many trades have been ruined, and many districts, once the seats of thriving industry, desolated and pauperised through such agencies. We could describe, if we had space, how much trade and industry were crushed in Dublin some years ago by trade outrages. With regard to wages, no doubt, the unusual circumstances of the country, especially in the building trade, have in the last few years enabled the workmen to obtain the large and successive augmentations demanded by them without causing the employers' profits to disappear, and bringing in competition from without; but in the nature of things this process must have an end. Already the rate of wages here considerably exceeds those of our Continental rivals. Our energy and skill are severely taxed to compensate this inequality. It needs but a little more weight thrown

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into the scale, and our competitors will be ahead of us. No witness has given more interesting evidence to the Commissioners on the relation of a high rate of wages to the prices of commodities, as well as on other points, than Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, an eminent ironmaster of Pennsylvania. We would gladly give some extracts from this gentleman's evidence did our limits permit it, but we content ourselves with one very striking statement:—

'3886. *I may say that labour is too high in America at the present time to enable any staple commodity to be produced at the price that you can get for it; in other words, there is nothing that we can produce in America that would bring us a profit.*'

In conclusion we must touch very briefly on the position of the Trades' Unions in regard to the law of the land. We have seen what sort of foundation there is for the complaint of the workmen that they are tyrannised over by their employers; it would require almost greater hardihood to maintain that they are oppressed by the law. Let anyone who is disposed to entertain that supposition, compare the actual practice of the Unions, as described in the pages before us, with the text of the Statutes which are, theoretically at least, in force in regard to trade combinations. We do not at present refer to those crimes and outrages against person or property which though originating from the action of the Associations fall within the province of the ordinary criminal law; but to those special provisions which have been made by the Legislature for defining the legitimate power and restraining the encroachments of the Unions. The Act 6 Geo. IV. c. 129 legalises under certain conditions a concert among workmen for the purpose of determining the rate of wages they shall demand, or the hours for which they will work, but it distinctly prohibits other lines of action, which are thus described:—

'1st. If any person shall, by violence to the person or property, or by threats or by intimidation, or by molesting or in any way obstructing another, force, or endeavour to force, any journeyman, manufacturer, workman, or other person hired or employed in any manufacture, trade, or business, to depart from his hiring, employment, or work, or to return his work before the same shall be finished, or prevent or endeavour to prevent any journeyman, &c., not being hired or employed, from hiring himself to or from accepting work or employment from any person or persons.

'2. If any person shall use or employ violence to the person or property of another, or threats or intimidation, or shall molest or in any way obstruct another, for the purpose of forcing or inducing such person to belong to any club or association, or to contribute to any common fund, or to pay any fine or penalty, or on account of his

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not belonging to any particular club or association, or not having contributed or having refused to contribute to any common fund, or to pay any fine or penalty, or on account of his not having complied, or of his refusing to comply with rules, orders, resolutions, or regulations made to obtain an advance, or to reduce the rate of wages, or to lessen or alter the hours of working, or to decrease or alter the quantity of work, or to regulate the mode of carrying on any manufacture, trade, or business, or the management thereof.

'3. If any person shall by violence to the person or property of another, or by threats, or by intimidation, or by molesting, or in any other way obstructing another, force, or endeavour to force, any manufacturer, or person carrying on any trade or business, to make any alteration in his mode of regulating, managing, conducting, or carrying on such manufacture, trade or business, or to limit the number of his apprentices, or the number or description of his journeymen, workmen, or servants.'

The above offences are declared to be punishable with imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for not exceeding three months. Now, the point to which we desire to draw the attention of our readers is this—scarcely an act is here prohibited which is not proved by the Evidence to be constantly and notoriously committed, and not unfrequently with circumstances of great aggravation, by the Unions at the present time. The course of action which the statute describes as the subject of its penalties is the standing policy of these bodies. Their rules prescribe it, their records witness to it, their leaders and organs make no secret of it. It is useless to disguise the truth. Except in rare and extreme cases the law is a dead letter. And why is this? Because the same system of terrorism which is employed to coerce the master or the recusant workman is put in force to paralyse the arm of justice. Fear of the vengeance of the Unions outweighs the fear of the law. Employers are afraid to prosecute, witnesses to give evidence, in cases where the agency of these dread tribunals is in question. A witness who appears in court against them must be helped to emigrate as soon as his evidence has been given. The same influence operates to prevent the detection of parties implicated in the most flagrant trade outrages. The authors of the Sheffield atrocities were effectually screened from justice until the indemnity of the new statute brought them to light. The offenders are perfectly well known to numbers on the spot, but through the effect of terror on the one hand and a pernicious *esprit de corps* on the other, the law is powerless to reach them. The consequences are such as might be anticipated —when the law is unable to afford protection, men are driven to protect themselves. Those who venture to defy the Unions

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are obliged to defend themselves against illegal violence by force. Hence we read of employers whose works or lives have been threatened going about for weeks together equipped with pistols and revolvers; hiring armed watchmen with fierce dogs to garrison their premises; changing their sleeping places continually; adopting vigilant precautions against malicious injuries or fire. Occasionally, when the need for work is urgent, it is carried on in an actual state of siege, as in the notable instance of the New Law Courts at Manchester, described by Mr. J. Bristow, of Manchester, whose evidence is extremely curious:—

'The new Assize Courts (says this witness) are the best job in Manchester; the woodwork is the best without exception; it was done by Non-Union joiners, who were locked up in the place; they lived, slept, had their washing, had their lodging, in the place, all locked up for fear of the Unionists. It was absolutely done and finished by Non-Union joiners.

'5157. When you say "for fear," you mean for fear of being withdrawn by the Union?—For fear of injury. They had to be taken in cabs to the place.'

We have noticed but a tithe of the matters which this grave and fertile subject presents for observation; but we believe that we have said enough. The peaceable, law-respecting people of England will hear, we think, with some surprise, of the high-handed audacity with which these self-erected jurisdictions defy constituted authority and trample upon private rights. It is well that they should hear of it. We desire nothing better than that the full light of publicity should be let in, and that the free air of public opinion should be allowed to penetrate the dark recesses of the Trade Conclaves. We have no doubt as to the verdict which the country will pronounce upon the facts now elicited, because we are convinced that if anything is abhorrent to the nature of Englishmen, it is an inquisitorial tyranny working through the agency of secret tribunals. But the operation of public opinion alone is not enough. The State has a duty to perform to itself and to those whom it undertakes to protect. The supremacy of the law must be vindicated at all costs and hazards. Impunity must no longer be allowed to foster crime. With the text of the law as it stands at present there is little fault to be found. It draws, we believe, the correct line, permitting on the one hand the peaceable combination of workmen in order to the maintenance of their just rights as regards the wages and the hours of labour, prohibiting on the other all violence, annoyance, obstruction, and interference either with masters or

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with workmen. In the recent prosecution at the Old Bailey, Mr. Baron Bramwell laid down these two cardinal propositions: 1. That the law of England protects the liberty not only of the person, but of the will and mind, of every one of the Queen's subjects. 2. That the public has an interest in the manner in which each individual disposes of his capital and labour. From these two maxims he drew the conclusion that to interfere by intimidation, annoyance, or obstruction, whether physical or moral, with the free agency either of employer or workman, is an offence against society and the law.

But though the law be sound in principle, it is almost impotent in practice. A power stronger than the law overrides and defeats its action, rules the reluctant workman with a rod of iron, and smites with its intolerable edicts the skill and enterprise of the capitalist. Such an anomaly must no longer be permitted to endure—it has endured much too long already. The conflict between the law of the land and the law of the Unions must be brought to an issue. We look to the Commissioners to suggest means by which the supremacy of rightful authority may be asserted and the hands of justice strengthened. If the aggrieved parties are afraid to act in the repression of violence, the Legislature must no longer dally with the question of a Public Prosecutor. If evidence be stifled by terror, the law must invest itself with greater terrors. Of this let the nation be assured—no intelligent person who has mastered the facts of the case, will doubt it—that unless we would see the sources of our manufacturing prosperity dried up, the arm of our labour paralysed, the sceptre of our trade transferred to other hands, we must grapple firmly and fearlessly, as in a struggle for life or death, with the lawless and overbearing despotism of the Trades' Unions.

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ART. V.—*A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth, with a Selection from her Letters.* By the late Mrs. EDGEWORTH, edited by her Children. Not published. In 3 vols. 1867.

WE are afraid of appealing so confidently to the present generation, but are there any survivors of the last who do not habitually associate the name of Maria Edgeworth with a variety of agreeable recollections?—with scenes, images, and characters which were the delight of their youth—with the choicest specimens of that school of fiction in which amusement is blended with utility, and the understanding is addressed simultaneously with the fancy and the heart? All these, and they must still be many, will be rejoiced to hear that a Memoir has recently been printed (though it is as yet unpublished) which may enable them to watch the everyday life of their old favourite, to peep into the innermost folds of her mind, to track her genius to its source, to mark the growth of her powers, and fix how much was the gift of nature and how much the product of cultivation or of art. For ourselves, we were led by it at once to a reperusal of her works; and so satisfactory was the result, that we can confidently recommend a fresh or first trial of them to novel-readers of all ages, who are not utterly spoiled by Miss Braddon and Mrs. Wood.

There is another reason for reverting to Miss Edgeworth's writings with unabated interest, independently of their attractiveness. They contributed, more than any others that can be named, towards the inauguration of that splendid era of romance which began and reached its full effulgence with the author of 'Waverley.' In the General Preface to the collected edition of the Novels, after alluding to the two circumstances which led him to this style of composition, Scott says: 'The first was the extended and well-merited 'fame of Miss Edgeworth, whose Irish characters have gone 'so far to make the English familiar with the character of their 'gay and kind-hearted neighbours of Ireland, that she may be 'truly said to have done more towards completing the Union 'than perhaps all the legislative enactments by which it has 'been followed up. Without being so presumptuous as to hope 'to emulate the rich humour, pathetic tenderness, and admi-'rable tact, which pervade the works of my accomplished 'friend, I felt that something might be attempted for my own 'country of the same kind with that which she has so fortu-'nately achieved for Ireland.'

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Luckily for her father, and not unluckily for Miss Edgeworth, their lives and labours are so blended and intertwined, that her name and memory cannot be separated from his. They were connected by ties stronger than ties of blood—by community of objects, habits, affections, and modes of thought. He had plausible claims to the title of her literary parent. He divined the natural bent of her genius, and aided without forcing its development. He gave her the most bracing kind of education, moral and intellectual; the groundwork being scrupulous accuracy of statement, patient observation, frankness, self-knowledge, and self-respect. He made her from early girlhood his companion and friend. He read with her, wrote with her, came before an applauding public hand-in-hand with her, and (we really believe unconsciously) traded on her. The best description of him in advanced years is given by Lord Byron:

'I have been reading the Life by himself and daughter of Mr. R. L. Edgeworth, the father of *the* Miss Edgeworth. It is altogether a great name. In 1813 I recollect to have met them in the fashionable world of London, in the assemblies of the hour, and at a breakfast of Sir Humphrey and Lady Davy's, to which I was invited for the nonce. I had been the lion of 1812: Miss Edgeworth and Madame de Staël, with the Cossack, towards the end of 1813, were the exhibitions of the succeeding year. I thought Edgeworth a fine old fellow of a clarety, elderly, red complexion, but active, brisk and endless. He was seventy but did not look fifty—no, nor forty-eight even. I had seen poor Fitzpatrick not very long before—a man of pleasure, wit, eloquence, all things. He tottered—but still talked like a gentleman, though feebly. Edgeworth bounced about, and talked loud and long, but he seemed neither weakly nor decrepit, and hardly old.

'He was not much admired in London, and I remember a "ryghte merrie" and conceited jest which was rife among the gallants of the day—viz. a paper had been presented for the *recall of Mrs. Siddons to the stage*, to which all men had been called to subscribe. Whereupon Thomas Moore of profane and poetical memory, did propose that a similar paper should be subscribed and circumscribed for the *recall of Mr. Edgeworth to Ireland*. The fact was everybody cared more about her. She was a nice little unassuming "Jeannie-Deans-looking body," as we Scotch say; and if not handsome, certainly not ill-looking. Her conversation was as quiet as herself. One would never have guessed she could write her name; whereas her father talked, not as if he could write nothing else, but as if nothing else was worth writing.'

Moore denies all participation in the 'ryghte merrie jest.' But Lord Byron himself is said to have proposed a Society for the Suppression of Edgeworth. The efforts of such an

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institution would have proved as unavailing as those of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. Edgeworth was insuppressible; and, take him for all in all, he was not a man whom it was proper or expedient to suppress. With the simple change of gender, we might apply to him what Talleyrand said of Madame de Staël: '*Elle est vraiment insupportable;*' which he qualified after a short pause by, '*c'est son seul défaut.*' Edgeworth was a useful, an excellent man in many ways; although, like many useful and excellent men, a bore of the first magnitude. He was a patriot, a philanthropist, a good landlord, a good magistrate, a good husband, and (what is most to our present purpose) a good father.

The Edgeworths, of Edgeworth-Town, County Longford, were a family of considerable local distinction, who came into Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth. Their settlement there is clearly traced to Edward Edgeworth, bishop of Down and Connor, in 1593, who, dying without issue, left his fortune to his brother, Francis, in 1619. In the way of historical illustration, they boast of a Lady Edgeworth, a woman of extraordinary beauty and courage, who, in consequence of the gallant attentions of Charles II. at her presentation, refused to attend his court a second time, and afterwards gave an instance of presence of mind which equals or surpasses the Victoria-cross exploit of flinging a lighted shell out of a trench. On some sudden alarm at her husband's Irish castle of Lissard, she hurried to a garret for gunpowder, followed by a maid-servant carrying a candle without a candlestick. When the lady had taken what she wanted from the barrel, had locked the door, and was halfway down the stairs again, she observed that the girl had left the candle, and asked her what she had done with it. She had left it 'stuck in the barrel of black salt.' Lady Edgeworth returned by herself to the garret, put her hand carefully underneath the candle, and carried it safely out.

Richard Lovell Edgeworth, the lineal descendant of Francis, and the representative of the family when we take it up, was born at Bath in 1744. His maternal grandfather was a Welsh judge, named Lovell, of whom it is related that, travelling over the sands at Beaumaris as he was going circuit, he was overtaken by the tide: the coach stuck fast in a quicksand; the water rose rapidly, and the registrar, who had crept out of the window and taken refuge on the coach-box, whilst the servants clustered on the roof, earnestly entreated the judge to do the same. With the water nearly touching his lips he gravely replied: 'I will follow your counsel if you can quote any 'precedent for a judge's mounting a coach-box.'

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It must be admitted that a man so descended had an hereditary right to firmness of nerve and eccentricity, and Edgeworth did not allow the right to fall into abeyance from disuse. He is reported to have said: 'I am not a man of prejudice: 'I have had four wives; the second and third were sisters; and 'I was in love with the second in the lifetime of the first.' The first was Anna Maria, daughter of Paul Elers, Esq., of Black Bourton, in Oxfordshire, by whom he had Maria and a son. The second and third were Honora and Elizabeth Sneyd. The fourth, Miss Beaufort, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Beaufort and sister of the late Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, is the author of the Memoir, edited by her children. The book is remarkably well written and edited; and, with a few slight omissions and alterations, might be laid before the public in the full confidence that the reputation of every one concerned, whether dead or living, would be confirmed or raised by it. The selections from the letters are peculiarly valuable, as well from the spirited descriptions, curious anecdotes, and sound remarks on things and people, as from the light they throw on Miss Edgeworth's life, character, and writings; and, it being doubtful whether they will ever be made generally accessible, we propose (by permission) to quote liberally from them.

Maria (born January 1, 1767) had only just attained her sixth year when her mother died, and she just remembered being taken to the death-bed for a last farewell. Prior to this event, her childhood had been passed at Black Bourton, where she ran some risk of being spoilt by the fond indulgence of her aunts. After the lapse of a few months her mother's place was occupied by a step-mother, who exercised too important an influence on the embryo authoress to allow of her being unceremoniously introduced.

Honora Sneyd was the daughter of a younger son of Ralph Sneyd, Esq., of Bishton, in Staffordshire. Her father having become a widower in early life, she was bred up under the care of Mrs. Seward, with her sworn friend the famous Anna, and it was at Lichfield, in 1770, that Edgeworth first became acquainted with her, whilst on a visit to Day, the author of 'Sandford and Merton.' He has recorded his impressions in his Memoirs:

'During this intercourse, I perceived the superiority of Miss Honora Sneyd's capacity. Her memory was not copiously stored with poetry; and though no way deficient, her knowledge had not been much enlarged by books; but her sentiments were on all subjects so just, and were delivered with such blushing modesty, (though not without an air of conscious worth,) as to command

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attention from every one capable of appreciating female excellence. Her person was graceful, her features beautiful, and their expression such as to heighten the eloquence of everything she said. I was six-and-twenty; and now, for the first time in my life, I saw a woman that equalled the picture of perfection, which existed in my imagination. I had long suffered from the want of that cheerfulness in a wife, without which marriage could not be agreeable to a man of such a temper as mine. I had borne this evil, I believe, with patience; but my not being happy at home exposed me to the danger of being too happy elsewhere.'

Miss Seward, in a note to her 'Monody on the Death of 'Major André,' asserts that, in a fit of despair at being jilted by this lady, André threw up his business as a merchant, entered the army, and met his untimely fate. Nor can we agree with Edgeworth that the assertion is satisfactorily refuted by the dates; for André's first commission was dated March 4th, 1771, prior to her marriage, but not necessarily prior to her rejection of his suit. He was certainly deeply attached to her; and so was Day, who wrote her an argumentative proposal comprised in several sheets of paper, to which she wrote an equally long and argumentative refusal. The pith of his reasoning was that the best thing for her would be to live with him secluded from what is called the world; the pith of her reply being that she would rather live in it. On receiving this reply he took to his bed, and was profusely bled by his friend Dr. Darwin; but speedily thought better of the matter, got up, rejoined the circle, and fell in love with her sister.

A stranger or more amusing set of people than were then collected at Lichfield it would be no easy matter to light upon; but they were people of principle, and in the midst of their own weaknesses could give one another good advice upon a pinch. Edgeworth tells us that Day could not see more plainly than himself the imprudence and folly of becoming too fond of an object which he could not hope to obtain. 'With 'all the eloquence of virtue and of friendship, he represented to 'me the danger, the criminality, of such an attachment. I 'knew that there is but one certain method of ending such 'dangers—*flight*.' He resolved to go abroad, and Day determined to go abroad too, with the view of devoting a large portion of his time to the acquirement of those accomplishments (riding, dancing, fencing, &c.) which he had formerly treated with sovereign contempt. 'Miss Elizabeth Sneyd had con-'vinced him that he could not with propriety abase or ridicule 'talents in which he appeared obviously deficient.' As we are speaking of another future step-mother, it is hardly a digression to add that 'on her part she promised not to go to Lon-

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'don, Bath, or any public place of amusement, till his return; 'and she engaged with alacrity to prosecute an excellent course 'of reading, which they had agreed upon before his depar-'ture.'

Abroad they went, and made Lyons their head-quarters for nearly two years, Edgeworth having undertaken to construct a new kind of ferry-boat across the Rhone and a bridge for wheelbarrows over a ravine. Mrs. Edgeworth, number one, joined him there; and as at the end of some months she returned at her own earnest request to England to be confined, she had small reason to complain of neglect, nor does she anywhere appear to have been disturbed by jealousy of a rival or successor. He distinctly states that he steadily adhered to the resolution he had formed on leaving England, never to keep up the slightest intercourse with the object of his irregular affection by letter, message, or inquiry. Mrs. Edgeworth died in childbirth, March 1773, and he instantly started for England, where he met Day. The first words Day said to him were, 'Have you heard anything of Honora Sneyd?' On being answered in the negative, Day resumed: 'My dear 'friend, while virtue and honour forbade you to think of her, I 'did everything in my power to separate you; but now that 'you are both at liberty, I have used the utmost expedition to 'reach you on your arrival in England, that I might be the 'first to tell you that Honora is in perfect health and beauty; 'improved in person and in mind, and, though surrounded by 'lovers, still her own mistress.'

We cannot help suspecting that the fascinating Honora had an instinctive prescience of coming events, and that her heart was not altogether unoccupied when she transferred Day to her sister, and unwittingly hurried poor André to his fate. Neither do we put implicit faith in the widowed suitor's confusion and unconsciousness at their first meeting, when he avers: 'I have 'been told, that the last person whom I addressed or saw, when 'I came into the room, was Honora Sneyd. This I do not re-'member; but I am perfectly sure that, when I did see her, 'she appeared to me most lovely, even more lovely than when 'we parted. What her sentiments might be it was impossible 'to divine. My addresses were, after some time, permitted 'and approved; and, with the consent of her father, Miss 'Honora Sneyd and I were married (1773) by special license, 'in the ladies' choir, in the Cathedral at Lichfield.'

They were married on the 17th July; a rather hasty proceeding, unless there is an error of a year, which would make the period of probation improbably long. Immediately after

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the ceremony they went to Ireland; and here the narrative is taken up in the second page of the Memoir:

'On Mr. Edgeworth's marriage with Honora Sneyd, Maria accompanied them to Ireland. Of this visit she recollected very little, except that she was a mischievous child, amusing herself once at her aunt Fox's when the company were unmindful of her, cutting out the squares in a checked sofa cover, and one day trampling through a number of hot-bed frames that had just been glazed, laid on the grass before the door at Edgeworth-Town. She recollected her delight at the crashing of the glass, but, immorally, did not remember either cutting her feet or how she was punished for this performance.'

Her step-mother was to her all that the most affectionate mother could have been, and had the happy art of inspiring perfect confidence along with a degree of admiration approaching to awe. 'The surpassing beauty of her presence 'struck Maria, young as she was, at their first acquaint-'ance: she remembered standing by her dressing-table, and 'looking up at her with a sudden feeling of How beautiful!' This estimable lady's health unfortunately began to fail in 1778, and Maria, then in her eighth year, was placed at school at Derby with a Mrs. Lataffiere, who was always kindly remembered by her pupil, although the writing-master of this establishment earned the most lasting title to her gratitude and that of her correspondents by teaching her to write the beautiful hand which she retained to the end of her life. She said that, on the first day of her entrance in the school-room, she felt more admiration for a child, less than herself, repeating the nine parts of speech than she ever felt afterwards for any effort of human genius.

The first of the printed letters from Edgeworth to his daughter is dated April 6th, 1780, and the method he pursued with her may be collected from it: 'It would be very agree-'able to me, my dear Maria, to have letters from you fami-'liarly: I wish to know what you like and what you dislike: 'I wish to communicate to you what little knowledge I have 'acquired, that you may have a tincture of every species 'of literature, and form your taste by choice and not by 'chance.' The same tone is taken in the only printed letter from Mrs. Honora Edgeworth to her daughter-in-law, dated October 10, 1779, in which, after impressing that it is 'in vain 'to attempt to please a person who will not tell us what they 'do and what they do not desire,' she continues: 'It is very 'agreeable to me to think of conversing with you as my equal 'in every respect but age, and of my making that inequality of

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'use to you, by giving you the advantage of the experience I 'have had, and the observations I have been able to make, as 'these are parts of knowledge which nothing but time can 'bestow.' On May 2, 1780, Edgeworth writes:—

'My dear Daughter,—At six o'clock on Sunday morning your excellent mother expired in my arms. She now lies dead beside me, and I know I am doing what would give her pleasure, if she were capable of feeling anything, by writing to you at this time to fix her excellent image in your mind. . . . Continue, my dear daughter, the desire which you feel of becoming amiable, prudent, and of use. The ornamental parts of a character, with such an understanding as yours, necessarily ensue: but true judgment and sagacity in the choice of friends, and the regulation of your behaviour can be had only from reflection and from being thoroughly convinced of what experience teaches in general too late, that to be happy we must be good.

'God bless you, and make you ambitious of that valuable praise which the amiable character of your dear mother forces from the virtuous and the wise. My writing to you in my present situation will, my dearest daughter, be remembered by you as the strongest proof of the love of your approving and affectionate father.'

At one of the Provençal Courts of Love in the thirteenth century the question was argued whether a second marriage by man or woman be or be not complimentary to the deceased partner in the first. Edgeworth had no hesitation in deciding this question in the affirmative, backed as he was by the authority of his second wife. She enjoined him on her deathbed to marry her sister, Elizabeth, who had flung over Day after he had undergone a regular gymnastic training for her sake:

'Nothing is more erroneous than the common belief, that a man, who has lived in the greatest happiness with one wife, will be the most averse to take another. On the contrary, the loss of happiness, which he feels when he loses her, necessarily urges him to endeavour to be again placed in a situation, which had constituted his former felicity.

'I felt that Honora had judged wisely, and from a thorough knowledge of my character, when she had advised me to marry again, as soon as I could meet with a woman who would make a good mother to my children and an agreeable companion to me. She had formed an idea, that her sister Elizabeth was better suited to me than any other woman; and thought that I was equally well suited to her. Of all Honora's sisters I had seen the least of Elizabeth.'

If ever there were such things as marriages made in heaven, three of Edgeworth's might be so described, for they were extremely happy marriages, although the circumstances under which they were brought about were irreconcilable with all

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ordinary rules and probabilities. Elizabeth Sneyd, when the successorship was first proposed by her dying sister, revolted at it; 'Not only,' observes Edgeworth, 'because I was her 'sister's husband, and because she had another attachment'—pretty strong grounds in the common mundane point of view —'but, independently of these circumstances, as she distinctly 'said, I was the last man of her acquaintance that she should 'have thought of for a husband; and certainly, notwithstanding 'her beauty, abilities, and polished manners, I believed she was 'as little suited to me.' But there's a divinity that shapes our ends: the two negatives made an affirmative: the antipathy grew into sympathy: the other attachment was shaken off: the religious scruple was got over: and one fine morning in the December of 1780, the year in which Honora died, the widower and the sister of his deceased wife met to be married in the parish church of Scarborough. At this critical point there was a hitch. The clergyman was so alarmed by a letter 'as to make it cruel to press him to perform the cere-'mony.' So the couple separated. The bride expectant started with her friend, Lady Holte, for Bath; the bridegroom hurried to London with his children, took lodgings in Gray's Inn, and had the banns published three times in St. Andrew's Church, Holborn. When all was ready for a second trial, she came from Bath, 'and on Christmas Day, 1780, was married to 'me in the presence of my first wife's brother, Mr. Elers, his 'lady, and Mr. Day'—just the very last people we should have expected to see at the celebration. It will be remembered that, prior to the Statute of 5 and 6 William IV. c. 64, marriages within the Levitical degrees were voidable, not void, and if not invalidated during the lifetime of both parties, held good to all intents and purposes.

Neither the death of Honora, nor the courtship of Elizabeth with its embarrassments, appear to have diminished the care with which Edgeworth watched over the mental training of his daughter; for on May 25, 1780, he writes from Lichfield:—

'I also beg that you will send me a tale about the length of a "Spectator," upon the subject of Generosity; it must be taken from history or romance, and must be sent the day se'nnight after you receive this, and I beg you will take some pains about it.

'The same subject (we are informed in the Memoir) was given at the same time to a young gentleman from Oxford, then at Lichfield. When the two stories were completed, they were given to Mr. William Sneyd, Mr. Edgeworth's brother-in-law, to decide on their merits; he pronounced Maria's to be very much the best: "an ex-"cellent story, and extremely well written; but where's the Gene-"rosity?" A saying which became a sort of proverb with her after-

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wards. It was Maria's first story; but it has not been preserved; she used to say that there was in it a sentence of inextricable confusion between a saddle, a man, and his horse.'

In the same year, 1780, she was removed from Mrs. Lataffiere's to the fashionable establishment of Mrs. Davis in Upper Wimpole Street. 'Even in the midst of the embarrass-'ment of the introduction to her new mistress, she was struck 'by the reflected effect in Mrs. Davis's countenance of her 'father's air and address when he brought her to the school.' Whatever the effect of his air and address on others, he certainly contrived to impress wife after wife, and every one of his many children by each of them, with the conviction that he had not his equal upon earth. Mrs. Davis, it is stated, treated Maria with kindness and consideration, though she was neither beautiful nor fashionable, and gave her the full benefit of an invention for drawing out young ladies which, we hope, died out with this establishment. 'Excellent masters were 'in attendance, and Maria went through all the usual tortures 'of back boards, iron collars, and dumbbells, with the unusual 'one of being swung by the neck to draw out the muscles and 'increase the growth, a signal failure in her case.' Did it succeed in any case? There is a story of a wrynecked Prince of Condé falling in the hunting field, and coming to himself just in time to stop the peasants who picked him up in a well-intended effort to pull him straight; but the notion of pulling out a young lady like a telescope was surely peculiar to a 'finishing' school. By a parity of reason they should be made to stand with weights on their heads when they are growing too fast.

An accomplished English nobleman who had been taking lessons in fencing during the whole of a prolonged visit in Paris, ventured on the eve of his departure to ask his instructor's opinion of his proficiency, which was given in these words: '*Milord, je vous conseille décidemment d'abandonner* '*les armes.*' We are not informed how long the analogous advice was similarly delayed to the wasting of Maria's time and her father's money, but she had so little taste for music that the music-master advised her to give up learning to play on the pianoforte. 'He, however, underrated her powers 'of ear,' remarks her third step-mother, 'for when I knew 'her she enjoyed good music, and at Mrs. Davis's she learned 'to dance well, and liked it. She delighted to remember 'the pleasure she felt in the perfect time in which her com-'panions executed a favourite dance of that day, Slingsby's 'Allemand.' The probabilities are, notwithstanding, all in

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favour of the music-master who gives up a pupil; and a ear for time is not unfrequently deficient in the sensibility which constitutes a good ear for music. Miss Edgeworth was about upon a par with Jeremy in 'Love for Love' in this respect: 'Yes, I have a reasonable good ear, sir, as to jigs 'and country dances, and the like. I don't much matter your 'solos and sonatas.'

On the other hand, she had a great facility for learning languages, and she found her Italian and French exercises so easy that she wrote off those given out for the whole quarter at once, keeping them strung together in her desk, and read for amusement whilst the other girls were labouring at their tasks. 'Her favourite seat during playtime was under a high 'ebony cabinet which stood at one end of the schoolroom; and 'here she often remained so completely absorbed by the book 'she was reading as to be perfectly deaf to all the noises 'around her, only occasionally startled into consciousness of it 'by some unusual uproar. This early habit of concentrated 'attention, perhaps inherent in minds of great genius, con-'tinued through life.' It is so inherent, so inseparable, as to have been sometimes thought identical with genius; which Buffon defines, a superior aptitude to patience. Another noteworthy trait of this period has been preserved. 'She was 'remembered by her companions, both at Mrs. Lataffiere's 'and Mrs. Davis's, for her entertaining stories, and she learned 'with all the tact of an improvisatrice to know which story 'was most successful by the unmistakable evidence of her 'auditors' wakefulness, when she narrated at night for those 'who were in the bedroom with her.'

She was taken from school in 1782, and went with her father and the rest of the family to Edgeworth-Town, which was her home for the remainder of her life. Her first impressions are fortunately set down in her continuation of her father's Memoirs:—

'I accompanied my father to Ireland. Before this time I had not, except during a few months of my childhood, ever been in that country; therefore every thing there was new to me: and though I was then but *twelve years old*, and though such a length of time has since elapsed, I have retained a clear and strong recollection of our arrival at Edgeworth-Town.

'Things and persons are so much improved in Ireland of latter days, that only those, who can remember how they were some thirty or forty years ago, can conceive the variety of domestic grievances, which, in those times, assailed the master of a family, immediately upon his arrival at his Irish home. Wherever he turned his eyes, in or out of his house, damp, dilapidation, waste!

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appeared. Painting, glazing, roofing, fencing, finishing—all were wanting.

'The backyard, and even the front lawn round the windows of the house, were filled with loungers, followers, and petitioners; tenants, undertenants, drivers, subagent and agent, were to have audience; and they all had grievances and secret informations, accusations reciprocating, and quarrels each under each interminable.'

She could never have been guilty of the weakness which the late Mr. Croker laboured so hard to fix on Madame d'Arblay; but she was undoubtedly in her sixteenth year in 1782, and both memoirs concur in fixing the permanent return to Ireland in that year. She continues:

'I was with him constantly, and I was amused and interested in seeing how he made his way through these complaints, petitions, and grievances, with decision and despatch; he, all the time, in good humour with the people, and they delighted with him; though he often "rated them roundly," when they stood before him perverse in litigation, helpless in procrastination, detected in cunning, or convicted of falsehood. They saw into his character, almost as soon as he understood theirs. The first remark which I heard whispered aside among the people, with congratulatory looks at each other, was—"His honor, any way, is *good pay*."

'It was said of the celebrated King of Prussia, that "he scolded "like a trooper, and paid like a prince." Such a man would be liked in Ireland; but there is a higher description of character, which (give them but time to know it) the Irish would infinitely prefer. One who paid, not like a prince, but like a man of sense and humanity.'

It is new to us that the celebrated King of Prussia paid like a prince. Even Mr. Carlyle has not endowed him with that merit; but we have no doubt that Mr. Edgeworth paid like a man of sense and humanity; and details enough are given by his daughter to prove that he resolutely pursued the precise course which a resident landlord should pursue, to remedy the worst evils of that unhappy country. He had no dealings with middlemen. He received his rents without the intervention of agent or sub-agent. He chose his tenants for their character. The sole claims to preference were industry, honesty, and sobriety. He resisted subdivision. He made no difference between Catholic and Protestant, Saxon and Celt; and his administration of justice grew into a proverb. Our immediate object, however, in referring to his domestic arrangements and way of life is to show how materials for the future novelist accumulated and were hived up:

'Some men live with their family, without letting them know their affairs; and however great may be their affection and esteem,

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for their wives and children, think that they have nothing to do with business.—This was not my father's way of thinking.—On the contrary, not only his wife, but his children knew all his affairs. Whatever business he had to do was done in the midst of his family, usually in the common sitting-room: so that we were intimately acquainted, not only with his general principles of conduct, but with the most minute details of their every-day application. I further enjoyed some peculiar advantages:—he kindly wished to give me habits of business; and for this purpose, allowed me during many years to assist him in copying his letters of business, and in receiving his rents.'

Within visiting distance of Edgeworth-Town was Pakenham Hall, the residence of Lord Longford, where a large family was growing up, including 'Kitty Pakenham,' the future Duchess of Wellington. Here Miss Edgeworth became acquainted with Mrs. Greville, the author of the 'Ode to Indif-'ference,' and many other people of distinction. Another neighbouring house was Castle Forbes, the residence of the Earl of Granard, where a various and agreeable society assembled, especially when Lady Granard's mother, Lady Moira, was staying there. The times, again, were highly favourable for the observer who wished to see national characteristics called out and placed in broad relief. The stirring, exciting, elevating influence of the great Volunteer movement was in full operation during the early years of Miss Edgeworth's residence in Ireland; and she was in the thick of the rebellion in 1798. There is no reason to suppose, however, that either her father or herself foresaw the line of composition in which she was destined to win fame; and his principal care was that she should acquire clearness of thought and accuracy of expression.

In the autumn of 1782 she began at his suggestion to translate Madame de Genlis's 'Adèle et Théodore;' and she had completed one volume, when Holcroft's translation appeared. The time spent on this work, we are told, was not regarded as misspent; it fixed her handwriting, and gave her 'a readiness and choice of words which only translation 'reaches.' Day, who had a horror of female authorship, was shocked at her having been permitted even to translate, and wrote a congratulatory letter to Edgeworth when the publication was prevented. It was from the recollection of his arguments (she states), and of her father's reply, that 'Letters for Literary Ladies' were written nearly ten years afterwards. 'They were not published, nor was anything of 'ours published, till some time after Mr. Day's death (in '1789). Though sensible that there was much prejudice

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'mixed with his reasons, yet deference for his friend's judg-
'ment prevailed with my father, and made him dread for his
'daughter the name of authoress. Yet though publication
'was out of our thoughts, as subjects occurred, many essays
'and tales were written for private amusement.' This delay was fortunate; it gave her powers time to ripen; she wrote because her mind was full; and having been originally forced into the observance of the Horatian maxim—*nonumque prematur in annum*—she afterwards abided by it of her own free choice and at her father's suggestion. 'He would sometimes
'advise me to lay by what was done for several months and
'turn my mind to something else, that we might look back at
'it afterwards with fresh eyes.'

The peasant poet, Clare, touchingly alludes to the hard pressure which compels the writer for bread to 'forestall the
'blighted harvest of the brain.' But want is a more allowable, and not a more deleterious, stimulant than vanity, or that morbid longing for publicity which is now inundating us with trash; and if ladies and gentlemen who are eager to appear in print, could only be advised to take example from Miss Edgeworth, they would save their friends an infinity of trouble and vexation, besides improving their own chances of success.

The first story, after the tale on 'Generosity' which Maria wrote, was 'The Bracelets,' and some of the others now in the 'Parents' Assistant' and 'Early Lessons.' 'Dog Trusty and 'the Honest Boy' and the 'Thief,' were written at this time (1791). She used to write them on a slate, then read them out to her sisters, and if they were approved, she copied them. This is Mrs. Edgeworth's account in the Memoir, but her own gives her a larger and more miscellaneous set of judges. She says that her father called upon the whole family to hear and judge of all they were writing, and adds:

'Whenever I thought of writing anything, I always told him my first rough plans; and always, with the instinct of a good critic, he used to fix immediately upon that which would best answer the purpose.—"*Sketch that, and show it to me.*"—These words, from the experience of his sagacity, never failed to inspire me with hope of success. It was then sketched. Sometimes, when I was fond of a particular part, I used to dilate on it in the sketch; but to this he always objected—"I don't want any of your painting—none of your "drapery!—I can imagine all that—let me see the bare skeleton."'

We quote these passages because they have been unaccountably overlooked in appreciating the share which Edgeworth had in his daughter's writings and determining the extent to

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which she was indebted to him for her fame. We shall show in the proper place that the entire conception of her best known work must be credited to him.

Prior to 1791, the information is meagre, and there are only two letters from Maria; one to Miss Charlotte Sneyd, and one to Mrs. Ruxton (her paternal aunt), the first of a series which continued forty-two years. Dating from this period, her letters form the principal contents of the volumes. As already intimated, they are admirable; but like all family letters, not excepting those of Madame de Sévigné, they contain a good deal of matter which has no intrinsic worth although forming an indispensable setting for the rest. The number of remarkable people she fell in with and commemorates from the earliest period is extraordinary. One of these, Dr. Darwin, must have won Edgeworth's heart at once by his definition of a fool: 'A fool, Mr. Edgeworth, you know, is a man 'who never tried an experiment in his life.' If, reversing this theory, we are to estimate a man's wisdom by the number of experiments he tried, the seven sages of Greece and the wise men from the East together would have been no match for her father. On March 9, 1792, she writes from Clifton, where she was on a visit to a married sister, Mrs. King:

'My father has just returned from Dr. Darwin's, where he has been nearly three weeks; they were extremely kind, and pressed him very much to take a house in or near Derby for the summer. He has been, as Dr. Darwin expressed it, "breathing the breath of "life into the brazen lungs of a clock," which he had made at Edgeworth-Town as a present for him. He saw the first part of Dr. Darwin's "Botanic Garden;" 900*l.* was what his bookseller gave him for the whole! On his return from Derby, my father spent a day with Mr. Kier the great chemist, at Birmingham: he was speaking to him of the late discovery of fulminating silver, with which I suppose your ladyship is well acquainted, though it be new to Henry and me. A lady and gentleman went into a laboratory where a few grains of fulminating silver were lying in a mortar: the gentleman as he was talking happened to stir it with the end of his cane, which was tipped with iron,—the fulminating silver exploded instantly, and blew the lady, the gentleman, and the whole laboratory to pieces! Take care how you go into laboratories with gentlemen, unless they are like Sir Plume, skilled in the "nice con-"duct" of their canes.'

Her mode of pointing or capping a remark by a good story is one marked attraction of her letters:

'Anna was extremely sorry that she could not see you again before she left Ireland; but you will soon be in the same kingdom again, and that is one great point gained, as Mr. Weaver, a travelling

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astronomical lecturer, who carried the universe about in a box, told us. "Sir," said he to my father, "when you look at a map, do you know that the east is always on your right-hand, and the west on your left?" "Yes," replied my father, with a very modest look, "I believe I do." "Well," said the man of learning, "that's one great point gained."'

She was at no time much given to sentimentality or to what is popularly understood by romance: 'I had much rather (she 'writes in 1793) make a bargain with anyone I loved to read 'the same book with them at the same hour, than to look at 'the moon like Rousseau's famous lovers.' Speaking of Carnarvon Castle, and the impression of sublimity made on her by its grandeur in decay, she naïvely adds: 'I believe these 'old castles interest one by calling up ideas of past times, 'which are in such strange contrast with the present.' Describing a large and gloomy apartment which she occupied at Bruges, she says: 'I am sure Mrs. Radcliffe might have 'kept her heroine wandering about this room for six good 'pages. When we meet I will tell Margaret of the night 'Charlotte and I spent in this room, and the footsteps we heard 'creak—just a room and just a night to suit her taste.'

The sober, sensible, rational view of love which she uniformly takes in her novels is expressed in a letter dated May 16, 1798, to Miss Beaufort, then on the point of becoming her third step-mother:—

'Amongst the many kindnesses my father has shown me, the greatest, I think, has been his permitting me to see his heart *à découvert*; and I have seen by your kind sincerity and his, that, in good and cultivated minds, love is no idle passion, but one that inspires useful and generous energy. I have been convinced by your example of what I was always inclined to believe, that the power of feeling affection is increased by the cultivation of the understanding. The wife of an Indian Yogii (if a Yogii be permitted to have a wife) might be a very affectionate woman, but her sympathy with her husband could not have a very extensive sphere. As his eyes are to be continually fixed upon the point of his nose, her's in duteous sympathy must squint in like manner; and if the perfection of his virtue be to sit so still that the birds (*vide* Sacontala) may unmolested build nests in his hair, his wife cannot better show her affection than by yielding her tresses to them with similar patient stupidity. Are there not European Yogiis, or men whose ideas do not go much further than *le bout du nez*? And how delightful it must be to be chained for better for worse to one of this species! I should guess—for I know nothing of the matter—that the courtship of an ignorant lover must be almost as insipid as a marriage with him; for "my jewel" continually repeated, without new setting, must surely fatigue a little.'

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The same letter contains some excellent remarks on the manner in which familiarity and cordiality should be met, and due distinctions observed, in social or domestic relations:

'I flatter myself that you will find me gratefully exact *en belle fille.* I think there is a great deal of difference between that species of ceremony which exists with acquaintance, and that which should always exist with the best of friends: the one prevents the growth of affection, the other preserves it in youth and age. Many foolish people make fine plantations, and forget to fence them; so the young trees are destroyed by the young cattle, and the bark of the forest trees is sometimes injured. You need not, dear Miss Beaufort, fence yourself round with strong palings in this family, where all have been early accustomed to mind their boundaries. As for me, you see my intentions, or at least my theories, are good enough: if my practice be but half as good, you will be content, will you not? But theory was born in Brobdignag, and practice in Lilliput. So much the better for me.'

The rapidity with which Mr. Edgeworth's marriages succeeded each other was not the least remarkable circumstance connected with them; and although there is no evidence to justify the presumption, his ill-wishers may be pardoned for suspecting that he did not invariably observe the maxim, 'Tis 'good to be off with the old love (or wife) before you are on with 'the new.' His third wife died in November, 1797; and he was married to the fourth in May 1798, the ceremony being performed by her brother, the Rev. William Beaufort. The time was curiously chosen, for the rebellion had broken out, and their wedding-trip, to Edgworth-Town, lay through the disturbed districts. One of the objects that sorely tried the nerves of the bride was an improvised gallows in the shape of a car standing on end, with the shafts in the air, and a man hanging between them.

An eminent critic (in the 'Quarterly Review') accused Miss Edgeworth of indelicacy in so readily sanctioning her father's marriages, and transferring her dutiful affections at his bidding. That she did so is extraordinary, but not necessarily wrong. With regard to the last, she states that it was not till 1798, after the third wife's death, during a visit of the Beaufort family at Edgeworth-Town, that he formed the attachment to Miss Beaufort:—

'When I first knew of this attachment, and before I was well acquainted with her, I own I did not wish for the marriage. I had not my father's quick penetration into character: I did not at first see the superior abilities or qualities which he discovered; nor did I anticipate any of the happy consequences from this union which he foresaw. All that I thought, I told him. With the most kind

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patience he bore with me, and instead of withdrawing his affection, honoured me the more with his confidence.'

All resistance and repugnance were overcome by his eloquence or pertinacity, and he closes a letter to Day about a bust, the upas tree, frogs, agriculture, a heating apparatus, and a speaking machine, with this passage:

'And now for my piece of news, which I have kept for the last. I am going to be married to a young lady of small fortune and large accomplishments,—compared with my age, much youth (not quite 30), and more prudence—some beauty, more sense—uncommon talents, more uncommon temper,—liked by my family, loved by me. If I can say all this three years hence, shall not I have been a fortunate, not to say a wise man?'

He *was* able to say it all at the end of three years and long afterwards; he *was* a fortunate man, and (if the judicious adaptation of means to the grand end of human life, happiness, be wisdom) a wise man. There is positively no accounting for his career without allowing him self-knowledge, keen insight into character, moral courage, and strong volition. He was open to conviction, but till he was convinced of the erroneousness of his opinion, he retained and acted on it. He never 'complied against his will,' and he resolutely set all wise saws and modern instances at defiance when he had deliberately made up his mind upon a point.

In a letter from Edgeworth-Town, November 19th, 1798, we find:

'In the "Monthly Review" for October there is this anecdote. After the King of Denmark, who was somewhat silly, had left Paris, a Frenchman, who was in company with the Danish ambassador, but did not know him, began to ridicule the king—"*Ma foi, il a une tête, une tête*"—"*Couronnée*," replied the ambassador, with presence of mind and politeness. My father, who was much delighted with this answer, asked Lovell, Henry, and Sneyd, without telling the right answer, what they would have said:

Lovell: "A head—and a heart, sir."
Henry: "A Head—upon his shoulders."
Sneyd: "A Head—of a king."

Tell me which answer you like best. Richard will take your "Practical Education" to you.'

'Practical Education,' so runs the comment in the Memoir, 'was published this year (1798), and was praised and abused 'enough to render the authors immediately famous.' It was praised in the 'Monthly Review,' which devoted two long articles to a careful analysis of the contents. These were of the most miscellaneous description, and include everything that

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can affect the mental or physical training of a reasonable being. It was abused in the 'British Critic' on religious grounds: 'Here, readers, is education *à la mode*, in the true 'style of modern philosophy; nearly eight hundred quarto 'pages on practical education, and not a word on God, religion, 'Christianity, or a hint that such topics are ever to be men-'tioned.' This indignant ultra-Christian might just as well have asserted that there was not a word on courage and chastity, or a hint that such things are ever to be mentioned:

'On religion and politics (they say in their preface) we have been silent, because we have no ambition to gain partisans or to make proselytes. The scrutinising eye of criticism, in looking over our table of contents, will also probably observe that there are no chapters on courage and chastity. To pretend to teach courage to Britons would be as ridiculous as it is unnecessary; and except to those who are exposed to the contagion of foreign manners, we may boast of the superior delicacy of our fair countrywomen.'

Here Edgeworth stands confessed. Their respective shares in the work are stated in the preface. All that relates to the art of teaching to read in the chapter on tasks, the chapters on grammar and classical literature, geography, chronology, arithmetic, geometry, and mechanics, were written by the father, and the rest of the book (more than two-thirds) by the daughter.

Although the name of Edgeworth first acquired literary notoriety by 'Practical Education,' she had already been twice before the public in her own name and on her own account. 'Letters for Literary Ladies' was published in 1795, and the 'Parent's Assistant' in 1796. Writing to her cousin, Miss Ruxton, she says:—'I beg, dear Sophy, that you will 'not call my little stories by the sublime title of my works: I 'shall else be ashamed when the little mouse comes forth. 'The stories are printed and bound the same size as "Evenings '"at Home," and I am afraid you will dislike the title; my 'father had sent the "Parent's Friend," but Mr. Johnson (the 'publisher) has degraded it into the "Parent's Assistant" '(which I dislike particularly) from association with an old 'book of arithmetic called the "Tutor's Assistant."' She first struck into her peculiar vein in 'Castle Rackrent' (1800), in which the habits and manners of that strange variety of the species, the Irish landlord of the eighteenth century, are depicted to the life. The first edition was published without her name, and the first notice of it in the Memoir runs:—'In 1801 'a second edition of "Castle Rackrent" was published by 'Maria Edgeworth, and its success was so triumphant that

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'some one—I heard his name at the time, but do not now re-
'member it—not only asserted that he was the author, but
'actually took the trouble to copy out several pages with
'corrections and erasures as if it was his original MS.' In November, 1802, Miss Edgeworth writes from Paris—'"Castle
'"Rackrent" has been translated into German, and we saw in
'a French book an extract from it, giving the wake, the con-
'finement of Lady Cathcart, and *sweeping the stairs with the*
'*wig*, as common and universal occurrences in that extraor-
'dinary kingdom.' Swift's ironical proposal to relieve the Irish poor by converting their children into food for the rich, was seriously adduced by a French writer to illustrate the horrid extremities to which the country had been reduced.

'Belinda' was published in 1801, and was highly popular. 'Moral Tales' was also published in 1801, with a preface by her father, in which he explains that the tales have been written by her to illustrate the opinions delivered in 'Prac-
'tical Education,' and describes the moral object of each—the most effective mode of repelling readers that could well be contrived by an admiring parent. The 'Essay on Irish Bulls' was published in 1802, in their joint names, and was reviewed in this Journal by Sydney Smith. Of course he could not resist the temptation of quizzing Edgeworth, whom, for that purpose, he insists on treating as the chief, if not sole, partner, in the firm of Edgeworth & Co.; but whilst condemning the rambling style of the composition, his criticism is favourable. 'The firm
'drew tears from us in the stories of Little Dominick and of
'the Irish Beggar who killed his sweetheart. Never was grief
'more natural or more simple.' Her own account of this book cannot be passed over:

'After "Practical Education," the next book which we published in partnership was the "Essay on Irish Bulls." The first design of this Essay was his:—under the semblance of attack, he wished to show the English public the eloquence, wit, and talents of the lower classes of people in Ireland. Working zealously upon the ideas which he suggested, sometimes, what was spoken by him, was afterwards written by me; or when I wrote my first thoughts, they were corrected and improved by him; so that no book was ever written more completely in partnership.

'On this, as on most subjects, whether light or serious, when we wrote together, it would now be difficult, almost impossible, to recollect, which thoughts originally were his, and which were mine. All passages, in which there are Latin quotations or classical allusions, must be his exclusively, *because I am entirely ignorant of the learned languages.* The notes on the Dublin shoe-black's metaphorical language, I recollect, are chiefly his.

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'I have heard him tell that story with all the natural, indescribable Irish tones and gestures, of which written language can give but a faint idea. He excelled in imitating the Irish because he never overstepped the modesty or the *assurance* of nature. He marked exquisitely the happy confidence, the shrewd wit of the people, without condescending to produce effect by caricature.'

The speech (she adds) of the poor freeholder to a candidate, in the chapter entitled 'Irish Wit and Eloquence,' was made to her father, and written down by her within a few hours from his dictation. In the same chapter are the complaint of the poor widow against her landlord, and his reply, quoted in Campbell's 'Lectures on Eloquence,' under a notion that they were fictitious. She declares them to be unembellished facts: her father being the magistrate before whom the rival orators appeared.

Mrs. Edgeworth relates that a gentleman much interested in improving the breed of Irish cattle, sent, on seeing the advertisement, for the work on Irish bulls: 'he was rather con-
'founded by the appearance of the classical bull at the top of
'the first page which I had designed from a gem, and when he
'began to read the book he threw it away in disgust: he had
'purchased it as secretary to the Irish Agricultural Society.'

In the autumn of 1802, during the peace of Amiens, Mr. and Mrs. Edgeworth, their two daughters and Maria, went to Paris, taking Belgium in their way. Her account of their travels is lively and sensible, and they appear to have known almost everybody worth knowing: Madame Recamier, Comte and Comtesse de Segur, La Harpe, Suard, Boissy d'Anglas, Montmorenci, Camille Jordan, Kosciusko, and Lally Tollendal are specially mentioned. One long letter is entirely filled with a visit to Madame de Genlis, who is admirably described. But we can only afford room for Madame Oudinot, the Julie of Rousseau, with whom they breakfasted at the Abbé Marellet's:

'Julie is now seventy-two years of age, a thin woman in a little black bonnet: she appeared to me shockingly ugly; she squints so much that it is impossible to tell which way she is looking: but no sooner did I hear her speak than I began to like her; and no sooner was I seated beside her, than I began to find in her countenance a most benevolent and agreeable expression. She entered into conversation immediately: her manner invited and could not fail to obtain confidence. She seems as gay and open-hearted as a girl of seventeen. It has been said of her that she not only never did any harm, but never suspected any. . . . I wish I could at seventy-two be such a woman!

'She told me that Rousseau, whil.t he was writing so finely on

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education and leaving his own children in the Foundling Hospital, defended himself with so much eloquence that even those who blamed him in their hearts, could not find tongues to answer him. Once at a dinner at Madame d'Oudinot's there was a fine pyramid of fruit. Rousseau in helping himself took the peach which formed the base of the pyramid, and the rest fell immediately. "Rousseau," said she, "that is what you always do with all our systems, you pull down with a single touch, but who will build up what you pull down?" I asked if he was grateful for all the kindness shown to him? "No; he was ungrateful: he had a thousand bad qualities, but I turned my attention from them to his genius and the good he had done mankind."'

One sentence in her general estimate came upon us by surprise: 'I have never heard any person talk of dress or fashions since 'we came to Paris, and very little scandal. A scandalmonger 'would be starved here.'

The grand event of her—of every woman's—life came to pass at this period. On quitting Paris in March, 1803, she could say for the first time, *Ich habe gelebt und geliebet* (I have lived and loved). Abruptly closing her catalogue of new acquaintance, she adds:

'Here, my dear aunt, I was interrupted in a manner that will surprise you as much as it surprised me, by the coming in of Monsieur Edelcrantz, a Swedish gentleman, whom we have mentioned to you, of superior understanding and mild manners: he came to offer me his hand and heart!!

'My heart, you may suppose, cannot return his attachment, for I have seen but very little of him, and have not had time to have formed any judgment, except that I think nothing could tempt me to leave my own dear friends and my own country to live in Sweden.'

In a letter to her cousin on 8th December, 1802 (the proposal was on the 1st), after explaining that M. Edelcrantz was bound to Sweden by ties of duty as strong as those which bound her to Edgeworth-Town, she writes: 'This is all very 'reasonable, but reasonable for him only, not for me; and I 'have never felt anything for him but esteem and gratitude.' Commenting on this passage, Mrs. Edgeworth says:

'Maria was mistaken as to her own feelings. She refused M. Edelcrantz, but she felt much more for him than esteem and admiration: she was extremely in love with him. Mr. Edgeworth left her to decide for herself; but she saw too plainly what it would be to us to lose her, and what she would feel at parting from us. She decided rightly for her own future happiness and for that of her family, but she suffered much at the time and long afterwards. While we were at Paris, I remember that in a shop where Charlotte and I were making some purchases, Maria sat apart absorbed in

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thought, and so deep in reverie, that when her father came in and stood opposite to her she did not see him till he spoke to her, when she started and burst into tears. . . . I do not think she repented of her refusal, or regretted her decision; she was well aware that she could not have made him happy, that she would not have suited his position at the Court of Stockholm, and that her want of beauty might have diminished his attachment. It was better perhaps that she should think so, as it calmed her mind, but from what I saw of M. Edelcrantz I think he was a man capable of really valuing her. I believe that he was much attached to her, and deeply mortified at her refusal. He continued to reside in Sweden after the abdication of his master, and was always distinguished for his high character and great abilities. He never married. He was, except very fine eyes, remarkably plain.'

This is an interesting and instructive episode. It lets in a flood of light upon those passages of her writings which inculcate the stern control of the feelings,—the never-ceasing vigilance with which prudence and duty are to stand sentinel over the heart. So then, she had actually undergone the hard trials she imposes and describes. They best can paint them who can feel them most. She was no Madame d'Aubray, with 'ideas' of self-sacrifice admirably adapted for others' uses but disagreeably unfitted for her own; and before setting down her precepts of self-command under temptation, she had tested them. Caroline Percy (in 'Patronage') controlling her love for Count Altenberg is Maria Edgeworth subduing *her* love for the Chevalier Edelcrantz.

On the 27th January 1803, Edgeworth received a peremptory order from the French Government to quit Paris, and he went to Passy with his daughter, whilst his friends investigated the cause. It turned out to be a belief that he was the brother of the Abbé Edgeworth, who had attended Louis Seize on the scaffold. So soon as the exact degree of relationship was made known through Lord Whitworth, the order was withdrawn, but they received private information which induced them to leave France just time enough to get away. Lovell, the eldest son, was stopped on his journey from Geneva to Paris, and remained a *détenu* till the end of the war in 1814.

'After our return Maria immediately occupied herself with 'preparing for the press "Popular Tales," which were pub-'lished this year (1803). She also began "Émilie de Coulanges," '"Madame de Fleury," and "Ennui," and wrote "Leonora," 'with the romantic purpose I have already mentioned.' The romantic purpose was to please the Chevalier Edelcrantz. It was written in the style he preferred; and 'the idea of what 'he would think of it (says Mrs. Edgeworth) was, I believe,

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'present to her in every page she wrote. She never heard 'that he had even read it.' She also found time to write 'Griselda' at odd moments in her own room.

'Popular Tales' appeared in 1804, with, as usual, a preface by the father, which might have been spared: e. g. 'Burke supposes that there are eighty thousand readers in Great Britain, 'nearly one hundredth part of its inhabitants. Out of these we 'may calculate that ten thousand are nobility, clergy, or gentlemen of the learned professions. Of seventy thousand readers 'which remain, there are many who might be amused and instructed by books which were not professedly adapted to the 'classes which have been enumerated. With this view the following volumes have been composed.' We can hardly think so, even on the paternal assurance. The heroes and heroines do not belong to the nobility, clergy, or gentry, it is true. They are mostly farmers or tradespeople. Leonard Ludgate, in 'Out of Debt out of Danger,' is the only son and heir of a London haberdasher, who marries Miss Bella Perkins, a would-be fine lady.* But is this a reason why these tales should be less adapted, professedly or unprofessedly, to the upper ten thousand? Is the class of readers determined by the rank in life of the persons who figure in a novel? Do the nobility throw it aside disdainfully when they find that it does not deal with nobility, or do people of humble birth, or ungenteel callings, lay it down with despair when it brings them face to face with a clergyman, a barrister, or a lord? Some such notion was obviously in Mr. Edgeworth's mind when he penned this preface.

The first series of 'Tales of Fashionable Life,' published in 1809, contained 'Ennui,' 'Madame de Fleury,' 'The Dun,' 'Manœuvring,' and 'Almeria;' the second, published in 1812, 'Vivian,' 'The Absentee,' 'Madame de Fleury,' and 'Émilie 'de Coulanges.' 'The Absentee' originally formed a part of 'Patronage,' where Lord and Lady Tipperary figured as patients of Dr. Percy; and 'Patronage' was to have formed part of the second series of the Tales; but the impatience of the publisher induced her to lay aside 'Patronage,' and (with a change of name) fill the required space in the series with 'The Absentee.' 'Patronage,' published in 1813, had been long upon the stocks. Its history is narrated in her continuation of her father's Memoirs:

* It is a coincidence worth mentioning that the plot of this story is in parts identical with that of 'Maison Neuve,' a comedy, by M. Victorien Sardou, author of 'La Famille Bénoiton.'

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'Among others written many years ago, was one called "the "History of the Freeman Family." In 1787, my father, to amuse Mrs. Elizabeth Edgeworth, when she was recovering after the birth of one of my brothers, related to us every evening, when we assembled in her room, part of this story, which I believe he invented as he went on. It was found so interesting by his audience, that they regretted much that it should not be preserved, and I in consequence began to write it from memory. The plan, founded on the story of two families, one making their way in the world by independent efforts, the other by mean arts, and by courting the great, was long afterwards the ground-work of "Patronage." The character of Lord Oldborough was added, but most of the others remained as my father originally described them: his hero and heroine were in greater difficulties than mine, more in love, and consequently more interesting, and the whole story was infinitely more entertaining. I mention this, because some critics took it for granted, that he wrote parts of "Patronage," of which, in truth, he did not write, to the best of my recollection, any single passage; and it is remarkable, that they have ascribed to him all those faults, which were exclusively mine; the original design, which was really his, and which I altered, had all that merit of lively action and interest, in which mine has been found deficient.'

It is recorded, in proof of the extent to which 'Clarissa' had fastened on the public mind before the appearance of the concluding volumes, that Richardson received letter after letter passionately entreating him to spare the heroine the crowning misery, or, if that could not be, to reform Lovelace and marry him to his victim. Remonstrances of the same kind appear to have been addressed to the author of 'Pa-'tronage' by tender-hearted readers, who could not bear to see Mr. Percy in prison, and were especially hurt by Caroline's refusal to go abroad with Count Altenberg. In the third edition (1815) these alleged blots were removed, although she had scruples touching material changes after the publication of a work. In a note to 'The Contrast,' she had said: 'Those 'who wish to know the history of all the wedding clothes of 'the parties, may have their curiosity gratified by directing a 'line of inquiry, post paid, to the editor herself.' Referring to the letters of inquiry thus invited, she writes:

'I have had another odd letter signed by three young ladies, Clarissa Craven, Rachel Biddle, and Eliza Finch, who, after sundry compliments in very pretty language, and with all the appearance of seriousness, beg that I will do them the favour to satisfy the curiosity they feel about the wedding dresses of the Frankland family in the "Contrast." I have answered in a way that will stand for either jest or earnest; I have said that at a sale of Admiral Tipsey's smuggled goods, Mrs. Hungerford bought French cambric muslin wedding gowns for the brides, the collars trimmed in the

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most becoming manner, as a Monmouth milliner assured me, with Valenciennes lace, from Admiral Tipsey's spoils. I have given all the particulars of the bridegroom's accoutrements, and signed myself the young ladies' "obedient servant and perhaps dupe."'

In May, 1813, the family paid a flying visit to London, and there is an admirable letter from her, filling between seven and eight pages, describing their reception in the best houses. On this and subsequent occasions, she has been accused of an undue leaning to rank and fashion; but the fashionable world of her day included celebrities of all sorts—literary, scientific, artistic, and political—as well as people of birth, fortune, and connexion. The most cherished of her friends were those whose names were and are habitually associated with intellectual excellence, refinement, and grace. The Marchioness of Lansdowne, Lady Crewe, Lady Elizabeth Whitbread, Miss Fox, Mrs. Hope (Lady Beresford), the Misses Berry, Miss Catharine Fanshawe, Lady Spencer, Lady Charlotte Lindsay, the Countess of Charleville, Lydia White, Mrs. Siddons, Lady Milbanke, were of the number. She speaks thus of another, whom she had known from girlhood:

'Charming, amiable, Lady Wellington! as she truly said of herself, she is always "Kitty Pakenham to her friends;" after comparison with crowds of other *beaux esprits*, fine ladies and fashionable *scramblers* for notoriety, her dignified graceful simplicity rises in our opinion, and we feel it with more conviction of its superiority. She showed us her delightful children. I have been standing in my dressing-gown writing on the top of a chest of drawers, and now I must dress for a breakfast at Lady Davy's, where we are to meet Lord Byron; but I must say that at the third place where we were let in yesterday, Lady Wellington's, we spent by far the most agreeable half-hour of the day.'

The Edgeworths were persons of birth, fortune, and connexion, in addition to their literary claims, and simply assumed their natural place when they joined the aristocratic circles, which eagerly courted them. There is nothing, therefore, at all odd, much less reprehensible, in her notices of London life being principally confined to the precincts of May Fair. At all events, they were not confined to fine ladies. Speaking of the same period, Mrs. Edgeworth says: 'One day, 'coming too late to dinner at Mr. Horner's, we found Doctor 'Parr very angry at our having delayed and then interrupted 'dinner; but he ended by giving Maria his blessing.' This is probably the occasion on which Edgeworth boasted before Lord Byron of having put down Parr. She adds: 'We un-'fortunately missed seeing Madame d'Arblay, and we left

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'London before the arrival of Madame de Staël.' This falls in with a story printed in Moore's Diary:

'In talking of getting into awkward scrapes at dinner tables, Lady Dunmore mentioned a circumstance of the kind in which Rogers was concerned. It was at the time when Madame de Staël was expected in London, and somebody at table (there being a large party) asked when she was likely to arrive. "Not till Miss Edgeworth is gone," replied Rogers: "Madame de Staël would not like two stars shining at the same time." The words were hardly out of his mouth, when he saw a gentleman rise at the other end of the table and say in a solemn tone: "*Madame la Baronne de Staël est incapable d'une telle bassesse.*" It was Auguste de Staël, her son, whom Rogers had never before seen.'

Two curious traits of children, who have since fully justified the expectations formed of them, were set down by her in 1813:

'*April* 25, 1813.—I enclose the Butterfly's Ball for Sophy, and a letter to the King written by Dr. Holland when six years old: his father found him going with it to the post. (This letter was an offer from Master Holland to raise a regiment. He and some of his little comrades had got a drum and a flag, and used to go through the manual exercise. It was a pity the letter did not reach the King: he would have been delighted with it.')

'*August*, 1813.—We have just seen a journal by a little boy of eight years old, of a voyage from England to Sicily; the boy is Lord Mahon's son, Lord Carrington's grandson. It is one of the best journals I ever read, full of facts: exactly the writing of a child, but a very clever child.'

This very clever child is the present Earl Stanhope.

'Harrington' and 'Ormond,' with 'Thoughts on Bores' (two volumes), was published in May, 1817, with the usual preface by Edgeworth, the last he was destined to write. He died on the 13th of June; and, partly from grief, partly from a complaint in her eyes, Miss Edgeworth wrote hardly any letters for many months. As soon as she was sufficiently recovered from the shock, she set to work to complete her father's Memoirs, which she had to take up and continue from 1782. The whole of the second volume is by her. The work is amusing; many incidents and traits of character are recorded in it which would have left a chasm in her own biography had they been lost; but it was the least successful of their joint productions, and her part was perceptibly impaired by its being too much a labour of love. It was criticised in the 'Quarterly Review' (Oct. 1820) with extreme bitterness, and in a manner (whatever the intention) particularly adapted to give pain, not only to Maria, but to the entire family; for

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the four marriages (to which the reviewer tried hard to add a fifth) were made the mark of much moral indignation, real or simulated. Dumont wrote to her: 'If by accident you have 'not read this infamous article, I should advise you not to 'read it, and to abandon it to public contempt.' Mrs. Marcet spoke of it as a subject which made her blood boil, and 'roused 'every feeling of contempt and abhorrence.' Miss Edgeworth wrote at once to her aunt from Paris (Nov. 1820): 'Never lose 'another night's sleep or another moment's thought on the '"Quarterly Review." I have never read, and never will 'read it.' She kept her word.

Having finished the Memoirs, she determined to indulge herself in what she had long projected, a visit to Paris with her two young sisters (by the fourth marriage) Fanny and Harriet, and we find them settled in the Place du Palais Bourbon in April 29, 1820.

In one of her letters from Paris, she says: 'I find always 'when I come to the end of my paper that I have not told 'you several entertaining things I had treasured up for you. 'I had a history of a man and woman from Cochin China 'which must now be squeezed almost to death.' This will be just our case. We shall come to the end of our paper without being able to bring in a tithe of the entertaining, and better than entertaining, things we had noted down: we have more than one history which must be squeezed almost to death or never live at all in our pages. Her letters sparkle with brilliant names, and, in most instances, with fresh anecdotes or reminiscences attached to them. The doors of all the leading hotels and salons flew open at her approach, including those of the Fauxbourg St. Germain; for the connexion with the Abbé Edgeworth had now become a safe passport to the houses of the ancient *noblesse.* The French always spoke of him as the Abbé de Firmont, a name he had taken on account of the difficulty they found in the *w* and *th*; Edgevatz being their nearest approximation to the sound. At one house, a valet, after Maria had several times repeated 'Edgeworth,' exclaimed, '*Ah, je renonce à ça*; and throwing open the door of the salon, announced, '*Madame Maria et Mesdemoiselles* '*ses sœurs.*' Byron speaks of some Russian or Polish names as 'names that would descend to posterity if posterity could 'but pronounce them.' Many English names are exposed to the same disadvantage. An English traveller passed the better part of an evening at Tieck's at Dresden, in 1834, vainly endeavouring to teach some German ladies to pronounce 'Words-'worth.' Few of them got nearer than 'Vudvutt.'

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The form of the visiting cards of the party, adopted (she says) after due deliberation, was 'Madame Maria Edgeworth 'et Mesdemoiselles ses sœurs.' Her sisters were attractive girls, and she had no reason to complain of being over-weighted with them, particularly at Paris, where a guest more or less, even at a dinner party, was never so serious an affair as we are wont to make of it. A notion of their Parisian life may be conveyed in a brief extract:

'We have seen Mademoiselle Mars twice or thrice rather, in the "Mariage de Figaro" and in the little pieces of "Le Jaloux sans "Amour," and "La Jeunesse de Henri Cinq," and admire her exceedingly. In petit comité the other night at the Duchesse d'Escars, a discussion took place between the Duchesse de la Force, Marmont, and Pozzo di Borgo, on the *bon et mauvais ton* of different expressions—*bonne société* is an expression *bourgeoise*—you may say *bonne compagnie* or *la haute société*. "*Voilà des* "*nuances*," as Madame d'Escars said. Such a wonderful jabbering as these grandees made about these small matters. It put me in mind of a conversation in the "World" on good company which we all used to admire.'

Yet Marmont and Pozzo di Borgo were grandees of no common order. She met all the scientific men of note at Cuvier's, who gave a good instance of Bonaparte's insisting on a decided answer. He asked me, 'Faut-il introduire le sucre 'de betterave en France?' 'D'abord, Sire, il faut songer à vos 'colonies.'—'Faut-il avoir le sucre de betterave en France?' 'Mais, Sire, il faut examiner.'—'Bah! je le demanderai à 'Berthellot.'

She says of Benjamin Constant:—

'I do not like him at all: his countenance, voice, manner, and conversation are all disagreeable to me. He is a fair, *whithky*-looking man (*sic*), very near-sighted, with spectacles which seem to pinch his nose. . . . He has been well called the *héros des brochures*. We sat beside one another, and I think we felt a mutual antipathy. On the other side of me was Roger Collard, suffering with toothache and swelled face; but notwithstanding the distortion of the swelling, the natural expression of his countenance and the strength and sincerity of his soul made their way, and the frankness of his character and the plain superiority of his talents were manifest in five minutes' conversation.'

After leaving Paris they made a short tour in Switzerland, and passed some delightful days at Geneva during what has been termed its Augustan age. Dumont acted as their guide, and one of their first dinners was at Dr. and Mrs. Marcet's, with Dumont, M. and Madame Prevost, M. de la Rive, M. Bonstettin (Gray's friend), and M. de Candolles. During a visit

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to Coppet, where the Duc and Duchesse de Broglie then were, she is able to exclaim exultingly, 'Here we are in the very 'apartments occupied by M. Necker, opening into what is now 'the library, but what was once that theatre on which Ma- 'dame de Staël used to act her own Corinne.' . . . 'There is 'something inexpressibly melancholy, awful, in this house, in 'these rooms, where the thought continually occurs, Here 'genius was! here was ambition! here all the great struggles 'of the passions: here was Madame de Staël!'

With Madame de Staël and Madame de Broglie (it is added in the Memoir) Maria was particularly happy; and there are two anecdotes of Madame de Staël which we cannot make up our minds to forego. The first was related by Dumont:

'One day M. Suard, as he entered the saloon of the hôtel Necker, saw Madame Necker going out of the room, and Mademoiselle Necker standing in a melancholy attitude with tears in her eyes. Guessing that Madame Necker had been lecturing her, Suard went towards her to comfort her, and whispered, "*Une caresse du papa vous dédommagera bien de tout ça.*" She immediately, wiping the tears from her eyes, answered, "*Eh! oui, Monsieur, mon père songe à mon bonheur présent, mamma songe à mon avenir.*" There was more than presence of mind, there was heart and soul and greatness of mind in this answer.'

Miss Edgeworth took down from the Duchess of Wellington's own lips a dialogue between herself and Madame de Staël on a remarkable occasion. The Duchess had purposely avoided making the acquaintance of Madame de Staël in England, not knowing how she might be received by the Bourbons after the Restoration. Finding on her arrival at Paris that Corinne was well received, she invited her to her first assembly. She came, and walking up straight to the Duchess with flashing eyes, began:

'Eh! Madame la Duchesse, vous ne vouliez pas donc faire ma connaissance en Angleterre?

'Non, Madame, je ne le voulais pas.

'Eh! comment, Madame? Pourquoi donc?

'C'est que je vous craignais, Madame.

'Vous me craignez, Madame la Duchesse?

'Non, Madame, je ne vous crains plus.

'Madame de Staël threw her arms round her: Ah, je vous adore.'

They return to England at the beginning of December 1820, and we next find them at Bowood, where Miss Edgeworth was a frequent and welcome guest. Once when T. Moore met her there, after recording in his Diary the effect of his singing (which he never omits to record) on Dugald Stewart, he adds: 'Miss Edgeworth, too, was much affected. This is

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'a delightful triumph, to touch the higher spirits.' At a later period, in reference to an invitation to breakfast at Rogers', he sets down: 'Went and found Miss Edgeworth, Luttrell, Lord 'Normanby and Sharpe. Miss Edgeworth, with all her clever-'ness, anything but agreeable. The moment any one begins 'to speak, off she starts too, seldom more than a sentence 'behind them, and in general contrives to distance every 'speaker. Neither does what she say, though of course very 'sensible, at all make up for this over-activity of tongue.' Moore (like Rogers) judged people subjectively, not objectively —from his own feelings, sympathies or antipathies, not from their 'qualities, merits or demerits.' We are as certain as if we were present that Miss Edgeworth put him out, anticipated him in a favourite story, or added a touch of Irish humour which he had let slip. From personal recollection of her manner of conversing, we can state positively that it was utterly remote from eagerness for display or over-activity of tongue. Lord Byron says her conversation was as quiet as herself. Lockhart, who was fastidious enough in all conscience, was delighted with her; and Scott writes (in 1827):— 'It is scarcely possible to say more of this very remarkable 'person than that she not only completely answered but ex-'ceded the expectations which I had formed. I am particularly 'pleased with the *naïveté* and good-humoured ardour of mind 'which she unites with such formidable powers of acute obser-'vation.'

Fashion, in its best sense, is essentially a discriminating and almost a democratic principle; it unscrupulously overrides birth, fortune, and even fame, for purely personal distinction and agreeability. We have known many a lion and lioness dropped after a short trial. We never knew one retain the coveted position long by mere literary celebrity, much less by restless anxiety for display. The object of the most refined and cultivated society of London and Paris, in their ordinary intercourse, is not to instruct or be instructed, to dazzle or be dazzled, but to please and be pleased. Now, Miss Edgeworth was pre-eminently the fashion year after year, and she wisely acted on Colton's maxim in 'Lacon': 'In all societies it is advisable to associate, if pos-'sible, with the highest. In the grand theatre of human life, 'a *box-ticket* takes you through the house.' During her visit to London in 1822, we find her spending a morning in Newgate with Mrs. Fry, receiving Sir Humphry Davy in the afternoon, taken by Whitbread to the ladies' gallery in the House of Commons, and finishing with Almack's in its heyday:

'Fanny and Harriet have been with me at that grand exclusive

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paradise of fashion, Almack's. Observe that the present Duchess of Rutland, who had been a few months away from town, and had offended the lady patronesses by not visiting them, could not at her utmost need get a ticket from any one of them, and was kept out to her amazing mortification. This may give you some idea of the importance attached to admission to Almack's. Kind Mrs. Hope got tickets for us from Lady Gwydir and Lady Cowper (Lady Palmerston); the patronesses can only give tickets to those whom they personally know; on that plea they avoided the Duchess of Rutland's application, she had not visited them,—"they really did not "know her grace," and Lady Cowper swallowed a camel for me, because she did not really know me; I had met her, but had never been introduced to her till I saw her at Almack's.

'Fanny and Harriet were beautifully dressed: their heads by Lady Lansdowne's hair-dresser, Trichot; Mrs. Hope lent Harriet a wreath of her own French roses. Fanny was said by many to be, if not the prettiest, the most elegant-looking young woman in the room, and certainly "elegance, birth, and fortune were there as-"sembled," as the newspapers would truly say.'

Lord Londonderry hurries up to talk of 'Castle Rackrent' and Ireland, and introduces them to Lady Londonderry, who invites them to one of her grandest parties. And then they become 'very intimate' with Wollaston and Kater, Mr. Warburton, and Dr. and Mrs. Somerville. 'They and Dr. and 'Mrs. Marcet form the most agreeable as well as scientific 'society in London.' And then they dine with Lydia White, and become acquainted with Mrs. Siddons, who relates an incident of her career which it was worth going a long way to hear from her own lips:

'She gave us the history of her first acting of Lady Macbeth, and of her resolving, in the sleep scene, to lay down the candlestick, contrary to the precedent of Mrs. Pritchard and all the traditions, before she began to wash her hands and say, "Out vile spot!" Sheridan knocked violently at her door during the five minutes she had desired to have entirely to herself, to compose her spirits before the play began. He burst in, and prophesied that she would ruin herself for ever if she persevered in this resolution to lay down the candlestick! She persisted, however, in her determination, succeeded, was applauded, and Sheridan begged her pardon. She described well the awe she felt, and the power of the excitement given to her by the sight of Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and Sir Joshua Reynolds in the pit.'

To excuse her constant yearning for the stage after her formal retirement, she was wont to say that nothing in life could equal the excitement caused by that sea of upturned faces in the pit. This story leads naturally to one told by Sir Humphry Davy:

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'Sir Humphry repeated to us a remarkable criticism of Buonaparte's on Talma's acting: "You don't play Nero well; you gesticulate too much; you speak with too much vehemence. A despot does not need all that; he need only pronounce. '*Il sait qu'il se suffit.*'" "And," added Talma, who told this to Sir Humphry, "Buonaparte, as he said this, folded his arms in his well-known manner, and stood as if his attitude expressed the sentiment.'

Before hastening (and we must hasten) to the conclusion, we may mention, in passing, that the third volume of the Memoir contains a long correspondence with Captain Basil Hall, to whom she acted as literary adviser, and an account of an expedition to Connemara with Sir Culling and Lady Smith, which rivals the best Irish sketches in her books. She complained bitterly of the loss of her own literary monitor and coadjutor; and shrank from completing and publishing much which, under his approving eye, she would have given to the world. We have heard on good authority that she left chests full of stories in manuscript which the family have refrained from printing. Her literary labours do not appear to have been very profitable. Lockhart, who acted for her in some of her later arrangements with publishers, states that she never realised for the best of her Irish tales a tithe of the sum (700*l.*) given for Waverley. Yet Waverley on its first appearance was called a 'Scotch Castle Rackrent.'*

'Harry and Lucy' was begun by her father and his second wife Honora, in 1787, to illustrate his notions of practical education. Day offered to assist, and with this view wrote 'Sandford and Merton,' which was first designed for a short story to be inserted in 'Harry and Lucy.' Edgeworth, therefore, had some reason for boasting that the public owed 'Sandford and Merton' to him. This is not the first time that a work of lasting reputation has been produced in the same manner. 'Eothen' was written to assist the author of 'The 'Crescent and the Cross,' and was at one time intended to appear as a kind of supplement to that work.

There is a letter from Scott to Joanna Baillie, in which he writes:

'I have not the pen of our friend Miss Edgeworth, who writes all the while she laughs, talks, eats, and drinks, and I believe, though I do not pretend to be so far in the secret, all the time she sleeps, too. She has good luck in having a pen which walks at once so unweariedly and so well. I do not, however, quite like her last book

* Life of Scott, vol. iii. p. 124. The Quarterly Review, vol. ii. p. 356.

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on Education ("Harry and Lucy"), considered as a general work. She should have limited the title to "Education in Natural Philo-"sophy," or some such term, for there is no great use in teaching children in general to roof houses or build bridges, which, after all, a carpenter or a mason does a great deal better at 2*s.* 6*d.* a-day. . . . Your ordinary Harry should be kept to his grammar, and your Lucy, of most common occurrence, would be kept employed on her sampler, instead of wasting wood and cutting their fingers, which I am convinced they did, though their historian says nothing of it.'

The fault of all her and her father's children's books is that they exact too much from both pupil and teacher, and greatly overestimate the probable or even possible results of their system. They place no bounds to what education can effect. This is more especially the defect of 'Frank'—a work, in other respects, of signal excellence, which well deserves to retain its rank as the first of English boys' books.

Scott's visitors were wont to express the same wonder at the unseen and unaccountable performances of his pen which he expresses of the unwearied walk of hers. The difference between them in this respect was that he got up early and wrote for two or three hours before breakfast, after which he felt at full liberty to amuse himself with his guests. She generally sat down to her writing-desk (a small and plain one made by her father) in the common sitting-room, soon after breakfast and wrote till luncheon, her chief meal; then did some needlework, took a short drive, and wrote for the rest of the afternoon. She probably varied her habits during Scott's visit to Edgeworth-Town.

On May 7th, 1849, being then in her eighty-third year, she writes to Mrs. Richard Buller: 'I am heartily obliged and 'delighted by your being such a goose, and Richard such a 'gander, as to be frightened out of your wits at my going up 'the ladder to take off the top of the clock.' She actually had mounted the ladder, as if emulous of the fate of that old Countess of Desmond, who broke her neck by a fall from a cherry-tree. On the 22nd she was taken suddenly ill with pain in the region of her heart, and expired within a few hours in the arms of her step-mother, the author of the Memoir.

The general character of Miss Edgeworth's productions was so exhaustively discussed in her lifetime, and the traditional estimate of them is so fixed and unanimous, that little remains for us but to take a retrospective glance at their prominent features—to sum up her many merits, and few demerits, as one of the most fertile, popular, and influential English novelists of her age. All are agreed in ranking amongst her qualities the finest powers of observation; the most penetrating good

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sense; a high moral tone consistently maintained; inexhaustible fertility of invention; firmness and delicacy of touch; undeviating rectitude of purpose; varied and accurate knowledge; a clear flexible style; exquisite humour, and extraordinary mastery of pathos. What she wants, what she could not help wanting with her matter-of-fact understanding and practical turn of mind, are poetry, romance, passion, sentiment. In her judgment the better part of life and conduct is discretion. She has not only no toleration for self-indulgence or criminal weakness: she has no sympathy with lofty, defiant, uncalculating heroism or greatness: she never snatches a grace beyond the reach of prudence: she never arrests us by scenes of melodramatic intensity, or hurries us along breathless by a rapid train of exciting incidents to an artistically prepared catastrophe. Neither does she shine in historic painting; and she would have failed in 'high art' had she aspired to it. Her gaze was too constantly fixed on the surface to admit of much depth or breadth of thought; and she was deficient in the art of combining more than a limited number of scenes and characters into a plot.

The late Earl of Dudley, a fervent admirer, christened her the Anti-sentimental Novelist; and Madame de Staël was reported to have said, '*que Miss Edgeworth était digne de l'enthousiasme, mais qu'elle s'est perdue dans la triste utilité.*' When this was repeated during the visit at Coppet in 1820, the Duchesse de Broglie declared, '*Ma mère n'a jamais dit cela; elle en était incapable.*' For all that, we suspect she did say it. The internal evidence is strong, and the remark is partly founded in truth. Miss Edgeworth is worthy of the highest admiration of the soberer kind; she does not inspire enthusiasm; and she would have been more useful, as well as a thousandfold more attractive, had she thought and written less about utility.

Goethe was wont to maintain that the writer of a work of fiction should take no thought of the moral: that he should keep true to nature and leave the moral to take care of itself. This may be accepted as a sound canon of criticism, subject to a limitation obviously understood. The poet, dramatist, or novelist may safely give the rein to invention under the conscious control of good feeling and good sense. It is not his or her business to vindicate the ways of God to man; much less to warp events in such a manner as to vindicate them. In the case of a story-book for children, there is no great harm in playing Providence in this fashion; for the parent or master can so manage the distribution of rewards and punishments as

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that good or bad behaviour shall be speedily followed by the fitting results. Only, when goodness is uniformly productive of extra holidays, pocket-money, and playthings, this is much the same as bribing or coaxing children to be good. But in stories for grown-up people, corresponding results can rarely be brought about without shocking probability or jarring against the religious faith which looks to the next world to redress the injustice and inequality of this. The folly of trying to fathom the designs of the Infinite is well exposed in the Arabian fable which supplied the story of Parnell's Hermit and is employed (in 'Zadig') with his wonted felicity by Voltaire. The third Epistle of the 'Essay on Man' is a beautiful amplification of the same argument.

In one of the Popular Tales, entitled 'To-morrow,' the hero is within an ace of ruin by arriving too late to sail with the Chinese Embassy to which he is attached. When a friend of ours was travelling with the late Lord Alvanley, his lordship was almost always behind his time, and to a laughing remonstrance replied, 'Why, my dear fellow, the fact is, these dilatory 'habits of mine saved my life. I was about to embark at 'Trieste for Constantinople; my carriage and servants were 'on board; I arrived too late; the ship sailed without me, and 'was never heard of again. I am now unpunctual upon prin-'ciple.' The same hero fails in a literary career, for which he is well fitted by knowledge and capacity, because he is always procrastinating either the composition or the publication of his books. But Dr. Johnson seldom began the required paper for the Rambler till there was just time enough to save the post and not time enough to revise what he had written. Sheridan boasted that he never did to-day what by any device he could put off till to-morrow; and we could name more than one successful author, now living, who has sorely tried the patience of an expectant public by his dilatoriness.

Moore one day asked Rogers what he did when people, who wanted his autograph, requested him to sign a sentence with his name. 'Oh, I give them "Ill-gotten wealth never pros-'"pers," or, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," or, '"Virtue is its own reward."' Luttrell broke in: 'Then the 'more shame for you to circulate such delusions. Do not the 'ill-gotten wealth of * * * and * * * prosper? Haven't * * * 'and * * * whose communications are all evil, the best manners 'of any men of our acquaintance? Look at our honest, ex-'cellent friend * * * to whom you, Rogers, lent ten pounds yes-'terday. Is virtue its own reward in his case? Or, when Pitt 'spouted Horace and talked of involving himself in his virtue, 'was he the less eager to be First Lord of the Treasury again?'

Now, Miss Edgeworth would not have hesitated a moment to take either one of these maxims as her starting-point; and her father would have written a preface to announce that the moral had been conclusively and satisfactorily worked out. Their mode of working out the moral of 'Virtue is its own 'reward' would be to picture Virtue richly attired, crowned with laurel, and bearing a cornucopia in her hand.

Do we not all know hundreds who have got on by patronage? or who have got their first step through a patron, and with occasional help of the same kind have risen steadily and creditably to the top of the tree? The fact is notorious, but unless it can be ignored or kept in the background, it is extremely difficult to demonstrate by a probable succession of events that self-reliance is the only sure or honourable stepping-stone to success. The fictitious narrative will be impaired by the daily observation of the reality, and impaired in exact proportion to the completeness with which it is made to correspond with the premeditated end. Thus, in 'Patronage,' the most indulgent or indifferent reader will be startled by the sudden and simultaneous discomfiture or disgrace of the entire family who have obtained an excellent start by interest. The Dean, the best of the lot, is let off with the lightest sentence. He is married for money to a woman whom he had described the day before as 'an old, ugly, cross, avaricious devil.' This is *his* destiny. The colonel, on foreign service, is out shooting when an important order arrives, sent home under arrest, and cashiered. The diplomatist is detected in a piece of treachery to his official patron, and dismissed. The beauty, 'Georgy,' after missing marriage after marriage, is sent to try her fortune with faded charms to India. A conspiracy for raising money by the sale of places through the instrumentality of forged letters is brought home to the manœuvring mother; and the father is left, another Marius amongst the ruins, lamenting over the failure of his system and his schemes. Scott clears the ground for the desired conclusion of 'Rob Roy' in the same summary style. Of Sir Hildebrand's four sons, the quarrelsome one is killed in a duel; the sot dies of a fever caused by a drinking bout; the horse-jockey breaks his neck in an attempt to show off a foundered blood-mare; and the fool is killed at Preston fighting bravely for a cause he could never be made to understand. But Scott, far from writing towards a preappointed moral, commonly began without a plan. Miss Edgeworth had entered into a voluntary engagement to connect the downfall of the Falconers with their method of rising, and no logical or necessary connexion is made out.

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Miss Edgeworth is not satisfied with ordering events; she also frames characters to match. 'Murad the Unlucky' is an example. No man of observation and experience will deny that there are such things as good luck and ill luck; and no man of sense will dissent from Jeremy Taylor's axiom that 'life is like playing at tables: the luck is not in our power, but 'the playing the game is.' Whether success in the world depends most on prudence or fortune, the point in dispute between the Sultan and the Vizier of the tale, is one requiring the utmost delicacy of handling. But Murad is simply a foolish, weak, careless, idle, drunken fellow, who goes out of his way to get into trouble; whilst his brother, Saladin the Lucky, is industry, sobriety, sagacity, firmness and foresight personified. The terms 'lucky' and 'unlucky' have no application to such men. There is no good luck in saving a city from incendiaries by courage and presence of mind: there is no ill-luck in setting fire to a ship by leaving a lighted pipe on a bale of cotton.

In 'Patronage,' again, the rival families are so unequal that they cannot be handicapped for the race. The one has all the good qualities: the other almost all the bad. Reverse the position: encumber the Percys (to borrow a Johnsonian phrase) with any amount of help; leave the Falconers entirely to their own resources; and the sole difference in the result under any easily conceivable circumstances will be, that the Percys will rise more rapidly and the Falconers never rise at all. Indeed, it might have been better for the plot if they never had risen. The sickening pang of hope deferred is the appropriate punishment of placehunting, which ought not to be associated with even temporary success.

'Toil, envy, want, the *patron*, and the jail.'

Boswell states that Johnson first wrote *garret*, 'but after 'experiencing the uneasiness which Lord Chesterfield's fallacious patronage made him feel, he dismissed the word from the 'sad group and replaced it by *patron*.'

The intended effect of 'The Lottery' is similarly impaired. The hero gains a 5,000*l.* prize, which unsettles his habits and blights his life. There are numerous instances in which a similar catastrophe has been produced by an unexpected inheritance. Yet not one poor man in a hundred would refuse a fortune, or refrain from putting into the lottery, for fear of being demoralised by wealth. The human mind is so constituted that we all think we can separate the evil from the good, and no experience avails us but our own. Theodore Hook regularly took a ticket in the Austrian lottery in the hope of

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gaining the castle on the Danube. This was his mirage in the desert, his *château en Espagne*, for years; and a good story might be made out of the shifts to which he was frequently put to raise the money, and his feverish agitation when the time for drawing was at hand.

In stories where Miss Edgeworth clogs herself with a moral, she recalls the runner in the German legend who ties his legs together to moderate his pace; and when she keeps pressing considerations of utility on the reader, she may be compared to a host who, when you are admiring the undulating variety of his grounds or enjoying a fine prospect, requests your attention to his mode of draining and fencing, or drags you away to inspect the plan of a projected almshouse or school-room.

To a totally different category belong novels like the 'Absentee,' in which the struggles and mortifications of an Irish family of rank in the fine world of London are held up as a warning; or those which, like Joanna Baillie's Plays on the Passions, are composed for the development of character or the exposure of any given mental malady with its cure. In 'Ennui,' Lord Glenthorn, the prototype of *L'Homme Blasé* ('Used Up'), is a dramatic conception of a high order; and the scenes through which he is led, independently of their merit as representations of manners, are admirably adapted to exhibit the peculiar state of feeling contracted by satiety. There are passages in which the young English peer recalls Alfieri in phases of mind described in his autobiography; but, as we learn from the letters, Miss Edgeworth cautiously avoided confounding fact with fiction; and it is only in the most ambitious of her portraits that she can be accused of transgressing sound principles of art. Lord Dudley, who reviewed 'Patronage' in the 'Quarterly Review,' objected that a modern Premier is out of place in a novel. A drawing from the life is of course not permissible, and there are not modern Premiers enough to supply materials for an artistic creation. To conceive one without individual traits would be as difficult as Martinus found it to form an abstract idea of a Lord Mayor without any of the ensigns of his dignity. Miss Edgeworth's Lord Oldborough, excepting two or three slight points of resemblance to Lord Chatham and Lord Grenville, is unlike any Premier in *esse* or *posse;* and we agree with Lord Dudley that, powerfully as he is drawn, a great part of our interest is destroyed by constantly recollecting, not only that he did not exist, but that he could not have existed.

The same objection does not hold good against her Chief Justice; for there have been a great many chief justices. We

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once heard her say that she had Chief Justice Bushe up permost in her thoughts during the delineation; which has been questioned on the ground that he did not become Chief Justice till after the publication of the book. The difficulty is cleared up by a letter dated January 14, 1822, in which she says: 'I am rejoiced at Mr. Bushe's promotion. Mrs. Bushe 'sent to me, through Anne Nangle, a most kind message, 'alluding to our "Patronage" Chief Justice by *Second Sight*.'

Lord Dudley also hints a doubt whether her English sketches do not suggest that she had taken only an occasional and cursory view of English society. This is not our impression, although she treads more firmly and freely on Irish ground, and the stories of which the scenes are laid in Ireland are most redolent of humour and pathos, more deeply and broadly marked with the stamp of her peculiar genius, than the rest. Lord Jeffrey has reprinted in the corrected edition of his works the opinion which he delivered forty-five years since in this Journal, that, if she had never written anything but the epistle of Larry Brady, the post-boy, to his brother, which forms the conclusion of the 'Absentee,' 'this one letter 'must have placed her at the very top of our scale, as an ob-'server of character, and a mistress in the simple pathetic.' Without disputing this opinion, we would undertake to produce half-a-dozen passages of equal merit from the same novel, from 'Ormond,' or from 'Ennui.' Lord Jeffrey had already said that she need not be afraid of being excelled by any of her contemporaries in 'that faithful but flattering representation of the 'spoken language of persons of wit and politeness—in that light 'and graceful tone of raillery and argument—and in that gift 'of sportive but cutting *médisance*, which is sure of success in 'those circles where success is supposed to be most difficult and 'desirable.' He appeals to the conversation of Lady Delacour, Lady Dashfort, and Lady Geraldine. If required to specify a complete sketch of an English gentlewoman, he might confidently have pointed to Lady Jane Granville, Mrs. Hungerford, or Mrs. Mortimer.

Speaking of Lord Wellesley in 1825, Moore notes down in his Diary:—'Gave me some very pretty verses of his own to 'Miss Edgeworth. Showed me some verses of hers to him, 'strongly laudatory, but very bad.' Moore would have thought any verses bad that had not his own exquisite finish; but verse-making was not her vocation, and poetry was not her forte.

Sheridan, struck by the spirit and point of the dialogue in 'Belinda,' recommended her to try her hand at dramatic composition; and two 'comic dramas,' three acts each—'Love and

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'Law,' and 'The Rose, Thistle, and Shamrock'—are printed in the collected edition of her works. The unity of action wanting in her novels is equally neglected in these dramas; the *dramatis personæ* are mostly Irish of the lower class, and much of the dialogue is pure brogue. The utmost that can be said for these productions is that, if compressed into one-act farces, with Irish Johnson and Power to take parts, they might have had a run; and her name must be added to the long list of novelists, headed by Fielding and Le Sage, who have failed, or fallen lamentably short of the expected degree of excellence, in the kindred walk of fiction. The dramatic fame of the author of 'Tom Jones' rests on the mock tragedy of 'Tom Thumb;' and so long as the author of 'Gil Blas' was only known as a playwright, no one saw any incongruity in the joke placed by Piron in the mouth of Punchinello:—'Pourquoi lefol de temps en temps ne diroit-il pas de bonnes 'choses, puisque Le Sage de temps en temps dit de si 'mauvaises?'

It is from the apex of the pyramid that men calculate its height, and the altitude of genius must be taken where it has attained its culminating point. Let those who wish to appreciate Miss Edgeworth, and derive the greatest amount of refining and elevating enjoyment from her works, pass over the prefaces, short as they are—never think of the moral, excellent as it may be—be not over-critical touching the management of the story, but give themselves up to the charm of the dialogue, the scene-painting, the delineation and development of character, the happy blending of pathos and humour with the sobriety of truth. Let them do this, and they will cease to wonder at the proud position conceded to her by the dispassionate judgment of her most eminent contemporaries.

We cannot conclude without expressing an earnest wish that a Memoir so rich in curious matter, and so well calculated to confirm and even exalt her reputation, will not long be confined to a limited circle. In this age of monuments and testimonials, such a monument, if she wanted one, would be the most appropriate and the most durable.

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ART. VI.—*First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders and Directions for regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship, &c., according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland: with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London: 1867.

THE first Report of the Ritual Commissioners—long promised and long delayed—is at last in everybody's hands, and has been received with very general though not universal satisfaction. A still longer delay would have been amply compensated by such completeness in the investigations pursued, and such unanimity in the decision arrived at. We are much struck with the value of the Evidence contained in these Minutes. It is of the greatest importance to have brought out the facts, and drawn forth the declarations, here placed on record; leading, as we think they do, quite irresistibly to the conclusions which the Commissioners have come to. That the vestments are not deemed essential by any who have adopted them, however important in the eyes of some; that they give such grave offence to many as to be fatal in most places to the maintenance of the parochial system; that the wearers have the vaguest notions of their origin, their meaning, and the authority by which they are to be regulated, while avowing the startling principle that clergymen are entitled to do anything not absolutely forbidden by the Rubric, if only they follow that supposed practice of the Catholic or of the Western Church which really resolves itself into the practice of the Church of Rome, not without a fanciful reference to Levitical usages and the 'Church of the Apocalypse'—facts like these compel the conclusion that it is necessary to restrain a licence which may run to lengths still more indefensible. Meanwhile the Rubric itself has lost authority with all parties by reason of its obvious unfitness to meet existing circumstances. The Ritualists are by no means the only offenders against it. Some very striking instances of its infringement are brought home in these investigations to clergymen of the opposite schools. Whilst, however, the latter plead in their excuse either necessity, or long usage, or episcopal sanction, professing themselves ready and willing in all cases to submit to directions if made clear and consistent and imperative, the Ritualists on their part present the singular phenomenon of an alleged sensitiveness of conscience impelling them to carry out to the

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utmost the obsolete and impracticable order respecting ornaments in use in the second year of Edward VI., while they show themselves singularly indifferent to the open violation of other rubrics, and the palpable evasion of many more.

It is of course to their practices solely that the Report itself refers. We may be thought to lay too much stress on the unanimity of the opinion expressed by the Commissioners, seeing how vague after all are the remedies which they have practically adopted. But absolute unanimity (and with regard to the main issue it is absolute) was more than anyone expected; and it strengthens our confidence in the utility of such Commissions as the present for dealing with delicate and difficult matters. In the present instance the most sinister forebodings were entertained. The composition of the Commission was sharply criticised, not only by the general press, but by public men of the highest character and station, while justifying their refusal to act on it; nor could it be denied that there was justice in the remarks then made, and ground for the fears then so widely felt. Yet here we have from this very body a verdict as remarkable for its decisiveness as for its freedom from party-spirit; and this has evidently resulted from the free interchange of conflicting views after careful examination of facts. We could hardly have a better proof, we repeat, of the efficacy of the method just resorted to — the reference, namely, of questions of high importance to a body of distinguished men of diverse tendencies, acting under a sense of their responsibility to their Church and country, and feeling that it is incumbent on them above all things to think and to decide with impartiality and justice. In such cases it matters little which way the majority may incline, if only all opinions are effectually represented. One-sidedness disappears before the broader and larger views which a quasi-judicial position tends so powerfully to develope.

We have spoken of the Report of the Commissioners as a decisive verdict. This, indeed, it virtually is, with respect at least to the practices which provoked the inquiry. It expresses no opinion, it is true, on the legality of the disputed vestments; nor was this to be expected or wished. Such an opinion would evidently have no judicial force, nor would it even carry with it any weight of legal authority. Its conclusions rest on grounds of morality and expediency, and as such they are decisive. And if the public will see in this Report the expression of their own unalterable convictions, we also trust that the Ritualists will feel that it is a judgment to which they are bound to defer. They cannot but feel that they have been

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treated by the Commissioners with the utmost consideration and tenderness. Their case has been tried before a tribunal, supposed by public opinion to be decidedly prepossessed in their favour, and undeniably containing several pronounced friends and even some pledged advocates of their views. Yet even this tribunal has pronounced against them. The very gentleness and courtesy of the verdict ought to give it all the greater weight with them, free as it is (in spite of its decisiveness) from all taunt or derogatory expression, or shade of irritating imputation.

We are gratified to find that the Ritualists themselves confess the impropriety of forcing their peculiarities upon an unwilling congregation (we are not so sure that we might say upon an unwilling *parish*); so that they will hardly resist such an alteration of the law as shall give force to this reasonable provision. But have we not a right to demand something more of them? The Report before us supplies a new and crowning proof that they have had to deal not only here and there with unwilling congregations, but everywhere with an unwilling church and an unwilling nation. This is a fact which has now been established by every conceivable method, except that impossible 'Synod' which Mr. Bennett asks for: and we trust that they will not persist in provoking or compelling that hostile action of the Legislature which their more moderate opponents deprecate. Surely if capitulation or surrender is often a duty morally incumbent on the bravest soldiers, we have a right to look for a generous submission from Christians and from churchmen, when submission means deference to legitimate authority and to the still higher law of charity, at the sacrifice only of personal tastes, and when resistance would mean internecine warfare, ending of necessity in the expulsion or secession of the recalcitrant few.

When we come to the practical recommendations of the Commissioners, we are forced to speak with more hesitation in their praise. They expressly reserve to themselves the right of further deliberation on this important part of the subject. But still what they do say seems to us unnecessarily ambiguous; and we doubt whether they are of one mind themselves as to what they intend by it. Their words are—

'We are of opinion that it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the United Church of England and Ireland, all variations in respect of vesture from that which has long been the established usage of the said United Church; and we think that this may best be secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an easy and effectual process for complaint and redress.'

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Now what does this mean? Is there to be a prohibitory law against these vestments? or is there not? At first sight it would seem to imply that the restraint recommended is to be merely such as the contemplated 'process' may exercise—a restraint therefore wholly contingent on the voluntary action of the parishioners. Yet this can hardly be the meaning; else why should the three Commissioners who have published 'Reservations' contend for this very point? And, unless we assume a previous alteration of the law of vestments, restraining the licence now indulged, or at least an authoritative settlement of its present ambiguities, such as shall give parishioners a definite right of complaint, we hardly see on what plea they could claim redress, however easy were the process provided for them. If then the Commissioners contemplate an alteration of the law of vestments, what is that alteration to be? We conclude that the answer is to be looked for in the words 'established usage.' The present unfortunate rubric, about 'the second year of the reign of king 'Edward VI.,' must surely be expunged. What is to be substituted for it? A rubric apparently defining the legitimate vestments to be 'those which have long been the established 'usage of the Church.' A somewhat stricter wording would of course be necessary; but, broadly speaking, this sort of rubric appears to us very much what is wanted—far preferable to such minute regulations as those which are attempted by the Canons, or by Lord Shaftesbury's Vestment Bill. Such a rubric would allow a certain elasticity of interpretation, and of consequent practice, without entering into minutiæ which are in any case trifling and unworthy of the Church, and which might at some future time prove inconvenient. And the licence thus permitted would vary in each case according to the circumstances and the views of that particular authority with which would lie the power of enforcing the law. If such licence might in some cases prove very wide indeed, as, for instance, in cathedrals, and in collegiate, or private, or proprietary chapels, yet in parochial churches, where alone the restriction is of primary importance, a remedy would always be within easy reach even of a minority of the congregation—a remedy operative at once upon every one of the novel extravagances which have recently aroused Protestant susceptibilities. We should gladly hail the adoption of some rule capable of modification according to long-prevailing local practice and varying æsthetic tendencies; and we cordially approve the principle which leaves the power and opportunity of enforcing the rule with more or less strictness in the hands of the parishioners themselves. But

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it might be well to allow the authorisation by the Ordinary of slight departures from established usage, if desired by the parishioners, or by a stipulated majority of them; so as to preclude in such cases vexatious interference from a mere handful of objectors. It seems to us most reasonable, in the immense variety of communities comprehended in the area of a National Church, that the independent principle of self-government should be largely conceded to each several community in matters of ceremonial.

Even in Ritualistic matters the Commissioners have still a long labour before them; though the evidence they have already taken will go far to settle other matters besides that of vestments. Decorations, incense, postures, novel forms of public devotion, must still engage their attention, and draw forth their remarks; and these things are but introductory, after all, to the work which lies beyond. It is not our wish or purpose now to resume our discussion of these matters. We congratulate the Commissioners on the auspicious conclusion of their first session, confidently expecting equal success in the next from the further application of the principles they have laid down. And we congratulate them also on the seasonable recovery of the authorised text on which they are to exercise their powers. The original copy of the Prayer-Book, the MS. volume appended to the Act of Uniformity, and the original of the sealed books deposited in the various cathedrals, had been lost (as is well known) since 1825. It was happily recovered at the beginning of August last. The discovery was due to the sagacity of the Dean of Westminster, who, on considering the circumstances of the supposed removal of the document from the old Jewel House, put the officers of the House of Lords on the right track, happily with immediate success. The unquestionable text of the Rubrics is now therefore in the hands of the Commissioners. It has already settled one disputed point (that of the authenticity of the Ornament Rubric), and can hardly fail to lead to the elucidation of others. Nor is this by any means the most important service, we are confident, which the Dean himself will have rendered to the Commission of which he is so distinguished a member. Rarely has the Church of England possessed a son so capable of mediating between parties in a critical hour of need, one so well furnished with the knowledge and the sympathies requisite for the office, and so worthy, through high qualities of heart and head, of the confidence and attachment which he wins on every side. The Jerusalem Chamber itself,

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in which the Commissioners sit, draws a new atmosphere of *caritas theologica* from him who is its present guardian.

It is not our intention, as we have said, to pursue the question of rubrical reform into its minuter details. Nor do we even desire to discuss the broader features of the reforms which are in contemplation. We pass over the Revision of the Lectionary for instance, only expressing our hope that besides the omission of the chapters unfit for public recital, and the introduction of portions of the Bible now wholly excluded from the cycle, a third series of short Sunday Lessons may be introduced for the use of churches where Evening Services are held; or a permissive rubric appended to the Calendar, allowing on such occasions the substitution of the Gospel and Epistle for the day. As several of the Psalms are unsuitable for congregational use, discretion should be allowed to the officiating minister to substitute for those which the monthly order may prescribe any other group belonging to the preceding week; as well as to omit the '*Venite Exultemus*' when (as on Good Friday and Ash Wednesday) it is followed by *Penitential* Psalms. We hope too that the amended Rubric may sanction that decent forbearance in the use of the prayers and addresses in the Marriage Service which public opinion and prevailing custom has long required, and which we doubt not has been countenanced by the practice of the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. And we trust that those rubrics which enjoin the use of the Athanasian Creed on the specified festivals of the Church, and of the Commination Service on Ash Wednesday, may at last cease to be obligatory.

But leaving these and many other minor matters about which much might be said, we pass to things of far greater importance. Our thoughts cannot but turn to those things, when we notice the large scope embraced by the terms of the Commission itself —a scope far larger than what was anticipated or apparently intended at first. Never since 1689 has such an opportunity offered itself, as the appointment of this Commission presents, for healing ancient breaches and recovering lost ground for the Church of England. Never have the circumstances of all parties in the Church pointed so plainly to the desirableness of mutual concessions. And never assuredly has public opinion been so ready to support the adoption of those generous and comprehensive measures by which alone a National Church can be preserved amidst allowed diversities of theological opinion.

Little or nothing has yet been done for the removal of long- grievances in the Church system. The recent en-

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largement of the liberty of thought allowed to clergymen, whether by legislative enactment or by the decision of the Ecclesiastical Courts, invaluable as we regard the boon to be, and indeed essential to the growth and continuance of the Church, has done little to commend it to the affections of Nonconformists, or of that immense multitude of acquiescent Churchmen who dwell habitually on the borders of Nonconformity. Indeed we fear that it has done the very contrary. It is true that the entrance to Holy Orders has been greatly facilitated for the higher class of minds by the wise and seasonable change now made in the terms of Clerical subscription. But even here the relief is felt by those alone who contemplate the Clerical profession. The great mass of laymen are entirely unaffected by it; and it is generally regarded less as a concession made to Nonconformist scruples than as an indulgence extended to the prevailing impatience of dogma and to novel tendencies of thought; so that it has been generally classed with that toleration of the views of a broader theology which judicial decisions have recently accorded to clergymen. Other and different measures are required to remove long-standing causes of disaffection, and allay the scruples which are popularly felt; and for this we repeat the present juncture offers a rare and unexpected opportunity.

The liberal measures which we advocate are twofold in character. First and most important, the release of the laity from certain obnoxious restrictions which impede their use of the offices of the National Church, provoking unnecessarily theological difference, and proving in many cases a source either of mischievous scandal or great inconvenience to individuals.

Secondly, an extension of liberty (under due control) to the ministers of the Church, in matters not deemed essential, so as to allow them a freer development of the means at their command for the edification of the people according to the varying requirements of the day.

We beg for a candid consideration of the suggestions which we are about to make; admitting, on our part, the practical difficulties which beset the subject, yet too deeply impressed with the magnitude of the existing evil to acquiesce silently in its continuance.

I. First and foremost, then, of the relaxations which we claim on behalf of the laity is some modification of the rules for the Baptism of Infants. Let it not be thought, however, that we are intending here to propose any doctrinal innovations. It is true that of all the exciting causes of dissent, the Baptismal Office of the English Church is the most fruitful. No other

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part of the Church formularies rouses so strong a repugnance on the part of a vast portion of the community, and that a portion, in many cases, which, from religious feeling and conscientious convictions, deserves the utmost respect. No other has deterred so many men from taking Anglican orders, who might have proved a strength and an ornament to the Church; and as we descend through the middle and lower ranks of society, we shall find that this is the point which, above all others, offends and alienates the minds of thoughtful and pious laymen. But though we do not conceal the desire which we have on former occasions expressed and justified, to see a modification of the language of this Service—such a modification as by the omission of a few phrases should maintain the modest ambiguity of the Church of England in a matter confessedly mysterious—we have no intention of pressing such a request now. We know the difficulties attending a revision of theological language, and this is not the time to argue in favour of the attempt. The measure which we ask for now is a much less serious one, and one which falls completely within the scope of the Commission. It is simply an alteration of the Rubrics. Without touching doctrinal language, much might be done to satisfy objectors by merely modifying the orders and directions accompanying the Service. And this in truth is a point of at least equal importance with the other. For it is not merely the questionable doctrines put into the mouth of the officiating minister which distress and repel so many who bring their infants to the font; it is still more the language required from themselves. People feel more directly compromised by what they are made to say in their own persons, than by what they merely listen to. Now, the sponsorial system, with its fictitious assertions and vicarious engagements, is regarded with very great repugnance by the humbler classes generally. And obedience to the regulations regarding sponsors involves also in many cases great practical difficulty and perplexity. No one who is not conversant with the poor, above all with the thoughtful and conscientious poor, can know the extent to which both these grievances are felt. In the first place, it is generally no easy matter for them to find sponsors at all for their children; those who are fittest in character being, as a rule, the very persons who most dislike the vicarious professions required of them. The poor have little sympathy with the habit so prevalent among their social superiors of making the office of godfathers and godmothers an opportunity for exchanging complimentary attentions between relations and friends. Plain men and women, if they undertake

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such engagements at all, wish to do so in a spirit of simplicity and truth; and they shrink from the language assigned to them in the Baptismal Service. Nor can we wonder, or blame them for it, when we consider what that language is. We often hear it said, indeed, that their objections arise from ignorance, or from misapprehension of the phrases which they stumble at. But we suspect that those objections would not be diminished, if they had learning enough to turn to the 'Sarum Manual' for the further illustration of the phrases which it has bequeathed to us, or to ponder over the passages in Tertullian and Augustine which set forth the *rationale* of the sponsorial office in the early Christian Church. And we venture to add, that if our clerical instructors could discover the true mind of the laity in general, they would find that the objections which we speak of are by no means confined to the uneducated. While the upper classes, however, pass very lightly over such matters, they are felt for the most part among the poorer members of the community to be either a scandal or at least a source of much vexatious difficulty. In parishes, indeed, where the canonical regulations are enforced, it becomes a simple impossibility to find sponsors for the children; parents being by the 29th Canon forbidden to stand as such, and none being eligible for the office but communicants only. We could tell some stories, pitiable at once and ludicrous, of consequences resulting from these rules where they are enforced. Such cases, however, are now, we hope, rare. Convocation itself (that of Canterbury, at least) consented some time ago (as it will be remembered), after immense expenditure of time and talk, to rescind that part of the Canon which relates to parents; and though, through some mismanagement, this infinitesimal piece of legislation came to nothing after all, the restriction is in most places already treated as obsolete, or as virtually repealed. Yet, even if these Canonical restrictions were finally and completely swept away, the regulations still in force would continue to provoke great offence and great embarrassment. For parents would still be forbidden to bring their infants to the font except under the disguise of godfathers and godmothers; or to claim recognition from the Church as the religious guardian of their own child, except in virtue of the vicarious professions which they are required to utter in its name. Here, after all, is the head and front of the evil. This ecclesiastical device of professing faith and repentance by proxy (however it be explained away) is and always will be repugnant to the common sense of ordinary people and to their notions of Christian simplicity. It grew up in a particular age and particular section of the Church,

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to which it is hard to enslave the freer genius of other times. The Eastern Church seems never to have adopted the practice.* And if a precedent is required, as well as common sense, for such alterations as we propose, here is the precedent which is needed. Why should not parents or guardians be allowed to present an infant, and claim for it on their own recognisance admission into the Christian fold, while engaging on their part to bring it up 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord'? We believe that there is nothing which would so conciliate reasonable Dissenters, and so reassure the wavering loyalty of innumerable Churchmen, as the concession of this moderate request. And it is a concession which might be made by a *mere alteration of the Rubric*, without any change in the formularies themselves. We know the difficulties which would attend any revision of the actual language of the Service—the alarm which the bare proposal would occasion—the danger of disruption in the Church which any such alteration would entail. But surely no such objection would apply to a rubric permitting a relaxation of disciplinary rules: in accordance at once with simple good sense, and with the practice of that branch of the primitive Church with which Anglican divines sometimes love to connect their own communion. Indeed, we need go no further than the Prayer-Book itself for the requisite precedent. Let it be allowed to parents to ask, if they prefer it, *such a Service as that which is now prescribed for private baptism*; to claim the substitution of such a service (if they object to the

* In the Eastern Church the profession of faith was not made by the sponsor in the form of questions and answers, but by repeating the Creed after the priest. See Palmer, 'Antiquities of the English 'Ritual,' vol. ii. c. 5. 'The interrogations and answers' (Wilt thou be baptised, &c.), he adds, 'do not occur, as far as I am aware, in the 'Rituals of any of the Eastern Churches.' It is in the Latin Church that the custom arose; and it can hardly be doubted that it originated in those forms of Roman law which prescribed the use of certain questions and answers uttered aloud, as necessary for the contraction of a binding obligation, and which accepted (as is reasonable and necessary in matters of business) the word of legal representatives as equivalent (quasi ex contractu) to that of an incompetent party. See the 'Institutes,' Lib. iii. Tit. xiii., xvi. *De verborum obligationibus.* 'Verbis obligatio contrahitur ex interrogatione et responsione, cum 'quid dari fierive nobis stipulemur. In hac re olim talia verba tra-'dita fuerunt: Spondes? spondeo. Promittis? promitto. Fide 'promittis? fide promitto. Fide jubes? fide jubeo. Dabis? dabo. 'Facies? faciam.' Cf. Tit. xxviii. *De obligationibus quæ quasi ex contractu nascuntur*, and Tit. xxix. *Per quas personas nobis obligatio adquiritur.*

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sponsorial system), not only (as now) in the case of sickness and at their own houses, but in any case, and at the font; while it might be left to the discretion of the clergyman whether he should administer the rite publicly, or when the congregation has withdrawn. Let the Rubric order that in such case the minister, after using so many or such part of the prayers prescribed in the preceding office as he shall judge convenient and fitting, shall require that the parents or other lawful guardians of the child shall recite after him the Apostles' Creed; that he shall then question them 'whether they desire that the child be 'baptised into that faith;' and, if so, whether 'they solemnly 'promise that they will endeavour to bring it up in the know-'ledge and practice of the Christian religion;' whereupon after such assent obtained, he shall proceed to baptise the child, and to admit it into the congregation of Christ's Church, according to the form of words prescribed by the foregoing office; adding a charge and exhortation, as nearly as may be, in the words with which that office concludes; 'unless' (to copy a corresponding rubric now actually standing in the Marriage Service) 'there be a sermon setting forth the duties of Christian 'parents towards their children.'

Such a rubric would involve no compromise of principle; for a similar licence is even now allowed in private baptism; and would call for no doctrinal alteration, no change whatever in the existing formularies. At the same time it would immensely facilitate the comprehension of Dissenters, and ensure a vast relief of conscience to lay members of the Church, if not (and this, too, would be its indirect consequence) to the Clergy also. The use of the present baptismal office, in all its integrity, would remain to that large body of Churchmen who love and reverence it, just as the use of the Visitation Service of the Sick remains; while in other cases it would be (like this latter service again), a manual or directory to be used with more or less fulness, more or less variation, according to the circumstances of the case and the judgment of the officiating minister. Nor would the arrangement which we propose establish any 'hard and fast line,' to mark, by a self-chosen diversity of practice, the existence of definite parties among clergymen; which is the great objection, in our eyes, to the introduction of *alternative* forms of prayer.

Deeply impressed as we are with the necessity for some such measure, if the Church of England would not lose its hold increasingly on the affections of the people, we press the matter on the attention of the Royal Commissioners, trusting that the suggestion may at least receive their attention, and

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that the evil which we point out may in one way or other be remedied. We believe that the simplified Baptismal Service would endear itself to myriads who shrink from it in its present form, as both sophistical and superstitious; and that in the case of those multitudes of others who now come to the font as a mere form, treating as a meaningless ceremony a service which appeals neither to their understanding nor to their conscience, the simple form of parental promise would prove a powerful instrument for stirring up the dormant sense of religious responsibility. Few are so hard as not to desire the spiritual welfare of their children. Few would be insensible to an appeal so reasonable, and to the inculcation of a duty which all that is best within them tells them is laid already upon them by a Higher Power than that of man.

II. The second point on which we claim for English Churchmen (and this term, in the eye of the law, is coextensive with the English public) a removal of restrictions which injuriously affect them, is in the Order for the Burial of the Dead. Here, again, we do not unsay what we have many times said before in advocacy of a revision of the Prayer-Book. We maintain that there is crying need of such a revision. Great scandals, by the confession of all parties, attend the indiscriminate use of the present Burial Service—scandals so great in some cases, that a clergyman may well regard it as a duty to set the law at defiance; as it will not soon be forgotten that the Archbishop of Canterbury himself declared in Parliament on a late occasion, startling the House of Lords and drawing upon him the grave rebuke of the Chancellor, by professing himself ready to disobey the law if need be, and encourage those who did so. But, indeed, it is not in extreme cases only that the words of the Service are justly liable to exception. Even in ordinary cases it is much to be regretted that language should be employed over the dead which seems to ordinary minds to go far beyond what Christian charity calls for, or the scope of human judgment justifies. And the general feeling of the thoughtful and religious laity is so decided on this point, that the Church and the ministers of the Church lose much in the respect entertained for them, by the indiscriminate utterance of this language, and by the sophistical apologies with which it is defended.

However on this point, though no doctrine (at least no disputed doctrine) is here involved, we will say no more; abstaining, as we have purposed all along, from urging a revision of the formularies which seems to be impracticable at present, and with which the existing Commission has no con-

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cern. We confine ourselves to the subject of the Rubrics. And here we first protest with all earnestness against the proposal which has found favour so widely in some quarters, of introducing fresh rubrics for the enforcement of discipline—whether such as should make a distinction in the Burial Office between communicants and non-communicants, or such as should invite an inquiry on the part of the Church authorities into the moral character and conduct of the deceased. We can imagine nothing more disastrous than the introduction of any such rubric; nothing more painful and embarrassing to right-minded clergymen; nothing more surely calculated to light the flame of discord and indignation in every parish and almost every household through the land, and bring down the stroke of destruction presently on the inquisitorial Church. The alteration which we press for is precisely in the opposite direction. It is for the removal of that obnoxious clause in the prefatory rubric of the service which classes the unbaptised with the excommunicate and with suicides, and forbids the ministers of the Church to use the prescribed words (or consequently to perform any religious rite whatever) over their grave. We have had much reason ourselves to notice the grief and indignation which this prohibition occasions; and it is a feeling with which we cannot but strongly sympathise. In the earlier recensions of the Prayer-Book there was no such rubric, though we suppose that similar regulations would have been enforced; and even in 1662, when it was first introduced, it was not so mischievous or so offensive as at present. The sect of the Anabaptists, justly regarded with horror at its rise, had not yet outgrown its original reputation, perhaps hardly its original character. The Quakers, non-existent at the former date, were still at the latter period too insignificant, too eccentric, and too intolerant a body to need consideration by those who were legislating on such a subject. But matters now are very different. The Baptist denomination, especially, is one of the most numerous and most respectable of those who are known as the orthodox Dissenters. In actual numbers it stands first in some districts or neighbourhoods in England; and everywhere it is one of the most rising and most influential. Its distinctive principles too have spread far beyond its nominal limits; and in many places under the name of 'open communion,' it is in close alliance with other sections of the Nonconformists, especially the Independents. The consequence is, that there exists a vast body of unbaptised persons within the area it embraces, comprising the whole of the children who are brought up in accordance with its principles, and a large body of adults also,

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many of them recognised adherents, and some even leading members of religious communities; to all of whom, for lack of baptism, the National Church *denies the rite of Christian sepulture.* We cannot but regard this as at once a scandal and a wrong. It may be said, indeed, and often *is* said, in defence of the existing prohibition, that those who withhold a religious service from the living cannot with reason or consistency complain of a corresponding refusal of one to the dead. But true as this general proposition may be, the remark betrays a misapprehension in this case of the principles of the complainants. The Baptists *do not* refuse a religious service to the living —not even to infants. They *do not* regard them as unfit objects for such services; they would be willing to use in the case of infants, and actually do use on occasion, a *dedicatory* service. All that they can be charged with is, that they withhold, or rather delay, one particular religious ordinance, of the purpose and force of which they take a different view from that adopted by other professing Christians; a view which, however we may differ from it, we must confess to be reconcilable with the language of Scripture; nay, even to be more in accordance perhaps with the actual letter of Scripture than the view which we take ourselves. For this peculiarity they are condemned to see the whole of their children, and large numbers besides of those adults whom they regard practically as members of their community, placed under the ban of the National Church, treated after death as aliens and outcasts, and even classed in express terms with 'the excommunicate, and 'those who have laid violent hands upon themselves.' It can be no matter of surprise if those who have suffered from this interdictory rubric in the persons of their relatives and friends, regard the disability thus imposed on them much in the same light as Englishmen generally regard the denial of Christian sepulture to Protestants in Spain. Wounded in their tenderest feelings, and at a time when such a wound is felt most keenly, forced to consign the body of their relative to the ground, with what in the bitterness of their soul they designate as the burial of a dog, they call shame on the intolerant law which inflicts this penalty, and on the intolerant Church which devised the law. And this feeling is one which is widely shared in every neighbourhood; not only by Dissenters of every denomination, but by a large majority of Churchmen also. No circumstance excites so strong a feeling against the dominant Church amongst the lower classes of society whenever an instance occurs; and it would occur far oftener than it does, did not clergymen, on the one hand, shut

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their eyes (as happily in many cases they can) to the absence of the required qualification; and had not, on the other hand, the Ecclesiastical Courts ruled some years since that dissenting or lay baptism must be admitted as so far valid as to remove the subjects of it from this prohibitory stigma. Even as it is, the prohibition extends far too widely, and is likely to extend more widely still. It is one which thousands of right-minded clergymen feel to be a grief and painful burden imposed on them. They cannot shut their eyes in many instances to the unbaptised condition of the deceased. In the case of infants indeed, which is the one of far the most frequent occurrence, ignorance of the fact is hardly possible to the minister of a country parish. Happily in this case the utter unsuitableness of the Burial Office to infants of any sort makes its omission less painful to all parties, though still hardly less bitterly resented by many. But we dwell rather on the case of those who are of riper years, where the necessity is often a cruel one indeed. Here, too, it is often impossible for the clergyman either to be, or even to seem to be, ignorant of how matters stand. Exactly in proportion to his knowledge and his care of the people committed to his charge will be his practical embarrassment also. For such a case is one which will have called forth his remonstrances in life; and all the more earnestly as he saw death approaching. In the great towns, indeed, or the immediate neighbourhood of such, an unconsecrated cemetery offers a ready solution for the difficulty; but in the great majority of country places such a refuge is inaccessible except to the wealthier Dissenters; and even to them their ancestral churchyard is generally the burying-place of their choice. The emergency which may thus present itself is almost as distressing to a right-minded clergyman as to those who are the immediate sufferers. The minister of a parish who is living on friendly terms with his Dissenting parishioners may find himself any day compelled, either deliberately to disobey the law of his Church, thus endangering his own standing and compromising his position, or else to enforce against those parishioners a most unwelcome duty, introducing thereby (it may be) a life-long bitterness into his relations with them. And the antagonism thus produced is as inconsistent with the habitual attitude of the English Church as it is painful to the feelings of all concerned. In all other cases the differences which have prevailed between Christian and Christian disappear beside the open grave, under the kindly system of the Church. The Wesleyan, the Presbyterian, the Congregationalist, the Ranter, nay the Unitarian and the

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Roman Catholic, however alienated from the Church in their lifetime, and prominent, it may be, as leaders and fosterers of adverse communions, are yet gathered to their fathers amidst the prayers and blessings of the Church, which recognises them once more as children of the same great family, without a word of reproach or of protest. But the *one* case which we speak of is a disastrous exception. The deceased may have been one worthy of all respect and honour; one with whom the clergyman himself has been on terms of cordial Christian intercourse; one to whom (it is no imaginary, no unusual case) he has ministered upon his death-bed with mutual confidence and esteem; he may have been some bright and acknowledged pattern of Christian excellence, some venerable Quaker, some ripe and saintly member of the Baptist community itself (this is no impossible or extraordinary instance, since the prevalence of those moderate principles of 'open communion' which were advocated by Robert Hall); or it may be some innocent and pure-minded child, the flower of the clergyman's own school, a model of those about whom the Highest of all authorities has said that 'of such is the 'kingdom of Heaven.' Yet all these, if the law of the Church be obeyed as set forth in the stern rubric of the Burial Service, must be laid in the grave without one word of prayer or of recognition—treated as those to whose case the promises of Scripture and the hopes of the Christian have no application. And while the Church preserves this ominous silence, the law of the land forbids the co-religionists of the deceased to utter a word of their own to compensate for the contemptuous slight. No wonder, if stung to the quick by such treatment, those who have heard with sorrow and misgiving the glowing language of the Burial Office applied indiscriminately to men whose lives have been (to say the least) unedifying, and their example worthy only to be shunned, turn away from the churchyard with disgust and indignation, and persuade themselves that they are doing good service to religion itself by labouring to destroy the whole system and structure of the Establishment. Strongly deprecating such a conclusion ourselves, yet deeply sympathising with those who are provoked to it, we earnestly plead for the removal of the offending rubric.

We rejoice to see that the Bishop of London in his Charge of last year points to some such change as desirable and imminent. We are convinced that unless it be effected, justice and decency itself will soon necessitate some such measure as Sir Morton Peto's bill throwing open the churchyards to all de-

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nominations alike, or as Mr. Gilpin's more recent proposal to provide unconsecrated ground as an appendage to them in every parish. In cases like this, where the peace and harmony of society is involved, it becomes the right and duty of the State to interfere with ecclesiastical arrangements. Undesirable as it is in general for the civil power to overrule canonical decisions, there are cases (and this is one of them) in which it is bound to vindicate the rights of the people at large, and to prescribe limits to the National Church for the indulgence of its theological prepossessions. The burial-grounds of which that Church is guardian must not be closed against recognised members of a persuasion which the law acknowledges as a section of the Christian body, and which public opinion even classes with the orthodox. By insisting on this, the State does not intrude itself into questions of doctrine. And if in consequence of such an alteration as we advocate, the clergy are made more willing to revise the language of the Service itself, adopting, for instance, the simple expedient by which the American Episcopal Church has adapted it to all cases, we should hail such further change as an additional cause of rejoicing.

III. We turn now to another class of restrictions, which we desire to see in some degree modified—those which cramp and shackle the action of the ministers of the Church in their endeavours to reach the masses. We speak more especially of the stringent rules imposed by the Prayer-Book and by the Act of Uniformity to regulate the public services of the Church, and to circumscribe the use of the consecrated buildings. Such is the rubric which enjoins the use of the long Order for Morning and Evening Prayer 'daily throughout the year.' Such are the statutory provisions which direct that, whether on Sundays or on any other day of the week, no other service than that formally prescribed shall be held within the walls of the sanctuary; nor any sermon or lecture be preached without the said service being 'openly, publicly, and solemnly read.' We believe that there is great need in the English Church of freer and more familiar services, supplementary and auxiliary to those which are now prescribed, if the religious wants of the people are to be supplied, and the affections of all classes to be retained. And this is needed more especially on Sundays, when a portion of the community indefinitely large may be brought under the influences of religious teaching and public worship. We lament that the National Church should be so far at present from securing its preponderant and rightful share. There is no doubt, we fear, that such is the case; and we cannot but ascribe it in a great measure to the utter ab-

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sence of elasticity which characterises the prescribed services. As matters now stand, not only must there be no curtailment in the morning and afternoon of a long and complicated form of worship, the length of which is in great part due to unnecessary and unedifying repetitions; but in the evening too no third service can be added without going over exactly the same ground again, to the manifest detriment of the minister and of many of the congregation. Now it is on Sunday evenings especially that the freer services we speak of could be most advantageously introduced. It is true that some little variety has been secured of late years by the expedient apparently permitted, or supposed to be permitted, by the rubric, of disjoining the Litany and the Communion Service from the Order for Morning Prayer, with which they have been popularly amalgamated; and thus providing separate and shorter services at various hours of the day. But in many cases, and especially in country places, this arrangement is impracticable or unsatisfactory. The distance of the church, the many calls on the time of the clergyman, the prepossessions of the congregation, all forbid its adoption; besides that, in truth, the Introductory Communion Service is quite unfit to be used as a separate form of worship, and even the Litany lacks the essential elements of Scriptural Lessons, Psalms, Canticles, and Creed. In suggesting further changes, we are glad to find that we have again the weighty support of the Bishop of London, who, amongst the desirable reforms which he indicated in his last year's Charge, recommended that a third and shorter Service for Evening Prayer should be provided. This too, like so much else, might be done (if the composition of new forms be objectionable, as perhaps it is) by a mere change of the rubric, the minister being allowed to make his own selection of existing prayers within certain bounds, and to vary the Psalms and Lessons at his discretion. But we confess that we should prefer to see a still wider latitude permitted for this and other supplementary services. A simpler form of worship is much needed for many whom it is desirable to bring into our churches. Admirable as are the congregational services of the Prayer-Book, they are not only too long and too complicated, but too formal, too highly strained, too full of demands on the attention and co-operation of the worshipper, to be suitable for ignorant or undisciplined or hesitating minds. Men in such a state require to be met on their own ground, to be kindly and patiently instructed or argued with, to be led gently onwards to acts and habits of devotion. This is a fact which came out remarkably in the curious conference held last year in London

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between a number of ministers of various denominations and a representative body of the working men, deputed or self-deputed to meet them. In answer to the inquiries made of the latter respecting the neglect of public worship by their class, they frankly confessed their reluctance to join in the services commonly provided, especially by the Church of England. They felt themselves compromised (they said) by attending such services; they had a feeling of unreality and insincerity in taking part in them. They would willingly and gladly listen to what a minister of religion had to say to them, if they might come and hear him without this preliminary act of extorted submission. Now, whatever we may think of such a state of mind, it is certain, at any rate, that to meet men's wants you must take them as they are. And this, we fear, is what the Church of England does not contemplate; while we are sure also that the feeling just described is only too common in every locality.

It is not London artisans only who are repelled by the unsuitableness of the Church forms of worship. The same thing is very general among the poorer classes everywhere, not to speak of their social superiors also; and it is growing rapidly and likely to grow. Take, for instance, the case of the ordinary agricultural labourer. The Church of England does not deal wisely with him, if she wishes to retain his allegiance. Let us mark the Sunday of such an one, taking an average specimen of the class, neither one of the exceptionally good, nor yet by any means one of the careless and ungodly. How does he lay out his time? He is in no haste to rise in the morning, regarding the day as primarily devoted to his rest; and even if tolerably early, he forbears to dress himself on rising as he means to appear eventually, but puts on shabby clothes, lounges about his premises, enjoys his freedom, gossips with his neighbours, spells out or talks over the news in his weekly paper, helps his wife to get the dinner, and turns his hand perhaps to another little job or two, while the children are at school or at morning service. The dinner is naturally and legitimately a very important affair; being often the only truly comfortable and social meal of the whole week. And when that is over, the master of the house is often loth to leave his seat and give up his pipe, and has generally little inclination for the three o'clock service, which comes too soon. Even if he be a man with some sense of the duty of hallowing his Sunday, it is often not till the afternoon is far advanced that he makes up his mind to complete his suitable toilet, and go forth to some place of worship. And what then? Why the parish

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church is usually closed for the day; while the meeting-house, on the other hand, with a better appreciation of the wants and the tastes of the people, puts forth at that time its brightest attractions. Nay, even if there be an evening service in the church (a thing which is now increasingly to be found), the form of worship is not always congenial to him. He finds it in great part unintelligible; and, at any rate, it requires too great an effort of mind, too high a strain of devotional feeling, to suit his wants, or really to reach his case; while the sermon (always in danger of being too hard and scholastic) derives additional stiffness from the form of prayer which has preceded it.

Surely it is clear beyond contradiction that the Church provides no sufficient attractions—nay, no sufficient *help* for such a worshipper. It is not in this respect 'the poor man's Church.' To meet the ordinary wants of human nature, a larger and freer use of her resources is required. Perhaps no section of the Church acknowledges this fact so fully as the Ritualists; and certainly none have exerted themselves more zealously after their own fashion to supply the want. Another and still larger section pin their faith on a lavish development of the *choral* element of worship. We are not hasty to condemn any of these exertions; we should be glad to see variety as well as freedom of action within certain bounds in the National Communion. One most valuable result of the evidence already taken is to show how much good may be done by ministers of the most opposite schools of theology, if only they be allowed to carry out their system freely. But may we not therefore claim some liberty also for *simpler* means of recommending religious doctrine—those simpler means which we, for our part, regard as higher and better in every way, and which assuredly the mass of the people are more ready and able to appreciate?

There are those among the clergy who would fain win the careless and the indifferent, not with splendid ceremonial or delightful music, but with plain words of sympathy and reason and affectionate counsel; and who ask for nothing more than some freedom of action in opening ways of access to the people hitherto denied them. We wish to see permission granted to such men to open their churches sometimes for preaching alone, or preaching followed by some simple and short accompaniment of prayer and singing; not without the liberty of free prayer when that is found desirable. We see no danger in this course under proper restrictions, such services as we speak of being merely *supplementary* to the regular ones. Nothing can be further from our wish than to commit the Church to an imitation of the extravagance

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and excitement of the Dissenting system; if indeed it be fair to charge the latter with such faults universally or as a rule. But of this there can be little fear in the hands of a clergy whose tendencies are always on the side of formality and caution. Some safeguards, however, it would clearly be wise and well to provide, in whichever direction parochial worship is allowed to diverge from the customary form. Amongst other things, we think that the parishioners should at least have a *negative* voice in the matter either by a general vote, or through the vestry, or through their recognised officers, the churchwardens; and that no departure from the ordinary track should be allowed except with the concurrence of these latter functionaries, who are the proper guardians of public worship, and the rightful conservators of the 'Church ornaments.' Nor should even their consent be sufficient without the sanction of the bishop of the diocese. Under such securities we cannot see any danger in the course suggested. It would soon, we believe, be a refreshment and delight to clergymen to hold these more familiar services: and we cannot but think that the clergy would rapidly obtain a very different hold upon the popular ear, a hold corresponding far more than now it does with the social and personal influence they exercise among their parishioners.

In the remarks which we have made, and the measures we have recommended, we have had an eye all along to the rural rather than the town parishes of England. It is to the position of the Church in these more especially that we are desirous to call attention, while the opportunity still exists of correcting the evils we deplore. And there are two reasons why we lay more especial stress upon the rural parishes. First, because the condition of these is less likely to be thought of by the Commissioners, even by the clerical members of the body. Hardly any of the latter have had personal experience of a country parish; in the few cases where such experience can be claimed, it is experience of a distant past; and such as it is, it has been obscured even in recollection by the impressions of later and more engrossing occupations; while the evils which we speak of are precisely those which bishops and the counsellors of bishops are most likely to make light of or deny. And secondly, not only because these evils are more keenly felt in rural communities, but because it is there, after all, that the issue must be tried whether the National Church is still to retain its ascendancy. In the country parishes of England the National Church still maintains for the most part a position in great measure deserving of the name. In the towns, except such as

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are merely large villages, it has already lost that position; it is but one of the religious communities amongst which the population has distributed itself—remaining, we grant, *prima inter pares* (or, if the expression be preferred, *prima inter impares*), marked with a dignity of social position and a political importance which no other denomination can rival, but still in all essentials reduced to the level of a voluntary and congregational body, supported in large measure by the very same means which Nonconformist sects employ, and dependent solely on those means for its further extension. In the country on the other hand, though the levelling process is undoubtedly at work, and will make increasing progress—progress increasing mainly we believe in consequence of the restrictions of which we have complained—there is still an enormous opportunity of preserving its ancient ascendancy. The Church is there not only distinguished from all other religious bodies, but absolutely *distinct;* not only superior, but still *supreme.* While in the towns each denomination has its burial-place, or at least its share in the common cemetery, its own facilities for baptisms and weddings, its own well-defined personal boundaries within which the Church minister seldom intrudes, in the country all this is far different. There the ancient sanctuary, the ancestral churchyard, the rector or vicar of the parish, occupy a position in the estimation of all which no creation of the voluntary system can supplant or rival. The 'Mother Church,' as we have heard it affectionately called by Dissenters, is still there the chosen centre of great domestic as well as public solemnities. The Church minister is still in every house a welcome and expected visitant, whatever the creed of the inmates, and everywhere received not only as a superior in station, but as a recognised religious guide. And while the vantage ground thus occupied by the Church in country places is incontestably superior, the means for maintaining that vantage ground are still ample and available. Nor are these great advantages insufficiently used, or insufficiently seconded by the zeal and efficiency of the clergy in all parts.

We confess that we are most anxious to see this paramount influence of the National Church preserved and perpetuated. Not that we have any hostility against the Dissenting bodies. Not that we are blind to the good which these bodies have done, and are doing still; or that we are insensible to the peculiar fitness which they possess for their own peculiar work. But the parochial system of an Established Church, where it can be still maintained and really carried out, is a blessing in our estimation so great morally and politically, no less than spiritually, that no efforts to preserve it ought to be spared.

That blessing we believe may still be preserved to the country parishes of England. The towns have overgrown it already, and there it can never be effectually restored. Even the financial resources of the ancient endowments, diminishing in proportion as they are most required, have there been overstrained and exhausted; while the antagonistic and repellent spirit so long characteristic of the ecclesiastical system has unhappily diverted into separate channels many currents of voluntary effort which else might have been directed into the one united stream. The spiritual wants of the great towns, if ever they are to be adequately met, must be supplied by the labours (whether joint or rival) of all denominations together. The Church cannot hope in this to bear a controlling, far less an exclusive part; though even here the relaxation of its harsher rules might do much towards restoring harmony of action. But in the country we hardly see the limits to the controlling and moderating influence which the Church might yet hope to exercise. There the beneficent effects of the parochial system are still to be found in full operation. There the kindly elevating influence of an educated ministry, which the endowments for the most part still amply maintain, is yet sufficient also in most places to leaven the mass upon which it is set to work—penetrating to every home, and cognisant of every individual—superintending education, animating charitable exertions, breaking the incidence of misery and want, promoting improvements of every kind, mediating between class and class, ensuring the existence in every locality of a referee of undoubted credit, a witness of unimpeachable fitness, an arbitrator of unrivalled qualifications. It is difficult to estimate the amount of injury that would be done to English society if the services of the country clergy were lost to the land. It is these services which we are anxious to preserve, while comparatively indifferent to the continuance of this or that dogmatical system. We rejoice to believe and to recognise the admirable way in which the English clergy, in town as well as country, are generally fulfilling their duties now. We believe that in the influence they exercise they have not only kept their ground, but have made very considerable advance of late years. But in one thing they have been retrograde; and that is (strange to say) as ministers of *religion*. Dissent has continued to gain upon them, even in the country villages. It is a singular phenomenon. With increasing efficiency and increasing acceptance in other respects, they have lost ground in the one character which both ostensibly, and in their own estimation, is the most

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prominent of all. Or rather, we must qualify our assertion to make it strictly correct. They have lost ground as ministers of *the sanctuary.* In their personal religious ministrations, in house-to-house visitation, they have gained ground as in other respects. It is as dispensers of religious ordinances, as teachers in the house of God, that they have lost. And why? Because as such they are brought in some points into needless antagonism with the conscientious convictions of the people; in others are hampered with restrictions which forbid them to meet obvious and crying wants. It is for the removal of this antagonism and these restrictions that we plead. Important as are the tasks assigned to the Commissioners, and the subjects which are still further open to their reach, we cannot but regard this as the most important of all. And if they bring about a removal of this evil, we shall esteem the service they have done of far greater magnitude than that of devising a check to the arbitrary encroachments of Ritualism.

One more matter we feel bound to notice in conclusion. There is an impression prevailing in some quarters that the powers granted to the Commission are restricted to those rubrics which from the ambiguity of their language have provoked differences of interpretation and led to diversities of practice. Now, even if this were so, the field of inquiry and of possible amendment would be almost boundless; for where is the rubric which has not been variously interpreted and variously obeyed? Certainly those rubrics which we have ourselves discussed come amply within this range. But we see no such limitation in the instructions which Her Majesty has issued. It is true that reference is made in the preamble to existing differences of practice in the Church, as a motive cause for the appointment of the Commission. But if the preamble were to have the limitative force contended for, the words would have been: 'Whereas it has been represented 'to us that differences of practice have arisen from varying 'interpretations put upon *certain* rubrics, orders, directions, '&c.' The words actually employed are '*the* rubrics,' &c. And it is *the* rubrics in general which the Commissioners are instructed to inquire into and advise on. Nay, not only so, but as if to open the field of operation as widely as possible, the instructions run, 'having regard not only to the said 'rubrics, orders, and directions contained in the said Book of 'Common Prayer, but also to any other laws or customs 'relating to the matters aforesaid,' (i.e. to 'the course and 'conduct of public worship, the administration of the Sacra-'ments, and the other services contained in the Book of

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'Common Prayer') with power to suggest any alterations, 'improvements, or amendments with respect to such matters, 'or any of them as you or any ten or more of you may think 'fit to recommend.'

Such language leaves no doubt as to the range of powers confided to the Commission, amply justifying the remarks which we have made. Whether the Commissioners themselves will shrink from the exercise of those powers, it is not for us to say. But we rejoice to observe that neither in their primary report, nor in any formal resolution to which they have come, have they resolved to confine their operations to the narrow field of Ritualistic controversy; and we cherish the hope that while passing under review every 'rubric, order, and direction' contained in the Prayer-Book, as we believe is their present intention, they will not disregard those which most of all affect the interests or trench on the convictions of the mass of the English people.

They have shown great tenderness towards the Ritualists; and we do not blame them for it: every form of genuine conviction, however fantastic it may appear, deserves to be treated with respect. But let them not incur once more the charge of one-sidedness by disregarding the honest scruples of a robuster form of belief. They have well drawn and well applied the principle of dealing with things 'not deemed 'essential' yet causing grave offence. Let them not be blind to offences which for three hundred years have divided Christian England; nor erect into essentials rules unprescribed in Scripture, and unknown to parts of the ancient Catholic Church. They have initiated the principle of the rights of parishioners as against their pastors. Let them not deny those rights in matters far more sacred to conscience, and of far closer personal application; when all that need be asked of a clergyman in return is to respect the scruples of his people, and not to press upon unwilling recipients that part of his ministrations which they show themselves unable to appreciate.

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ART. VII.—*Memoirs of Thomas Drummond*, R.E., F.R.A.S., Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1835 to 1840. By JOHN F. M'LENNAN, Advocate. Edinburgh: 1867.

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH has truly remarked, that in consequence of her peculiar condition, a broader field is opened in Ireland for treating social and political problems than is possible in the cases of England or Scotland. The observation applies not only to measures involving principles of politics; it holds good with respect to the practical details in which the function of government consists. To genius and energy Ireland affords large scope in conducting affairs of State, and nowhere perhaps does the public service offer fairer opportunities to ambition. And it must be admitted that, in this respect, supply has responded to the demand, and that the Irish Executive, in our day, has been amply furnished, in its different departments, with men of the highest ability and character. It is needless to say how Larcom and Twisleton, Trevelyan and Senior, Power and Griffith have been eminent in public life in Ireland, and how, through their efforts, and those of others, the administrative system of that country has become remarkable for its good arrangements and its accurate and complete machinery. The subject of the volume before us was conspicuous among this company of worthies. In Thomas Drummond speculative thought was combined with singular mechanical talent and political capacity of a very high kind; and these great gifts were made doubly valuable by intense industry and an earnest nature. A mathematician of no common powers, he contributed largely to the success of a vast national work of engineering. His inventions in this province may lead to important results even yet undeveloped. Having afterwards embarked in politics, and gained distinction as a subordinate, he became an honoured and prominent member of the first Administration which, since the Revolution, treated Ireland with real generosity and justice; and in this position he displayed a genius for organisation and the art of government, and an appreciation of the requirements of the country, that entitle him to rank as no ordinary statesman. Nor is it too much to say that his life was sacrificed in his patriotic labours, for he fell a martyr to his unceasing efforts, to his enthusiastic and self-imposed toil, in the cause of the land he had made his own. Such services deserve to be fitly recorded; and we are happy to say that this biography of Drummond is not

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unworthy of the interesting subject. Mr. M'Lennan has placed the scientific achievements of Drummond fairly before the public; and he has given us an intelligent estimate of his career when Under-Secretary of Ireland. His sketch, however, of the Normanby Administration, although in its general outlines correct, is not sufficiently vivid and striking, on account probably of want of experience in the details of Irish political life.

Thomas Drummond was born in 1797, a scion of the ancient house whose name has been long distinguished in the annals of Scotland. He was the second son of Mr. James Drummond, the representative of the three families of Invermay, Drummondernoch, and Comrie, who, though a Writer to the Signet by profession, lived chiefly on his paternal estate, and is still remembered as the 'last laird of Comrie.' Mr. Drummond impaired a moderate fortune by the country-gentleman's passion for improving; and, dying young, in 1800, left his widow and children in extreme poverty. One hundred and twenty pounds per annum was all that remained to Mrs. Drummond after the sale of Comrie and its effects; and with this pittance she was compelled to maintain herself, three sons, and a daughter. With the aid, however, of a mother-in-law, and of friends she had known in better days, she contrived on this sum to keep up her station; and she devoted to the education of her children a small addition that by accident was made afterwards to her scanty income. From the earliest age Thomas gave signs of the qualities that marked his disposition in manhood. He was apt in arithmetic and calculation, had a decided turn for mechanical invention—it was said he was 'always making things'—and was exceedingly studious and self-reliant. Though not fortunate in his first school-days, for he was cruelly treated by a village pedagogue, he was at eleven put into the hands of competent teachers, who soon discovered that he was a lad of no common promise. Jardine, Professor of Logic at Glasgow, declared that 'Drummond and John 'Wilson were the cleverest boys he ever knew;' and Leslie and Playfair, whose classes Drummond attended from 1810 to 1812, expressed a high opinion of his talents. Drummond at thirteen was a fair classical scholar; and he had attained a proficiency great for his years in mathematics and physical science. In 1813, he entered Woolwich as a cadet, and, in a few months, after a series of examinations, in which he at once attracted notice, he passed from the sixth to the first academy, a rise almost unparalleled for its quickness. The circumstances connected with his first examination illustrate the

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energy and perseverance that were prominent features in his character. After a tedious passage of thirteen days, he was landed from one of the Leith packets, to find himself, on the morning of the trial, just too late for the only coach that could reach his destination at the appointed time. But, though the distance was sixteen miles, he contrived to make good his way to Woolwich; and he presented himself at the gate of the academy five minutes before the examination began. The porter at first refused him admittance; but one of the examiners interfered; and the result was a most successful entrance. How few boys of sixteen would display such determination and firmness of purpose!

In 1815, Drummond entered the corps of Royal Engineers. For some time he served on detachment, and in this period of comparative leisure he cultivated 'military studies' assiduously, 'with Greek, Latin, and general literature.' He joined head-quarters in 1817; and at Chatham, in Sir Thomas Larcom's words, 'a new world appeared to open to him, in 'the varied and almost universal knowledge brought by 'Pasley in aid of military science.' Here he devoted himself to mathematics and physics, especially in their application to the art of war, with even greater diligence than before; and he gave proof of his mechanical skill by designing a model for a new kind of pontoon, said to have been of considerable merit. The scientific acquirements of Drummond at twenty-one were of a high order; his general accomplishments were also great; and his fine talents and high character were fully appreciated by his brother officers, among whom he had made some lasting friendships. Yet he was not contented, for he felt himself 'kept down' by a faulty system of promotion; and for some time he seriously meditated adopting the profession of the Bar, the chances of which he had carefully scanned, as we see from several letters in this volume. An accident opened to him a career well fitted to bring out conspicuously his best parts and most thorough knowledge. Since 1783 a general survey of Great Britain and Ireland had been projected by several governments. The work had been committed to the Royal Engineers, and, notwithstanding interruptions and delays, it had progressed considerably by 1819. At that time a large part of England, about two-thirds of the whole area, had been carefully measured and observed; several base-lines had been laid down in Scotland; and, after tedious and trying efforts, a series of triangles had been thrown from peak after peak far north to Caithness. In 1820, Colonel Colby—a name to be held in honour by all interested in

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this important national undertaking—became the chief superintendent of the survey; and he proposed to Drummond to take part in the work, having formed a good opinion of his abilities. The young engineer after this time gave up the idea of leaving his profession; and from 1821 to 1823 he was employed constantly upon the survey in different places in England and Scotland, taking observations, ascertaining distances, and occasionally performing those feats of climbing which give this service a touch of the romantic.

Drummond soon was to play a part in this work beyond that of a mere subordinate. In 1824 the general survey of Ireland was commenced, in order to determine the areas of local taxation in that country; and the Government was desirous that the task should be executed with peculiar accuracy. Colonel Colby, who had quickly perceived the industry and abilities of Drummond, took care that he should be employed in this service, and it is not too much to say that he became the directing genius of the Irish survey. The work was more than one of mensuration; it embraced minute topographical researches and interesting meteorological experiments; and it forms a cadastral chart, perhaps unrivalled for its fulness and beauty. Drummond was associated in this performance with several young men of no common powers—we may especially mention Larcom and Portlock—but, though all laboured diligently and well, his contributions to the general result were, by many degrees, the first in importance. When engaged in this survey, he designed and perfected the remarkable improvements in the appliances for mensuration known by his name. The ranges and the climate of Ireland being very unfavourable to taking observations, Drummond lessened this difficulty, to a great extent, by the ingenious contrivance of the heliostat, an instrument by which the rays of the sun are continuously reflected at immense distances. The heliostat, as he finally adjusted it, was used in Ireland with complete success; it enabled measuring lines to be drawn from Precelly in Wales to Kippure in Wicklow, and from Keeper in Tipperary to Cullagh in Fermanagh; and it has ever since been prized by engineers as an instrument of the greatest value. Nor was this the only expedient by which Drummond overcame the obstacles to his art afforded by space and a dark atmosphere. The ordinary lamps used in the survey having often proved insufficient in strength, he conceived the idea of evolving a light of extraordinary brilliancy and force by the application of gas to lime, and he brought it to a practical solution. The Drummond Light, as it has ever since been called, was first employed in the Irish survey; and

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its success was not for a moment doubtful, its intense radiance connecting points too distant hitherto for observations, and making peak answer as it were to peak, beyond the speculations of the most sanguine. The sentinels in the camps on the hills used in the operations of the survey, were astonished at its surpassing splendour as it burst on their sight from remote stations, before far withdrawn from their ken; and Sir John Herschel, comparing this light with that of the Argand and Fresnel lamps, described it as a 'glare, shining forth, and as it 'were annihilating both its predecessors, which appeared, by its 'side, the one a feeble gleam, which it required attention to 'see, the other like a mere plate of heated metal.'

Another improvement in mensuration was completed by Drummond at this period, and was first used in the Irish survey. Engineers had long been baffled by the difficulty of procuring accurate measures for the base-lines which are, so to speak, the foundation of a survey, the instruments, under atmospheric changes, being liable to variations in length; and the slightest error in this respect affected seriously any general calculation. Several ingenious expedients had been adopted to get rid of this element of disturbance, or at least to enable it to be rectified, but none of them had been wholly satisfactory. At length, Colonel Colby or Drummond—it is uncertain which, but we believe the former—improving upon a French hint, originated the idea of making a measure with metals which, differing in degrees of expansiveness, would indicate the variations referred to, and would be self-compensating for them. Whoever was the inventor of this device, to Drummond certainly belongs the credit of bringing it to a practical result, and this entitles him to no little commendation. Day after day, during several months in 1826 and 1827, he was engaged in a series of experiments, requiring considerable chemical knowledge in order to adjust the necessary apparatus; and the peculiar contrivance by which the principle of self-compensation was carried out, was certainly due to him alone. 'The 'details,' wrote Sir John Herschel, 'of the execution of the 'project devolved on Drummond. In accordance with what 'seems to have been a constant principle in his conduct, to 'leave nothing undone that personal exertion and assiduity 'could accomplish to ensure success, not content with entrust-'ing, as many would have done, the adjustment of the com-'pensation to an instrument-maker, he himself executed in the 'midst of furnaces, ovens, and freezing mixtures, all the trials, 'manipulations, and measurements.' General Portlock, too, though indisposed to rate Drummond's services highly, agrees

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with Herschel in this respect. 'The laborious experiments,' he says, 'which were make for comparing the standards with 'the recognised standards of measure for determining the exact 'position of the compensated points of the measuring bars; 'and for examining various descriptions of varnishes in order 'to fix upon one which would equalise as much as possible in 'the two metals the times required for acquiring any change 'of temperature, were carried on by Lieutenant Drummond.' The new apparatus when completed, in Herschel's emphatic language, was 'a miracle of ingenious contrivance and delicate 'workmanship.' By the self-compensating bars, as they are called, base-lines can now be measured with the accuracy of mathematical precision; indeed, the first base measured on this principle, that of the Foyle, by Drummond himself, was a perfect specimen of the art of mensuration.

Drummond was associated with the Irish survey from 1824 to 1832. His indefatigable activity and industry contributed largely to the work; and, as we have seen, his scientific powers were brought out conspicuously in its progress. The improvements he effected in mensuration bear witness to his inventive genius; but they were, perhaps, even more signal proofs of his mechanical and constructive talent. As a man of science, his peculiar faculty was the perceiving the means of carrying out, in a practical shape, the ideas of others; of giving form to preconceived designs. 'A strongly characteristic feature,' says Sir John Herschel, 'of his scientific undertakings and improve-'ments was their eminently practical nature, and the directness 'with which they attained the distinct object in view by means 'highly ingenious and quite out of the common line of contri-'vance, yet meeting fully and precisely every exigency of the 'case.' The extraordinary effects of the lime light having justly attracted considerable attention, Drummond went, in 1830, to London, in order to endeavour to make his invention fitted for the use of lighthouses. He improved greatly, and with much skill, the apparatus employed in the survey, having reduced the cost of the light by the substitution of hydrogen gas for alcohol in the materials that produced ignition, and having contrived a self-acting means to procure for the lamp a supply of lime balls; and he succeeded perfectly in showing that lighthouses could be illuminated upon his principle with a degree of radiance hitherto unexampled. In a series of experiments at the Trinity House and Purfleet, it was demonstrated that the Drummond Light was immeasurably superior to every other in clearness, intensity, colour, and power; and many scientific persons asserted that the practical objections to its use for lights at sea

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could be easily overcome. In this we did not concur at the time, and, as yet at least, experience has shown that, incomparable as is the Drummond Light, the apparatus by which it is evolved is too liable to get out of order, and too costly, delicate, and intricate to make it generally available for this purpose. Yet Sir Thomas Larcom, no mean authority, believes that 'ingenuity, sooner or later, will triumph over difficulties 'of this kind,' and that 'the Drummond Light may yet 'cheer the home-bound mariner from the Great Skellig to the 'Tuskar.'

By this time the scientific eminence and great mechanical skill of Drummond had gained for him a high reputation. The experiments at the Trinity House had attracted the notice of William IV., who continued Master after he had ascended the throne, and the attention of Lord Brougham had been directed to the talents and remarkable accomplishments of the inventor of the celebrated light. This volume contains an interesting sketch by Drummond of an evening at the Pavilion where he was the guest of the sailor King. It is not devoid of ironical humour, and is written with a quaint simplicity. Drummond often met Lord Brougham at the house of Mr. Bellenden Ker; and in 1831 he was appointed by the great Whig Chancellor, Chief of the Commission charged with settling the boundaries of boroughs for the Reform Bill. This was an office of very high trust, involving delicate and arduous duties; and it is a striking proof of the high esteem in which Lord Brougham held Drummond that he should have placed a man, comparatively young, at the head of a Board composed of members many of whom were eminent in political life. A new field was now opened for Drummond. He laboured in it with characteristic energy; and his clear head and keen intelligence enabled him to deal with statistical details, and to arrive at sound conclusions upon them, as he had mastered problems of mathematical science. The duties of the Boundary Commission were extended afterwards to an inquiry into the relative importance of the smaller boroughs doomed to disfranchisement by the Bill. This task was especially assigned to Drummond. As might have been expected in a matter involving many conflicting interests, the results of his calculations, although derived from strict mathematical reasonings, were subjected to much angry criticism. The controversy on the Report on this subject was a noisy episode of the Reform debates. The dispute is no longer one of interest, but we may remark that, in his estimate, Drummond applied the principle indicated by the Government, and

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for which he was not responsible himself, with an accuracy that does not admit of question; that the only point open to real doubt was whether the principle was a just one; and that the insinuations made against the fairness and candour of Drummond's conduct are merely instances of the unscrupulousness of partisans. In conducting the business of this Commission, Drummond won golden opinions from his colleagues. Put over the heads of older men, his position was one of a trying kind; but, though somewhat distant in manner, and not without Scotch caution and reticence, he made his fellow-labourers his friends, by his gracious courtesy and deference to their wishes. Before separating, they resolved to commemorate their esteem for him by a suitable token. They subscribed for, and presented to his mother, accompanying it with a kind address, the portrait of him, from the hand of Pickersgill, now in the Court Room of the University of Edinburgh.

From this time the career of Drummond was to pass from science into political life. He had displayed such ability as a Boundary Commissioner that he had thoroughly gained the confidence of the Government. In 1831–32, his connexion with the Irish survey ended, his last contribution to its labours being a sketch of the measurement of the Lough Foyle base; and, in 1833, at the request, it is said, of 'the whole Cabinet,' and by the advice of Mr. Bellenden Ker, he accepted the post of Private Secretary to Lord Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer for Lord Grey. This step was taken not without misgivings, and many friends regretted his abandoning a calling in which he had attained reputation for the troubled and doubtful profession of politics. 'When he quitted the walks of 'science,' said Sir John Herschel, 'for the high and efficient 'line of public life which called forth the full exertion of his 'great powers, the impression was general that his success as 'a man of science, had he desired it, must have been of a dis-'tinguished kind;' and Dr. Robinson, the well-known astronomer, declared that he never forgave Drummond for deserting pursuits in which he seemed destined to make notable and useful discoveries. Drummond continued Private Secretary to Lord Althorp until the elevation of that nobleman to the House of Lords was made, in 1834, the occasion of the fall of the first Melbourne Administration. In this position he won the regard, and even the affection, of his distinguished chief, who said, years afterwards, 'that one of the most pleasing 'recollections of his political life was that it had made him 'acquainted with Mr. Drummond; and he seems to have been 'in relations of intimacy with almost every member of the

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'Cabinet.' 'The duties of this office,' wrote Sir Thomas Larcom, 'gave him much valuable insight into the details of 'public life, but were chiefly useful in enabling him to cement 'the esteem in which he was held by the members of the 'Government;' and Miss Martineau informs us that Lord Grey often took his opinion on important questions. The political creed of Drummond had been from the earliest youth on the Liberal side; and, as might have been expected, he became in his new capacity a thorough member of the Whig party. When the Melbourne Cabinet came into power in 1835 for the second time, he was selected to be Under-Secretary for Ireland, with Lords Mulgrave and Morpeth as his chiefs. A new Irish policy being one of the main projects of the Administration, this appointment was a mark of peculiar confidence.

Drummond was Under-Secretary for Ireland from this time till nearly the end of the Melbourne Government. It was in this position that his talents and character became best known to the general public, and that he acquired for himself a name still treasured by many friends in his adopted country. In order to understand what he, and the Administration of which he was a member, effected for Ireland during this period, it is necessary to glance at the state of that country when committed to the accomplished nobleman, now usually remembered as Lord Normanby. In 1835 Ireland was in one of those paroxysms of disorder seen too often in her melancholy history. The inveterate ills in that distempered frame, the animosities of religion and race, had been quickened into fierce activity; and good government appeared hopeless amidst the passions they had aroused. The oligarchy of sect which, until 1829, had misruled and oppressed the country, had been deprived of their ascendancy by law, but they retained it in fact in a great degree, and they were struggling violently for its complete restoration. They still preserved much influence at the Castle; their representatives filled the bench of justice; they were dominant in the magistracy, the corporations, the jury-box, and the local tribunals; and they possessed in the Orange societies a formidable and compact organisation. On the other hand, the Catholics of Ireland, as yet emancipated in name only, regarded England and their ancient masters with deep-rooted jealousy and dislike; and, having learned what could be effected by agitation and resolute concert, had, under O'Connell, banded together into associations whose avowed purpose was dismembering the empire, and overthrowing some of the most

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settled of its institutions. They had completely triumphed in the tithe war; had practically succeeded in many of their objects in spite of necessary measures of coercion; and were now clamouring for the Repeal of the Union, and menacing the existing settlement of property. Ireland was thus split into hostile factions, more exasperated against each other than they had been since 1798; and the Executive, weak in its subordinates, without an adequate central force, and not possessing the confidence of the people, was unable to quell the elements of disturbance that were breaking asunder the bonds of society. 'Talk,' exclaimed Sir Robert Peel in 1834, when reviewing this state of political dangers, 'of the British Con-'stitution existing in Ireland; I see there nothing but a ghastly 'phantom, a distorted image of the British Constitution.'

The political ills of Ireland, moreover, were aggravated by wide-spread social mischiefs. The wealth of the island had increased since the Union, owing to trade with Great Britain and improved facilities of intercourse; and it was easy to show that, in one sense, its condition was comparatively prosperous. But a variety of causes had at once stimulated the growth of the population and made it poor; and peculiar circumstances had impeded the development of a middle and commercial class, essential to the welfare of the nation. The landed aristocracy had been tempted, by an Act passed in 1793, which conferred the franchise on forty-shilling freeholders, to cut up their estates into patches, and to settle a miserable peasantry on them, in order to gain political influence. The great war with France, which made the cultivation of small corn farms exceedingly profitable, had operated in the same direction; and the fatal ease with which the potato afforded quantities of inferior food to a race satisfied to exist in wretchedness, had contributed to a similar result. At the same time free commerce in land had been restrained by the traditional usages that had come down from the penal code and by some peculiarities in the Irish land-laws; and while, owing to the extravagance of their owners, estates were becoming overwhelmed by debt, the circulation of land in the market, so necessary to the well-being of a people, was limited to a remarkable extent. In this way, in the first years of the century, the social system of Ireland had taken the form of a deeply embarrassed proprietary, without a large trading or yeomanry class, resting on a mass of destitute serfs, eking out life on a precarious root, and continually on the verge of misery. Then had come the reaction after the war, a fall of rents and a struggle to maintain them, an ever-augmenting

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inability in property to employ labour and fulfil its duties, a still lower decline of the peasantry, their numbers multiplying as rapidly as before, immense 'clearances' and wholesale 'evictions,' and a portentous growth of pauperism, swelling year after year in its fearful dimensions. This state of things made more intense the ills at the core of society in Ireland; a continuing feud between landlord and tenant shaking property to its very basis, a succession of frightful agrarian outrages, savage combinations against law and order, ribbon confederacies and their train of crimes, a bankrupt feudalism in melancholy contrast with wide-spread and desperate poverty, were its most obvious symptoms and consequences.

Successive Governments had had before them this condition of Ireland which, for some time, had attracted the attention of statesmen. As early as 1823–24, Lord Wellesley had inaugurated an Irish policy of an enlightened and a salutary kind; but his patriotic efforts had been crossed by his own Cabinet and the Orange faction. Canning died before he could carry out any views he may have entertained for Ireland; and the government of the Duke of Wellington was exclusively of a Tory type. The Ministry of Lord Grey in Ireland had to deal with violent agitation and with almost revolutionary passions; and it had been compelled in the interests of order to adopt measures of temporary coercion. Until 1835, a Liberal Administration had not had an opportunity of treating Ireland upon its own political principles; and it is the peculiar glory of Lord Normanby's *régime* that it was the first that made the attempt. The lord-lieutenancy of that nobleman is a turning-point in the history of that country. It is true, it did not permanently settle some Irish questions that must be solved, and chiefly on account of the strength and violence of the Tory opposition, it was not signalised by many conspicuous legislative measures, though the reform of the Irish juries and corporations, and the Irish poor law are lasting monuments of a liberal and humane policy. But it changed the system of government in Ireland from being one in the interest of a class into one that sought the good of the nation; it greatly strengthened the influence of the State in several departments of the Irish Administration; and it laid down principles for ruling the island from which it has since been impossible to deviate. For the first time during many generations the *régime* at the Castle treated Irishmen of all ranks with impartial justice, and took account of the great body of the people. While, in spite of all that calumny has invented, it checked agitation and the license of mobs, it sternly discountenanced the Orange

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party, it refused to become the instrument of cliques and of individual selfishness or oppression; and it taught the poorer classes especially to look to it for support and sympathy. In addition it gave real effect to Catholic emancipation by admitting Catholics to offices of public honour and trust; the Judicial Bench was adorned by men who a few years before were excluded from it because not of the favoured creed; and by this and other valuable reforms the administration of justice was purified and made really national and popular. At the same time the power of the Executive was increased by improvements in its machinery; and crime was repressed with a vigour and success unknown hitherto in Irish history. By these means the nation was brought, in a short period, into a state of comparative tranquillity and even content; the Government obtained and deserved confidence; and the disorders of the distracted country were lessened in a remarkable degree. To this day every liberal Irishman looks back to the government of Lord Normanby as the commencement of a happier era, when the principles of justice, conciliation, and kindness were introduced and thoroughly carried out in the relations of the State to the people.

It is difficult to determine accurately what share Drummond had in directing the policy of this beneficent administration. We do not agree with Mr. M'Lennan that he was its controlling and master spirit; that the Lord-Lieutenant and Chief Secretary were really the puppets of their subordinate. Lord Normanby, with certain defects of manner, was a clear-headed and able statesman; and if the late lamented Lord Carlisle could win hearts by his gracious courtesy, he was not the less an excellent governor. Nor, in apportioning the praise due to this patriotic and just *régime*, should we forget the merits of the distinguished men who filled its important law offices, and several of whom conspicuously proved how Catholic talent could serve the State. Lord Chancellor Brady, Chief Baron Woulfe, Chief Baron Pigot, Sir Michael O'Loghlen, and Judges Perrin, Richards, and Ball, all legal members of Lord Normanby's Government, are entitled to no small part of the credit that belongs to it, for securing to Ireland an improved system for repressing crime, and the pure and impartial administration of justice. Yet Drummond was prominent among the group of honourable men then in power at the Castle. His connexion with the survey having made him familiar from youth with the state of Ireland, he was at least equal to either of his chiefs in statesmanlike and intelligent perception of the most pressing requirements of the country; and he did great

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good in directing their attention to the paramount and urgent necessity of improving the material condition of the people. Clear-headed, resolute, strictly upright, abhorring injustice, and with strong sympathies for a suffering and long-oppressed race, he possessed and exercised vast influence in promoting measures for putting down disorder, in restraining the oligarchy of Orange potentates, and in securing for the poorer classes their rights; and, in these respects, he was not merely the official exponent of the will of the Government, he not seldom determined its action. Yet perhaps it was his remarkable faculty for despatching and managing public business that chiefly assured him the high place he held in the councils of the Administration. 'Such was his power of concentration'—we quote the words of Sir Thomas Larcom, his worthy successor—'that he could fix the whole force of his mind on any 'subject of discussion, to the utter exclusion of any other;' and, as in addition to this great gift, he had strong sense and astonishing industry, it is not surprising that he conducted the government of Ireland, in its details, in such a manner that he made his mind and character felt in all parts of it.

Passing from this general view, we may say that the policy and acts of the Normanby Administration were determined almost wholly by Drummond in three particulars of real importance. Before his time the constabulary force of Ireland was badly trained and organised; and, as it was exclusively composed of men belonging to the dominant religion, it was at once unpopular and inefficient. Drummond wrought a complete revolution in this system. He placed the constabulary under a *régime*, dependent ultimately on the Under-Secretary, and, in the first instance, on experienced officials, by which it was admirably managed and disciplined; and he took care that it should be thrown open to all Irishmen, irrespective of creed. 'He converted this force,' wrote Sir Thomas Larcom, 'into 'the most efficient police in Europe. It became under his 'hands an almost perfect machine, which, like a delicate musical 'instrument, responded at once, from the remotest part of 'Ireland, to his touch in Dublin Castle.' On the services of the body thus remodelled by Drummond, and on its tried and untarnished loyalty, it is not necessary for us to comment. Suffice it to say that the prompt suppression of the late abortive Fenian insurrection is due, in a great degree, to its efforts; and that the Catholics and Protestants who fill its ranks have happily been long undistinguishable from each other, except by individual merit and bravery. To Drummond, moreover, in a great degree, belongs the credit of two valuable reforms made

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at this time in the administration of justice. He established the mode of prosecuting offenders at Quarter Sessions by responsible officials, one of the best features of the system in use in Ireland for carrying out our Criminal Law; and he abolished and steadily refused to restore—a precedent always since followed—the invidious practice once common in Ireland of challenging juries on the part of the Crown, in criminal trials, in a peremptory manner—an expedient previously often employed by Orange law officers and their subordinates to keep Catholics excluded from the jury-box. Finally Drummond, more energetically perhaps than any one at the Castle in these days, brought the weight of the Government to bear against the evil power of Protestant ascendancy, and threw its influence on the side of humanity and care for the Irish peasantry. His celebrated letter to Sir William Verner, if somewhat violent and even indiscreet, reveals the honourable and salutary dislike he felt for the arrogant Orange faction; and it was he who, filled with real knowledge of the state of the landed system of Ireland, and of the miseries it was entailing, announced fearlessly to the Irish landlords what has been called well the 'potent aphorism,' that 'property has its duties as well as its 'rights.'

Such was Drummond in his official life; he is entitled to rank among the statesmen who have laid down plans for the improvement of Ireland, on account of a project which, though not carried out, was a comprehensive and bold design for promoting the welfare of that country. From early youth he had before him the phenomena of the social state of Ireland; he had studied attentively the relations between the owners and the occupiers of the soil, and the masses of poverty dependent on them. More firmly, perhaps, than any public man he had appreciated one cardinal fact in the condition of Ireland at that time—that the swarming millions of her poorer classes were year after year becoming more indigent; and he insisted strenuously on the necessity of an attempt, by special legislative measures, to raise them out of their deplorable wretchedness. Until this were done, he continually urged, all other reforms were merely superficial; what prospect could there be for a country where society rested on a chaos of pauperism? In addition to the Poor Law then being introduced, he thought that one means of solving this problem was employing under the encouragement of the State, and with a view to broad national objects, a large amount of the labour of Ireland in carrying out, on a general plan, the new and extraordinary modes of locomotion then being commenced in Eng-

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land and the Continent. It was with him a settled conviction that Government should directly develope a system of railways in Ireland for the purpose 'of giving a lift' to the population; and he foresaw, moreover, with rare sagacity, that, in the peculiar circumstances of the country, and regard being had to the general good, this was the only way that promised to make railways in Ireland successful, in a commercial or national point of view. The Cabinet having favourably entertained his representations to this effect, a Commission was appointed in 1836, charged with reporting on the best method to be adopted for making railways in Ireland, on the direction and nature of the proposed lines, and on various miscellaneous matters, the principal object being to secure a railway system at once remunerative and beneficial to the country and the State, and at the same time to supply an incentive to the industry of the labouring population. The project was warmly received in Ireland; and Drummond, though overwhelmed with work, became chairman of the Commission, his associates being, for the most part, men of eminence in scientific or public life.

Our space will not allow us to dwell at length on the labours of this Commission, one of vast importance, as events have shown. It published two of the ablest reports that have ever been presented to Parliament, and of these Drummond was the principal author. As is well known, the Commissioners recommended that two main lines of railway should be made from Dublin to Cork with a series of branches, and from Dublin to Navan with a double branch extending to Enniskillen and Belfast; and they showed, from carefully chosen data, that these would meet the requirements of the country, and would form the basis of a more complete system. They recommended too, that these main lines should be constructed under the supervision of the State by private speculators alone if possible, and, if not, with the assistance of loans secured on the countries to be traversed, the great feature of the scheme being, that the chief railways of Ireland were to be laid out, as a whole, under the control of the Government. It may be affirmed that the Commissioners' Reports exhausted all that can be urged for giving the State a right for directing the course of those monopolies of locomotion, trunk railways; indeed, the arguments on this subject have been seldom if ever so ably put. Drummond, however, never lost sight of the object which, with him at least, was paramount to all others, how railways in Ireland could be developed so as to secure employment for the labouring classes.

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The portions of the Reports that describe the condition of the poorer Irish, their past history, their relations with the State, and their claims on it, are wholly from his pen, and form a *résumé* remarkable for its clearness and power, and still more for its generous sentiments. Unfortunately the recommendations of the Commissioners, although approved by most thinking men, were destined never to come to a result. They were denounced by the Tory Opposition in Parliament, were characterised as reactionary and foolish, and were condemned by the capitalists and projectors who believed that Ireland, if abandoned to them, would be a prolific source of gain. The event has been not a little curious, and has verified several of the predictions of the Commissioners. Private enterprise, almost unchecked, has been permitted to make the railways of Ireland; and, after millions have been idly squandered, the system, viewed as one of locomotion, is very imperfect and ill-designed, while several lines are absolutely bankrupt, several yield no dividend or a nominal one only, and hardly any are really prosperous. As we write, owing to the energetic efforts of Lord Clanricarde and Mr. Monsell, a Commission has actually been appointed to inquire to what extent the railways of Ireland can safely be purchased by the State, the Government being composed of the party that thirty years ago declared that the scheme of Drummond was impracticable and unjust!

The time, however, was now approaching when the career of Drummond was to come to a close. His frame had always been rather delicate; the severe labours of the Irish survey, and frequent exposure to cold and wet, had seriously injured his constitution; and before he became Under-Secretary for Ireland he had had several attacks of illness. His spirit, however, was one of those that endeavour to overcome infirmity; and heavy as his official duties were, he had long defied and baffled disease. But the intense work of the Railway Commission, added to his customary business at the Castle, proved too much for his vital powers, and in the summer of 1838 alarming symptoms made their appearance. For a time they were conjured away by repose and a short tour on the Continent, and he returned to his office in Dublin in autumn, comparatively restored, though still far from well. In the following spring he was constantly engaged in collecting facts and evidence for a Committee, obtained at the instance of Lord Roden, to inquire into the conduct of the Government in Ireland, one of the attacks made by the Orange faction on an Administration whose even-handed justice it was unable to

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comprehend or tolerate. The principal witness examined was Drummond. He was questioned and cross-questioned during a fortnight, and the result was a triumphant vindication of his own conduct and that of his chiefs, in the judgment of all impartial persons. After this his health declined rapidly, and on the 15th of April, 1840, he died at the age of forty-three, having beyond question fallen a victim to over-exertion in the cause of Ireland. The Heads of the Cabinet and his official superiors paid a just tribute to his talents and virtues in grateful expressions of regard and esteem; and he was deeply mourned and lamented by friends by whom he had been known and loved from youth. Yet the most touching testimony to his worth was the regret felt for him in the strange land for which he had sacrificed a noble life, and which he had made his adopted country. At his own request he was buried in Ireland. The funeral was attended by an imposing array, representing the state and rank of the capital; and it was accompanied by multitudes of the poorer classes, who knew they had lost a real benefactor. To this day the memory of Drummond is dear to the hearts of the peasantry of Ireland as that of one of the few who have used the power of the State in their interests; and it may be said that among the honoured men, 'whose dust, alas, is Irish earth,' it would be difficult to point out a greater worthy.

ART. VIII.—*Hansard's Debates.* London: 1867.

THE worshippers of the great goddess Finality will not, we trust, in this hour of acclamation be too intolerant of those, a small but perhaps an increasing number, who hesitate to admit that she is in stable possession of her sovereignty on the field of Reform. True it is that, as the Session of 1867 drew towards its close, nine at least out of ten among such men as customarily canvass politics greeted one another with some such exclamation as this: 'Well, thank God, it is done with at last!' True it is that the House of Commons, in the weariness of despair, raised its pace to full gallop, and seemed even to ride roughshod over the rights of its members to propose amendments as it came near the closing stages of the Bill. True it is that a Government which has executed with success a summersault which might put Blondin to shame, reassures its followers by observing that at any rate it has settled the question. Settlement, conclusion, ending; what pleasant words, in cases where

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the beginning was clouded, and the continuance was a series of tempests. For such an end surely even a maiden administration might compromise its virtue:

> 'Te propter eundem
> Extinctus pudor, et quâ solâ sidera adibam
> Fama prior.'

For finality they have sacrificed everything; but, unless we much mistake, the ground has not yet been touched, and it is more than doubtful whether we have got finality.

More than once, within the memory of living men, it has been the fate of the party termed Conservative deliberately to choose its field of battle, to mark out the limits this way and that, to shape the issue for itself, to thrill with exulting and unbroken anticipations of triumph, down to the very eve, nay to the very cockcrowing, of a day of crushing defeat, and to find, at something later than the latest moment, that a resistless destiny had decreed it must become itself the instrument of strangling the idol it had adored. So it was in 1829; so in 1846; so in 1867. But none without seeing could have believed that it would have been possible, on this last occasion, to introduce into a part, at best so lugubrious, so many and such grotesque, nay even hideous, variations. Whatever consolations there may be in store for uneasy consciences on or behind the Treasury Bench, never let them seek comfort in the notion that, after all, they have only done what Peel did. If *they* had only done that for which they by themselves, and above all by their leader in the Commons, loaded with execration one of the most pure-minded and high-minded of British Ministers, perhaps even this might have been enough. But they have done something very different. Beyond the fact that a Minister carried at each period what he had previously opposed, there is not a single point of resemblance, that we can discern, between the conduct pursued on the two first and on the third of these occasions. In 1846 and in 1829 a large majority, and an assured possession of power, were deliberately staked and eventually lost for the sake of a great public measure. In 1867 a great public measure was adopted and traded on by a minority, in order to hold that power which the intention and practice of our Constitution alike accord to a majority. In 1829 and 1846 the Tory or Conservative Government and party supplied the only instrument, by which the changes respectively in question could be effected. In 1867 a Liberal Government and party were warm from that very work, and had been driven from the helm by the Tories, and their handful of allies, solely on

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account of their determination that it should not be evaded but performed. In 1829 and 1846, Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington were contented with the modest task of carrying through a storm of obloquy the measures which the Emancipators and Free Traders had proposed. In 1867, Lord Derby, and his inspiring genius Mr. Disraeli, determined on a higher flight; and have finally passed through Parliament a Bill which, so far as the franchise is concerned, either goes, or at any rate pretends to go, far beyond all that the Liberal Government and party had recommended, and that the country, before the spring of 1867, had seemed to expect or desire. In 1829 and 1846, the heads of the Government were accused of betraying their party by concealing their intentions until their honour was committed in the face of the whole people; and in each case the party broke up accordingly. In 1867 the party has not rebelled, indeed it has scarcely murmured; it has answered on divisions to the call of its summoners with a discipline worthy of a more honourable campaign; and the malcontents, who may be counted on the fingers, have been voices crying in the wilderness, without a disciple if not without an auditory. In 1829 and 1846, the leaders acted on a political conviction and carried the measure they introduced. In 1867, the leaders, disembarrassed of all political conviction, cared little more what were the clauses of their bill, than the porter at a railway-station cares what may be the contents of the portmanteau on his shoulder; and they carried not the measure, or rather any of the three measures, which they introduced, but an entirely different measure. In 1829 and 1846, important and fruitful principles of policy, which had previously been opposed, were adopted by a Ministry and by a great part of its adherents. These were, in the one case, the equality for civil purposes of the adherents of different religious sects; and, in the other, commercial freedom. A better direction was thus permanently impressed upon policy; a real advance in the corporate life of the country was achieved. But in 1867, while a popular proposal has been appropriated with a view avowedly to the retention of office, every day affords proof that there is no real repentance or conversion whatever; and it seems even probable that many may seek to atone by increased obstructiveness in general policy for their involuntary act of extravagant, but yet isolated, liberalism. Lastly in 1829 and 1846 no attempt was made to blind the public by defrauding of the honours of the day those to whom they were due. 'The credit,' said Sir R. Peel in 1829, 'belongs 'to others, not to me: it belongs to Mr. Fox, Mr. Grattan,

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'Mr. Plunket, to the gentlemen opposite, and to an illustrious 'and right honourable friend of mine now no more.' And the glowing words, which he spoke in 1846, have taken their place among the title-deeds of Mr. Cobden's wide inheritance of fame. In 1867, the good sense of the public has sickened at attempts alike despicable and ridiculous to claim originality and consistency in the very act of plagiarism and of tergiversation.

As if to raise to its climax the moral contrast between itself and Sir R. Peel, the Government, by the mouth of its leader, has persistently sneered at Mr. Bright while appropriating his ideas by wholesale. Had those sneers been spontaneous, we should have said they were due to a littleness of mind inconceivable in a man of the extraordinary powers of Mr. Disraeli. But they were not spontaneous. They were part of an implied compact between the Minister and his party. That party, sore at its long exclusion, and determined to clutch the prize it had obtained, was in a humour to bear much. Unlimited abandonment of principles and policy on Reform, deceit in any quantity, vacillation without end—for these it was well prepared. But it was essential that, however thinly, yet in some way, the humiliation should be veiled; that the tyranny should wear a mask; that each stage of the journey by which the unhappy Tories of 1867 were to travel all the way from the Dan to the Beersheba of politics should be so arranged, that they never might be able to guess what would be the next. This was the very first article of the silent treaty between the enchanter and his dupes. It was possible for him to bring them to the measure of John Bright, it was not possible for him to acknowledge the man. In a moment, like Actæon, he would have been torn by his own hounds. It is said that voters of a low order, in migrating from town to town, where it may happen that pink or orange designates opposite parties in the one or in the other, will sometimes in the love of their colour forget their creed. What colour is to these voters, abuse of Mr. Bright has been to the Tory members during the trying operation of this year; it has been comfort, assurance, watchword, talisman, soft illusion, shadow in the heat and shelter in the storm, meat and drink and fuel; and, above all, clothing to hide what could not else be hidden.

Of any shame or discredit, then, which at this juncture may attach to men or to institutions, it is not difficult to perceive that the Tory party have by far the largest share; a share so large, indeed, that they are perhaps, and particularly as to the rank and file, to be commiserated even more than they are to

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be blamed. This sentiment of pity will gain strength, as in the development of the great drama it shall hereafter appear how, in deluding themselves, they have failed to delude anybody else; how, while there has been fog in the House of Commons, all England beside has enjoyed the benefit of a clear atmosphere; how they are still thoroughly understood and appreciated by the world, as natural and habitual opponents of all such Reform as any object of party is to be served by opposing, who for once have attempted to cover the mortification of defeat by an assumed, and for the most part a very ill-acted, satisfaction. They have not, in a word, while acting Liberalism, become more liberal. They have not turned their coat but only patched it; and the patch, broad and in violent contrast with the rest, once more exhibits to us the new cloth stitched upon the old garment, by which the rent is made worse.

But if, in treating the Tories of 1867, criticism is compelled to be severe, if it be plain that their party had no just title to the *spolia opima* of Reform, we must not be supposed to assert that the claim of the Liberals, as connected with past conduct, was a perfect one. The time which has been spent in this protracted controversy enables us now to view at least its earlier passages with something of the impartiality of history. There is doubtless a degree of truth in the reproach that the Liberal party seemed to claim a patent right in Reform, and to treat as trespassers all those who, not bearing its badge, might presume to touch the ark that it alone was privileged to bear. A vice of this kind besets all parties on all occasions. To make such a claim good, or even decorous, it is necessary at least that those who make it should have served the cause with an unswerving, unshrinking, undoubting loyalty. If now we look back over the fifteen years of the controversy, since 1852, when Reform anew took its place in the councils and the responsible operations of Governments, the history of those years refuses to sustain such a claim on the part of the Liberals. It is, indeed, a narrative not creditable either to Parliament or to any of its parties. And, perhaps, the balance of discredit was against the Liberals, until the huge weight which 1867 has thrown into the other scale made it not touch merely, but actually thump the ground. In some respects, indeed, the Liberals were simply unfortunate. It was unfortunate that the Bill of 1852 was born only to be overlain by a ministerial crisis; and that the Bill of 1854 was crushed by a European war; and that the insidious as well as illusory character of the Bill of 1859 tempted, perhaps even forced, the majority of that

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day to meet it by an obstructive motion. But no such apology can be made for the proceedings of 1860. No party was ever marshalled, no administration ever constructed, upon an issue more distinct and binding than the Liberal majority returned in 1859, and the Government which it was the first act of that majority to place in office. They had rejected Lord Derby's Bill. They had indicated, at least in outline, a plan of their own. They had driven a Government from power by a Resolution which spoke no other language than this: —First, the business of Reform must be done; secondly, we, and not you, are the men to do it. And, when the Bill was introduced, its provisions appeared liberally to fulfil the pledges of the Ministers. It may further be pleaded, that again the incidents of the time were unfavourable. In 1860, finance, defences, and foreign policy somewhat suddenly became the absorbing topics of the day. It was, in truth, a question in that year whether the Treaty of Commerce should open a new era in our relations to France and Europe, or whether French ambition and British susceptibility should launch us into a war the most tremendous of all that have dyed our history in blood. Still, during the first months—and arduous months they were—of that remarkable Session, these questions were brought to a virtual settlement. The flood of passion had run high on every side, within as well as beyond the 'water-' walled shore' of England; but the tranquil Genius of Industry stood aloft and subdued the waves. Then there followed a paltry and discreditable exhibition. Of that majority, which with so much glee had ejected Lord Derby by reason of the urgency of Reform, some discovered that Reform was neither urgent nor desirable, nay, that it was even rather formidable. Cowardice was backed by shabbiness, and both were playing into the hands of craft. No man of our day knows so well as Mr. Disraeli how to let others do his work for him when they are so disposed; and in 1860 the Opposition supplied just so much of active resistance as was requisite in order to raise to the required amount the quota of obstruction zealously supplied by a portion of the Liberal side. In debate, the Government supported the measure fairly and even manfully. But in council they drew back; and with a feebleness which history, we fear, will pronounce hardly excusable, they suffered their Bill to be smothered in mere prate, without any division taken to elicit the real judgment of the House, or, if the time were already too far gone, without any announcement or intention of resuming the subject on the reassembling of Parliament. Perhaps it is for this abandonment of pledge and duty in 1860 that the

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Liberal party has paid forfeit in 1867. They have seen their rivals installed to do their work, the work which they would not do when it was yet time, and which, when they would do, it was too late. We have invoked the names of justice, honour, and consistency against others; let us admit against ourselves, that the punishment of the Liberal party, though it has been severe, has not been undeserved. It will stand as an useful warning for future men and times.

'Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere divos.'

We have not included, as an item of blame due to the Liberal party, their inaction on Reform from 1861 inclusive to the death of Lord Palmerston. When the Bill of 1860 was withdrawn, all felt that the question had been adjourned *sine die.* The Members of the Administration continued to bear testimony to the principle of reduction in the town and county franchises, by their votes in favour of the Bills presented by Mr. Locke King and Mr. Baines. But any attempt to revive the question, on the responsibility of Government, in the Parliament of 1859, would have led only to new derision or disaster. That Parliament was wedded, for better for worse, to a policy of inaction on Reform. It so fell out that the epoch of its demise was immediately followed by the death of Lord Palmerston; and hence has proceeded an impression, natural in its origin, and studiously deepened for purposes of party, that, had the life of that distinguished Minister been prolonged, the slumbers of Reform would have been prolonged also. This is a palpable error. In common with his whole Parliament, Lord Palmerston had treated the subject as one adjourned, not extinguished. Without doubt, his views on the quantum of Reform were limited. But there is no reason for thinking that six years after he had been a willing party to the measure of 1860, he would have withheld his assent from that of 1866. Nor would it have been possible, in our judgment, even for him, to obtain from the Parliament which expired at his death a satisfactory, or even a passable, measure of Reform.

The history of the mere party-struggle of last year need not detain us long. Every charge then aimed in words at the Government of Lord Russell, has been confuted in 1867 by the acts of the accusers themselves. They may be summed up in these two—first, that the enfranchisement proposed for boroughs was fraught with danger, both as being too large in itself, and further as being certain to lead to that which was larger still; and, secondly, that the measure was incomplete, because it did not deal with redistribution as well as with the franchise. The

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vindication of the Liberal Government and party has been, on both heads, overwhelming. In lieu of the too large enfranchisement, a measure has been adopted more than twice as extensive; and the suffrage clauses of 1867 were adopted by the House, with a scheme of redistribution on the table which proposed to abridge the representation of small boroughs by just twenty-three seats, and which both public and Parliamentary opinion had pronounced beforehand to be worse than no scheme at all. The handful of seats offered by the Government were increased by Parliament to thirty-eight; but the plan, even when thus amended, was still so glaringly at fault as to leave the question in truth wholly unsettled. Such was the opinion expressed by many independent Peers in the House of Lords; while in the House of Commons it stood admitted, except by Ministers and their immediate familiars, that the subject must undergo speedy and more effectual review. Few, however, anticipated the astounding confirmation which their views received in the hereditary chamber from the mouth of the Premier himself. He said, on the 1st of August; 'Now, although the Government have no proposal to make for the alteration of that 'which we have submitted to your Lordships as a fair and 'reasonable scheme of redistribution, yet if, in the course of 'next Session, a definite and distinct proposition should be 'submitted, in this or in the other House of Parliament, for a 'new and extended scheme of redistribution, giving greater 'enfranchisement to certain places, and providing for it by a 'sufficient plan of disfranchisement, without pledging myself 'to adopt such a plan, or, on the other hand, to abide *totidem* '*verbis* by the present scheme of distribution, we should be 'ready to consider any arguments for enlarging the present 'scheme, or for correcting any inequalities.'*

The conduct of the 'Liberal party' during the discussions on the Bill of 1867 will be differently understood and viewed according to the sense we attach to the phrase. It is difficult to canvass as a whole the proceedings of the majority returned under that name in 1865, because that majority has not proved itself able to agree upon a plan of common action in the matter of Reform. But that portion of it which has cohered, and which, amounting to about two-thirds of the whole, forms a minority of not less than two hundred and fifty, independently of less regular adhesions, has acted on one and the same conception of political duty throughout the year. They have professed from the first that it was essential

* Times, August 2, 1867.

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to deal on a broad basis with the question of Reform; anxious to expedite the settlement, they have been aware from experience that whatever proposals might proceed from them would be opposed by the Tories; they have therefore been willing not only to allow the official existence of a Ministry trusted by a minority alone, but to accept the serious responsibility of leaving the manipulation of the question of Reform to those whose fears, and not whose attachment, were the only security against their abandoning or maltreating it. With a forbearance for which it is not easy to find a parallel, they endured the solemn farce which was enacted during the first weeks of the Session. They entered no protest against a series of Resolutions that were no more than a set of pitfalls into which the House was invited to walk, in order then to be delivered over to the mercies of Tory interpretation. They received without scorn the weak and narrow, but not dishonest measure, which, conceived and born, according to the testimony of Sir John Pakington at Droitwich, in 'ten minutes,' lived but little longer, and had apparently for the final cause of its existence no other than this, that it should allow that statesman an opportunity of exhibiting his tact and prudence as a political historian. That Bill the Liberal party at once declared themselves willing to entertain and to improve. It was withdrawn in consequence apparently of some dark plot hatched within the Cabinet; and there was next hustled into the world in its place, not the present Act, but the Bill which, by gradual change from top to toe, has at last been made into the present Act. A measure more blameworthy, we had almost said more outrageous, was never presented to Parliament. It ought in truth to have been entitled 'A Bill to neutralise and put down 'all popular influences in Parliamentary Elections for Cities and 'Boroughs in England and Wales.' There being at present nominally a hundred and twenty thousand, really perhaps a hundred thousand working-men on the register, the proposal went to enfranchise about another hundred thousand, and at the same time to raise up, for the virtual extinction of this popular power, an army of three hundred thousand new electors of the middle and chiefly of the upper class, through the agency of the dual vote. This was independent of the ordinary operation of the special franchises, of the voting papers, and of the two years' residence. We have said advisedly, an army of three hundred thousand. Mr. Disraeli himself stated in debate that it would greatly exceed two hundred thousand; and the returns from which he must have drawn his information prove that we do not overstate this great excess. It is no

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wonder that the dual vote was not accepted: the wonder really is, that no greater indignation was expressed in the House of Commons against a Ministry which, in this its third edition of Reform for 1867, had the audacity, while professing to extend the electoral liberties of the people, to ask Parliament to adopt a provision which, if it did not extinguish, so effectually crippled and curtailed them.

The high offence, however, of making such a proposal was overlooked or pardoned. But apart from a particular extravagance too gross to live, the Bill in its essential framework was a mass of jugglery. Sir William Heathcote observed that it was framed with a singular infelicity to wound the susceptibilities of both our political parties: of the Conservatives by its announcing the theory or abstraction of household suffrage, of the Liberals by the fines and restrictions which, as they stood in the Bill, made that suffrage ineffective. But whether by the temper and movement of the times, or by the skill and the dauntless hardihood of the Minister, susceptibilities on both sides, instead of being irritated, were so far soothed as to secure a majority at the outset of the discussions for what was termed the principle of the Bill. The supporters of the Government put their faith in the 'securities.' A portion of the Liberals were not unnaturally captivated by the fair features of household suffrage, even though in chains. The bulk, however, of the party, from the most moderate to the most advanced, remained firm and clear in their views. They had no fears of the people. They desired a large enfranchisement; while they respected the dictates of prudence and the traditions of our legislation. They perceived that the country did not take the bait offered by the Government. While the Ministers pleaded the broad principle of their measure, the people from every corner of the land repudiated the Bill and condemned its authors. It was remembered how the extension of popular privilege among us had always been stable, because it had not been precipitate; how the march of improvement had been sure, because it had been measured. The Liberals had before them a plan of which they felt that in promise it was extravagant, and in performance miserable. It was plain that if a Bill professing household suffrage, and yet nullifying it by drawbacks and restraints, should pass through Parliament, the profession would subsequently become a reality. But it was also plain that the concession would only become a reality after an intermediate period of angry agitation, and in the midst of bitterness and mutual reproach, which would deprive the boon of

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its grace, and whet the appetite for future change. Under these circumstances the Liberals determined that they would be no parties to a scheme for hoodwinking and deluding the people; that whatever suffrage they were to have, it should be in reality what it was in profession; that if it was to be household suffrage, it should not be household suffrage bound in grave-clothes. The men even of the most pronounced opinions were generously willing to respect what Mr. Bright called the average opinions of the party: of that party, on which alone, as after the proceedings of 1866 they well knew, any reliance could be placed for keeping faith with the people in the matter of Reform. A five-pound rating suffrage, or a four-pound rating suffrage, or any suffrage involving a line of distinction founded upon value, has this year been denounced as illiberal by another party, the leaders and the bulk of which last year offered the most desperate resistance to any reduction of the suffrage; and as insecure by reasoners, who forgot that such a line had endured for over a generation in the Reform Act, and who were at the same moment themselves proposing such a line for the counties, and accepting it for the lodgers, in England. But those who think that the proposal of a limit to the suffrage by the Liberal party which was not proposed by the Tories was impolitic or improper, should in order to do justice bear in mind, that the Liberal limit was proposed in substitution for another limit. The Liberals proposed a limit by a fence, which every man could see and could measure with the eye: the Tories proposed a limit by a ditch, of which no man could know until he tumbled into it.

Whether the Liberal party would have thought it becoming or prudent to pause before accepting a real Bill for household suffrage, is a question which we do not possess the means of answering. For such a Bill was not before them. Had it been offered, we venture to surmise that, whatever many of them might have thought of the prudence of the measure, or of the political integrity of its authors, the party would have determined at once to accept the measure, and to accept it in the only way which can be worthy of such a party, namely, by a frank and cordial support. What they were asked to do was to support a Bill which restricted the suffrage by indirect and clandestine limitations: a Bill of which the Home Secretary informed the Parliament that the essence lay in the limitations, that it was a rating suffrage, and not a household suffrage measure; and the Secretary for India, that it was not a Bill for lowering the suffrage at all. They answered by preferring open restrictions to concealed ones, and by unequivocally and uncon-

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ditionally declaring that, whether an avowed limit were attached to the franchise or not, of secret and unavowed limit there should, so far as it depended upon them, be none. The war of Reform was for the moment merged in a war of political honesty. The Ministers fought against plain dealing: the Liberals fought against imposture.

To some extent, indeed, it may appear that, in so far as the motives of the Government are concerned, they were excused in regard to the heavier charge of deception by their ignorance of matters with which, in their position, they ought to have been familiar. It seemed that the Government owed to the Opposition their first real acquaintance with the complicated state of facts with which they had to deal. We shall spare our readers the wearisome detail. Suffice it to say that, of the householders below ten pounds' value in the Parliamentary boroughs of England and Wales, half a million in round numbers, or two-thirds, were subject to the operation of laws under which they paid the rates due upon their dwellings to their landlords in their rent. The landlords settled with the parish; receiving a deduction, computed to represent, together with what may be called a commission for agency, the advantage which the parish obtained from cheap collection, certain and early payment, and in many cases from an average struck upon full and empty houses together so as to save all the labour of inquiry into the embarrassing particulars of a very fluctuating occupancy. Above the line of ten pounds, occupiers of this class, instead of being two-thirds, were a ninth of the whole or thereabouts. Hence the great importance of the controversy which at once arose respecting the compound householder below ten pounds. In fact, it depended entirely on the manner in which he was dealt with, whether a Bill founded on household suffrage should be miserably narrow, or whether it should be wide beyond all the demands and expectations of the country. It may almost be said that the 'compound householder,' for the purposes of the measure, meant the people of England.

The proposals of the Government were so ill considered that they were presented in three or four editions, all of them bristling with impediments, and some involving actual disfranchisement, down to the time when the great change was made, which gave to a private member, of no old standing, his claim to be considered the chief author of the Reform Bill of 1867. But their essential character, up to that period, was this, that while they gave a title to the franchise they barred the road to its acquisition by penalty and difficulty. Persons

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ignorant of rates, and having no relations with the parish officers, were to put in claims for the franchise in such a way as made it evident, that independent voters in humble circumstances would rarely enfranchise themselves, while candidates and registration agents, or partisan parish officers, might conduct the operation wholesale for their creatures; and some were so uncharitable as to believe that a deliberate reckoning on the exclusion of the independent workman, and on the admission of these trained bands in the petty constituencies which are far too numerous, was the true secret of the Bill. But the 'safeguards' of the Constitution did not end here. We have stated that in respect of 500,000 houses the parishes receive the rate with deduction. It was boldly contended, at the outset of the debates, that the landlord passed on this deduction to the tenant. That is to say, that he collected the rates for nothing, advanced his capital for nothing, took the risk of insolvencies for nothing, and paid upon houses without tenants for nothing. Upon such a plea as this it was required, that the occupier claiming to be enfranchised should pay the difference between what the landlord had paid and the full rate. And this, while the compound householder above ten pounds was by law liable only to the compounded rate as the condition of the franchise, which rate he paid, perhaps without knowing it, in his rent. This was the 'fine' denounced by Mr. Gladstone and Sir R. Palmer. It was stoutly denied by the Ministers and their adherents in the earlier stages of the Bill. But the truth was too clear to be long resisted; and after a time the Home Secretary explicitly declared that the compound householder paid through his landlord not the reduced but the full rate. If this were true, if he had discharged this cardinal duty of citizenship, why was he to be molested by the Legislature? Why might he not have the franchise without cost or trouble, and without being deprived of the advantage of compounding?

This was the view on which the Liberal party acted in supporting the motion of Mr. Gladstone that no distinction should be made between rates paid directly and rates paid through the landlord. Equality of treatment, so far as depended on legislation, for all those declared worthy of the franchise, was the principle of that motion; and not only of that motion, but of the whole action of the Liberal party. It was supported by a minority of 289, including six gentlemen from the Conservative side of the House. But it was defeated by a majority of twenty-one voices. This was the chief political crisis of the Bill. The motion was the offspring of a meeting of

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the Liberal party. The failure to carry it showed for the first time that the views of the 370 gentlemen who occupy the benches of Opposition were not so absolutely in accordance as to allow them to assert their power, as a majority, for the conduct of this great question. About two-thirds of the party appear to have regularly and steadily cohered. But upon the main point, the treatment of two-thirds or three-fourths of the householders below ten pounds, the Government were victorious. And when an independent member, Mr. Hibbert, subsequently endeavoured to obtain a modified arrangement, which would have acted, though somewhat feebly, in favour of the compounder, his plan was rejected by a majority of sixty-six. After this defeat the Liberals were no longer responsible for the Bill; but they continued to vote for every improvement in its detail, although without any definite prospect of seeing it altered in the vital point.

The real crisis, however, was yet to come. Mr. Hodgkinson, the member for Newark, gave notice of a motion to establish that equality of treatment for which the Opposition had contended, by repealing at one stroke all the Acts for compounding under whatever title. Now, rates are laid for three or six or even twelve months in advance, while the great bulk of householders under ten pounds are weekly tenants. Hence it is no wonder that considerations of convenience should have led to the compounding system, which enables the parish to look, not to the occupier with his weekly tenancy, but to the owner, who alone has an interest embracing the term which is covered by the rate. The proposal to alter this vast mass of social arrangement, which had been of such natural and spontaneous growth, was a very startling one. It was supposed that the Government would resist it. It was known that, if they resisted it, they would be supported by a very large majority, probably one of not less than a hundred members. It affected, besides 500,000 occupiers below ten pounds, not far short of 100,000 above that line. Placing the whole of this mass in the condition of direct ratepayers, it invested 850,000 instead of 250,000 with a real and available title to the franchise, subject only to the conditions of the Reform Act, that the voter should be rated, and should pay his rates. The original Bill, with its two years' residence and without a lodger franchise, would probably have given, without reckoning those whom landlords or political agents might place on the register in small towns, an actual popular enfranchisement of about 100,000. The points already gained by the Opposition had raised this figure to perhaps 150,000. The motion of

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Mr. Hodgkinson threatened to raise the number of actual voters to a point probably between 400,000 and 500,000. The Opposition had not desired or recommended so vast a change as the doubling at one blow of the town constituencies. But they had all along declared that equality of treatment was the one principle which could not be compromised. They saw, as every one saw except some 250 'Conservative' gentlemen, blessed apparently by nature with the eyes of bats, that securities and safeguards, intended to restrain the natural operation of a principle so drastic as that of household suffrage, could really result in nothing but the sweeping away of all such frivolities. The question then lay between parting with them at once, fine and claim and all the rest of it, and leaving their extinction to the ordeal of a painful and angry agitation. Upon such a question the Liberal party could not hesitate. They were sensible of the social mischief and folly of enacting that no man should be allowed to pay his rates through his landlord; but this was as nothing compared with the political danger of pretending to give him the vote and then loading it with impracticable conditions. So they freely and warmly urged the Ministry to accept the amendment. To their satisfaction, no less than to their astonishment, it was done. Mr. Disraeli accepted the clause in a speech of perfectly decided language, though of marked ill-humour. And, even as a dog loves and follows his master drunk not less than his master sober, so the 250 Conservative gentlemen, who had hailed the measure in its narrow and reactionary form, continued to support it with equal fidelity when it had assumed its present wide and, as some would say, democratic proportions.

We believe that no such transformation of a great public measure had ever been effected by a vote of the House of Commons. And this transformation was as notable in its incidents as in its essence. It was short, rapid, noiseless. Two hours of conversation, no debate—and all was over. The change which Cartwright had prophesied was accomplished: the cause for which Bright had been pelted with cartloads of abuse had triumphed; and this by the meek agency of the men who had pelted him, and who, strange to say, were as ready as ever to pelt him still.

Here is a great enigma. But the solution is not far to seek. The leaders of the Government in both Houses have kept the world informed that their object was to carry a Bill. Their own reactionary Bill, in its first form, would have pleased them best. Even after the loss of the dual vote, it was sufficiently weighted with impediments to popular enfran-

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chisement, and with devices positively anti-popular, to make it quite intelligible how a party, which eschews all consideration of the future, should have been content with a measure so narrow in its present operation. Within the House of Commons, the victory had been decisive. Even the privileges accorded by Sir William Clay's Act were to be withdrawn, the payment of the full rate exacted even above ten pounds, and large numbers of persons thus to lose their title to the vote. But the decisions within the House had been most distasteful to a people at length thoroughly aroused. Enthusiastic meetings were held in London; and an assemblage of deputations from the chief towns of the country met in London to concert their operations, and to assure the Liberal Opposition of support. They were noticed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a sullen speech as 'obsolete incendiaries,' and as 'spouters of stale sedition.' These 'incendiaries' and these 'spouters' appear to have had the fate of the question in their hands. Certain it is that, until they appeared, the Bill seemed to have settled down in its narrow form, with safeguards, sure indeed not to last, but quite effectual, as long as they should exist, for preventing the independent enfranchisement of compound householders. When they came on the stage, all was altered; equality of treatment was established; and the Bill was metamorphosed from a puny into a gigantic measure.

Since that time the course of the Liberals has again been clear. They have steadily supported the measure, while endeavouring to improve it. Some difference has not unnaturally prevailed between those who were more and those who were less anxious to remove all occasion for future agitation. Gentlemen of the latter view were naturally less inclined to be fastidious as to the actual provisions of the Bill, than those who wished to make of it at once a clean and complete operation. But it was with the universal approval of the Liberal majority that, when Mr. Disraeli threatened to abandon the Bill if additional members were given to the great towns, Mr. Gladstone observed that the Bill was the property of the House, and could not be dropped at the pleasure of the Ministry.

In his remarkable speech on the third reading of the Bill, Lord Cranborne observed that it was chiefly the work of the Opposition. Ten demands, he said, had been made by the leader; one of them, referring to provisions for excluding the poorest and most dependent voters from the franchise, was of a Conservative tendency, the other nine were Liberal. The first had failed; the other nine had been carried. The dual vote was dead. The two years' residence was cut down to one.

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The lodger's franchise was introduced. The distinction between compounder and non-compounder was removed. The tax franchises were abolished. The group of miscellaneous bye-franchises had disappeared. The occupation franchise in counties was reduced. The redistribution of seats was enlarged. The voting papers had been condemned. All this is true. Such was the triumph of the Government.

Yet let us not draw too rapid or too wide conclusions as to the triumph of the Liberal party. The enfranchisement of compound householders has been purchased by the absurdity and injustice of abolishing a system of law founded alike upon convenience and economy, which in substance it will, we believe, be necessary to restore. The occupation franchise in counties is too high. The redistribution of seats is given up on all hands, and is doomed to a reconsideration, of which we may say at once, that the sooner it comes the more easily we shall dispose of it.

In these three very important points, though the Bill of the Government has been altered, yet the Liberal party has failed to accomplish its full wishes. On every one of them Time, as it has thus far been, so it will continue to be, their vindicator and avenger. On every one of them, as we expect, there will be further, and on some, in all likelihood, early change. We might add further heads, but these three are enough. In other words, the settlement which has been purchased at such a cost in political morality and constitutional principle, is no settlement at all. Ambitious to grasp a broad idea in household suffrage, the Government wholly forgot, like unskilful architects, the proportion which must be observed even in the construction of a Reform Bill, and by the side of a colossal borough franchise they planted a mean and diminutive county suffrage, and a stunted and pigmy plan of redistribution. Of this last we have already spoken; the first we dismiss with a single remark. Preserving the deformity of half-counties, such as Bassetlaw, with the name of boroughs, and of necessity leaving towns like Doncaster and Chesterfield, on its very borders, with their numerous skilled workmen under the county suffrage, they thus plant, close by the unenfranchised independent artisan, peasants in crowds, ever on the verge of want, but invested with a vote. They have in this way sedulously made ready the materials of a new Reform controversy, even while our ears are still bedinned with the boast of having settled the old one.

On account of the principles it involves, the Act is indeed a great, nay a gigantic measure. Much uncertainty still

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hangs about the arithmetic of its immediate operation; but it virtually involves the complete overthrow of those barriers against unlimited enfranchisement which the antediluvian Tories of 1866 regarded as the chief permanent guarantees of the Constitution, and which the most experienced and prudent Liberals would have been content to see only by degrees removed. But besides the great flaws we have named, it is full of minor inconsistencies. The greatest of its faults is that, from its combining so much vastness with so much littleness, it leaves the whole question still rocking, instead of bringing it to stable equilibrium. Its inequalities give it a motley character, which may best be summed up in the words of Mr. Burke's speech on American taxation, with reference to the Government constructed by Lord Chatham in 1766. It was a measure 'so checkered and speckled; a 'piece of joinery, so crossly indented, and whimsically dove-'tailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversi-'fied mosaic; such a tessellated pavement without cement; 'here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; that it was 'indeed a very curious show; but utterly unsafe to touch, and 'unsure to stand on.'

We must not omit, however, to bring into view the share taken by the House of Lords in the intricate and bewildering drama of the year.

The occasion has been a great one. In 1831–2, that House had fought its battle gallantly if not wisely, and had left upon the public mind, even in the hour of its defeat, the impression that as an adversary it was to be viewed with something of fear and something of respect. The sagacity of the Duke of Wellington, as leader of the majority in that House from 1832 to 1846, kept it so far in harmony with public sentiment that, while its weight and influence were felt in important legislation, the recollection of its antagonism to popular ideas had very much abated. But, with the access of the Earl of Derby to power in that assembly, there came an unfavourable change. His first great effort was to marshal a large part of it in opposition to the repeal of the Corn Laws; probably the most deplorable cause in which an aristocracy ever was invited to enter into conflict with a people. His next was to obtain a vote of censure in 1850 upon the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston. Justice requires us to bear in mind that Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel, with their friends, concurred in his opinions; but the result of this proceeding, which he adopted as leader of the House, was to place it, whether deservedly or not, in a disagreeable and damaging predicament. Its vote

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was forthwith reversed or overruled by a decisive majority in the House of Commons. His third attempt was on the occasion of the quarrel in China; but the Lords themselves, like the people, sided with the Government. A fourth great subject, in connexion with which his name and influence were deeply engaged, was the protracted resistance to the admission of the Jews to Parliament. In this contest he was driven, as Minister, himself to recommend and enforce the concession they now enjoy. A fifth and most important crisis arrived in 1860. The Government of Lord Palmerston had, in the month of February, proposed a Budget containing, amongst other changes, the repeal of the Paper Duties. As the session of that year proceeded, it became increasingly probable that an expenditure not previously anticipated would have to be incurred in China. The repeal of these duties was doubly odious to the Tory party, which then retained, and indeed still retains, much of the leaven of Protectionism, and which viewed with dread the operation of a cheap press. Joined by a few Liberals apprehensive of a deficit for the year, they strenuously opposed, in the House of Commons, the third reading of the Bill, which was only carried by a small majority. This tax, however, which the representatives of the people had repealed, the Lords, egged on by Lord Derby, thought fit, in their supererogatory financial wisdom, to retain. The consequence was that the House of Commons at once passed resolutions in vindication of its rights; and, in 1861, adopted without a division that method of uniting in one measure the main proposals of taxation for the year, which has been ever since the uniform practice, and which has had the effect of putting any interference like that of 1860 virtually out of the question. Such is the list of favours for which, down to the present year, our hereditary Chamber had been indebted to the Conservative leadership of Lord Derby.

It was, we think, mainly due to the wounds which that great and vital member of our Constitution had thus received by the hands of its friends, that the public mind had been for some time impressed with a sense of its being weaker than, for the due discharge of its functions of review, is desirable. This consciousness found pointed expression during the Whitsun vacation in the columns of the 'Times.' The conscience of the House answered to the appeal. Its members, who had previously lain hid in the vast metropolis, like the Highlanders of Roderick Dhu in the heather of Benledi,*

* Lady of the Lake, canto v. 9.

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started up in crowds, and thronged the benches. The mind of the House must have been in its most wakeful state, when the Reform Bill arrived at its bar. Let us see how they dealt with it.

And, first of all, they accepted the household franchise. So far, beyond doubt, they did wisely and well. But, unhappily, that acceptance was accompanied with other proceedings which deprive it of the grace it would otherwise have borne, and the Peers of much of the credit which it was in their power to earn. They placed upon the vote below ten pounds the obligation of paying the borough rate as well as the poor rate in order to obtain the franchise. They cut off the new proprietary vote in counties, whom the Commons had enfranchised, by again raising the copyhold and leasehold qualifications from five pounds to ten. They reintroduced the optional use of voting papers, which, as Lord Cranborne too ingenuously stated, were to transfer the business of the polling-booth to the magistrate's drawing-room. By a vote if possible still more unfortunate, they destroyed the lodger franchise, which the Commons had introduced into the Bill. We say advisedly, they destroyed that franchise as a franchise for the artisans of London or of any other place. As it stood originally, at ten pounds of clear annual value, it dealt, be it observed, with some of the very same class of citizens as those already enfranchised by the Reform Bill in the capacity of ten-pound-householders; and it could rarely be enjoyed by anyone paying less than 5*s.* 6*d.* per week, or nearly fourteen pounds yearly, for his lodging unfurnished. Under the silly pretext that the matter had not been sufficiently considered, and that the House of Commons probably did not know its own meaning, their Lordships were pleased to raise the amount to fifteen pounds a year of clear annual value, which must, including the householder's profit, require a rent of not less than twenty pounds a year unfurnished. In short, the franchise of 1867, thus manipulated, was a franchise more restrictive than the Government of Lord Derby had itself proposed in 1859, when the sum of twenty pounds included furniture. This extraordinary proposal proceeded from one of the judges of the land, was adopted eagerly by the Administration, and was carried by a triumphant majority, in despite of the clearest warnings from peers like Lord Ellenborough and Lord Shaftesbury, in whom undoubted anti-reforming opinions had not extinguished either forethought or independence.

When the House of Lords had thus been led by the Government into this lamentable foolery, the note of alarm was, as might have been anticipated, at once sounded in the metropolis

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and the great towns; and that machinery of agitation, the roar of which has for the last twelvemonth been so effectual in stirring the dull tympana of ears very deaf to the 'still small 'voice' of generosity or justice, was put promptly into gear. In such a matter the perceptions of the Ministry, much improved by practice, have latterly become lively enough. Lord Russell, scandalised at the amendment, gave them an opening by moving to reverse it. Accordingly, Lord Derby, when he appeared in his place, gently pointed out to the learned Lord Cairns, to his colleagues, and to the majority, that there was every reason to believe the Commons knew their own meaning quite well, and would abide by it; that, on the other hand, the Lords probably did not know *their* own meaning; that the ten pounds mentioned in the Bill had, by the simple expedient (which it seems had not before occurred to anyone) of a reference to the text of that document, been discovered to be not ten pounds' rental, but ten pounds' *clear* annual value, meaning a great deal more than ten pounds' rental. Whereupon the whole majority, obedient to the word, executed with military precision its right about face, and replaced with unanimity the figure they had condemned with a precipitate enthusiasm. Thus an end was put, within the walls, to a legislative farce, of which the chief responsibility undoubtedly lies with the Ministry; but the discredit—and very great it is—will, we fear, redound to that House, of which it will be said that its greedy acceptance of so absurd a proposal could only be due to reactionary tendencies, pent up by a violent effort during the vote on household suffrage, which it was palpably too perilous to touch, but exasperated by that compulsion, and seeking vent at the earliest moment in this or in any restrictive amendment not likely to involve penal consequences.

Together with the adoption of these four amendments, other incidents occurred. Several attempts were made by liberal and independent peers to enlarge the scheme of redistribution contained in the Bill. These attempts the House uniformly rejected; and in rejecting them it lost a noble opportunity, which may not readily recur, of recovering strength, and of gaining in a conspicuous manner the public esteem. Unhappily, when we thus see enlightened amendments set aside, and so many mischievous proposals so warmly entertained and embraced, we are compelled to suppose that household suffrage was treated by most of the followers of Lord Derby in the House of Lords as it had been treated by the followers of Lord Derby in the House of Commons—treated, that is to say, as the price of that ministerial power which must at once have

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been forfeited if the household suffrage voted by the House of Commons had been denied.

It is owing to Earl Russell and some of his late colleagues that those most ill-judged acts of interference which we have pointed out did not end in an unmitigated defeat of the House of Lords. But one other amendment had been adopted, and not at the instance of the Government. It was the amendment for the representation of minorities. Had Lord Russell not given it the support of his honoured name and high authority, it must, like the others, have been annihilated by the House of Commons. We for ourselves incline to view the vote of Lord Russell on this question with regret, for we apprehend that the provisions in question may lead to much future embarrassment. The mere amount of the majority would have availed even less in this case than it did in others. It was the composition of that majority which enabled the Ministry, at the sacrifice of a cherished and we think a just conviction, to find a ground on which they could secure for the decision of the Lords a majority in the House of Commons, and thus mitigate the disaster into which bad opinions, aggravated by bad leadership, had most unfortunately brought it.

Important, indeed, as is the matter of the Bill, there are other considerations relating to it which are of even greater weight. To the weightiest of these we now pass. Adjust your electoral law as you will, those who are elected are still human beings, liable to all the passions of their constituents, and apt to be biassed by many sinister aims of self, of family, and of class to boot. The government of the House of Commons is a matter no whit less grave than the government of the country, and in one respect even more arduous, because the acts of constituencies as a whole correspond very fairly with the motives which prompt them, whereas in Parliament it will often happen that those motives are unavowed, and even sometimes that they are elaborately disguised.

Between the period of the Stuarts and the accession of William IV., the electoral law of the country remained without alteration, and yet the working of our Constitution was entirely changed. Of this change the public have little more than a blind and indeterminate consciousness. Its particulars are not recorded in Parliamentary votes or resolutions, nor are they inscribed on the pages of the Statute Book. Its history has not been fully written, though much knowledge relating to it has been admirably conveyed in such works as Sir Erskine May's 'Constitutional History,' and likewise in Mr. Bagehot's 'English Constitution.' The whole may be summed up in this:

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there has grown up under the moulding hand of experience, and by an elaborating process constantly at work through two hundred years, an unwritten but most effective system for the guidance, and in that sense the government, of the House of Commons within its own walls. The vital elements of this system are the choice not of Ministers, but of the Ministry, in the direction indicated by the votes of Parliament; the retirement of Administrations when the House either formally withdraws its confidence, or when, whether generally or in some matter at once vital and urgent, it definitively refuses its assent; and lastly, the assumption and exercise by the Government of the initiative in legislation. Taken together, these elements compose the main parts of the system which Mr. Bagehot has called Cabinet Government. It is this, and not the effete formulas of De Lolme, or even Blackstone, which really imparts to the British Constitution its living and working form. And it is this which has been profoundly wounded in the existence, the language, the conduct, and the legislation of the third Derby Administration.

The mere existence, indeed, of a Ministry not having the general confidence and approval of the House of Commons is a grave and serious exception to the general working of our institutions. But if in itself an imperfection, it is sometimes relatively a good. It may, as in the case of Mr. Pitt in 1783, indicate a state of things in which the Parliamentary majority misrepresents the country, and in which the Crown, exercising the prerogative of dissolution, enables the people to supply the lack of numbers, and convert it into a majority. The use of this prerogative is admirable. The abuse of it was seen when, in 1859, Lord Derby dissolved the Parliament without any rational hope of reversing the relative state of parties, and with no other practical effect than effecting some augmentation of his minority, and securing a few weeks or months of office.

Again, short of a case like that of Mr. Pitt, a Ministry supported by a minority may usefully hold office until the majority, which must ordinarily have undergone some dislocation in order to have lost the helm, shall have returned to a more regular condition, and shall have become capable of discharging its duty by conducting the affairs of the State. The Ministry of the Parliamentary minority in this case discharges, it may be a humble, but certainly an useful function. This function, however, Lord Derby renounces with contempt. 'I was de-'termined,' he says, 'not to be a stopgap.' But how was he to avoid it? By converting—so he states—the majority opposing him into a minority. Not, however, by the legitimate

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process of obtaining from the judgment of the country a verdict which would place his opponents in a minority. Nor by so modifying his principles of government as to widen the basis of his party, and thus legitimately to enlist in his ranks some proportion of those who had been his adversaries. No; but by appropriating for the occasion, and for the occasion only, the creed of his opponents themselves, and, by over-acting the part even to caricature, to reckon upon forcing, for a critical moment, the support not of the politicians nearest to him, but of those farthest from him in opinion. In short, he determined to maintain the existence of a Conservative Ministry by carrying a measure dyed with any shade of Radicalism, however deep, which might be needed to attain the end in view. Lord Derby's idea, then, of good government is a Ministry agreeing with the opinions of a minority, but proposing measures founded on the opinions of the more *ultra* politicians among the majority, and holding office by their votes. This is the last Conservative *recipe* for maintaining the British Constitution.

Yet even this, which presents the theory, is too favourable a picture of the practice of the Government. To explain that practice clearly we must revert to the period when Parliament assembled. On the meeting of Parliament, the House of Commons was informed by Mr. Disraeli,* that Reform was no longer to be a question determining the fate of Ministries. How was this extraordinary language to be explained? It did not mean that when a Government had proposed its views upon Reform, and the House had rejected them, it could treat the proposal and rejection alike as *non avenus*, and still remain in office. For the speaker well knew that even the least susceptible portion of the majority which faced him was truly, if vaguely, set upon disposing of the question, and would not permit any Executive to exist while leaving that question in abeyance. The meaning, then, was, that the Government had no views at all, except such as were tentative, and were to be employed only for the purpose of bringing out the prevailing intention or bias of the House. That intention or bias once known, the Administration would conform to it, and make it the ground and measure of their plans. Thus it was that Reform lost all power over the fate of a Ministry. But the correlative proposition, which has been no less signally verified, was this: that the Ministry lost its power over the fate of Reform.

The startling effect of this announcement, made as it was

* Debate of February 5, 1867.

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by the organ of a party once supposed to represent, in a degenerate time, the remnants of the age of chivalry, was not confined to the opposite benches, or to mere supporters. It extended to colleagues. The weaker men, Mr. Walpole and Lord Stanley, were contented with making declarations, as sincere in purpose as they were worthless from want of will, that the Government would abide by all the essential provisions of whatever plan it might produce. By them there sat, if not men, yet a man, who made no declaration. It was Lord Cranborne. We do not find it hard to conceive with what feelings he saw the greatest and most important function of the Crown thus made over to the chance-medley of a popular assembly, for which guidance is an essential condition alike of utility and of dignity. We do not wonder that, new to office, keenly attached to a party sensible of all its obligations, and with his confidence in his friends not yet absolutely pulverised, he waited to see what all this could mean. His silence, in due time, was exchanged for action. It would surely have been better had they been silent too.

The whole proceedings of the Government were but one continuous and consistent practical paraphrase of the opening words dropped by its presiding genius. The form has been infinitely various: the spirit always one. When the time came for the introduction of the Bill, it soon appeared that the Government did not themselves propose a Radical measure on the franchise, but a Conservative, that is, a reactionary measure. The Bill of the Government embodied a principle susceptible of broad application, to attract Radical support; but, as we have seen, it narrowed and neutralised its application by the so-called safeguards. More important than the provisions of the Bill were the declarations of the mover. He carefully avoided pledging himself to any one of those provisions. He gave it to be understood that the Bill was to be the Bill of the House of Commons. And the Bill of the House of Commons it eventually became. The initiative of the Crown, the great balance-weight of the House of Commons, was virtually abandoned. Even personal rating, the solitary resource of despairing Tories, though it could not be abandoned, yet might be, and has been, reduced to the very conditions proposed by Mr. Bright in 1859, the most democratic period, as he has apprised us, of his reforming career. This abandonment of the initiative deprives the House of Commons, so to speak, of its centre of gravity.

For it is not too much to describe in these words the effect of such a change. The whole spirit and working of the House

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of Commons depends on the initiative of the Crown. And that initiative, together with the power of dissolution, are now the two real prerogatives on which its place in the Constitution depends. The smaller measures group themselves around the greater; and the greater hang on the Executive. Not only is it the rule that great measures shall be dealt with by the Executive, but this rule has of late years acquired increasing stringency. Mr. Peel, as an independent member, carried the Currency Bill, as Mr. Burke had carried Economical Reform. No such passages of history could now recur. No sooner does a great question become practical, or a small question great, than the House demands that it shall be 'taken up' by the Government. Nor is this from laziness or indifference. It is felt, with a wise instinct, that only thus can such questions in general acquire the *momentum* necessary to propel them to their goal, with the unity of purpose which alone can uphold their efficacy and consistency of character. The true initiative, in the capital point of the Reform Bill, was the initiative of Mr. Hodgkinson. A provincial Solicitor (to his honour be it spoken) reversed the plan of the Queen's Advisers, and determined the essential character of the New Reform Act.

Under the true system of our Government, the leadership of the House of Commons has been at once the most arduous and the most noble duty that could fall to the lot of a Minister; the crown of the Premiership itself, if united with it; if detached, the function which continually threatened the official chieftaincy with eclipse. The necessities of the State had indeed for near a century required that this sun of the Constitution should have its moon. The leadership of the Government is usually reflected in a leadership of the Opposition. Besides the general management of the House as a whole, the exigencies of its construction dictated a similar expedient for the submanagement of that always large fraction of the body whose duty it is to watch and control the proceedings of the Government. But if the great statutes are henceforward to be 'Bills of the House of Commons,' the business of the leader of the Government will resolve itself into discerning at the moment, with the aid of reports from the whippers-in, the probable opinion of the majority, so that the operation of facing about may not be performed without necessity, and may be executed, when the occasion comes, with the advantage of a few moments' forethought and of a few covering phrases. As to the leader of Opposition, there will manifestly be no use for such a functionary at all. When it is said that the

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Ministry have sacrificed their political morality, but that the result was a good Bill, we reply that in the public interest we are thankful for good Bills, but that the public interest likewise requires us to give heed to the conduct of those who govern us. The political morality of a Government may seem to be a matter which chiefly concerns themselves. But in the present instance at least it has not been so. They have so contrived the particular means adopted for plunging into dishonour, that in this case political immorality has involved a serious constitutional disorganisation. And as regards democracy, if there be a truly democratic temper in Parliament, it is that temper to which the Government appealed when they invited each member individually to bid for the several independent parts in framing the measure, which has so many authors, and which is to make them all immortal. In truth, it seems that when Lord Derby was pleased to announce in 1858 that his mission was to check democracy, he must have meant that he would resist whatever is healthful, masculine, and orderly in the development of popular principles; but that as to the extremest development of excess in a democratic direction, which implies the transfer of the primary functions of the Crown and the Executive to the House of Commons—to this kind of democracy, while associated with his own title to power, he seems, when put under a sufficient pressure, to have no insurmountable objection.

As to the pleas hitherto offered in justification for the conduct of the Government, their whole effect is to aggravate much more than to excuse. It is needless to dwell upon the whimsies of Lord Malmesbury; but we cannot pass without notice the supreme flight of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Determined upon 'things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme,' he declared that household suffrage had been all along the real even if occult policy of the Government, as the only measure proper to be adopted in the event of a change in the borough franchise. Upon this it is to be observed, that not a single word, nor a single act, cognisable by the public, has been, or can be, alleged in its support. But on the other hand, the acts and words, the signs, both negative and positive, are countless by which it is emphatically contradicted, and shown to have no existence except in Mr. Disraeli's peculiar views of 'rhe-'torical' licence,* and of the latitude which, as he says, must be allowed to a Minister in critical circumstances. He has himself given to the world an octavo volume of his Speeches

* Debate of July 27, on Irish Policy.

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on Reform. And yet not one solitary phrase could he allege from that copious record which could be made to convey the doctrine of household suffrage! We may read there in abundance about the constituency of England as essentially select;* about the danger and shame of assimilating our institutions to the institutions of America; about the sufficient proportion in which the Act of 1832 had already provided for the representation of the working class in boroughs and in counties; about the necessity of confining their admission to the 'choicest 'members' of that class; about his surprise at the speech of Mr. Mill, because, 'as I understand the purport of the 'speeches here, he is in favour of an indiscriminate reduction 'of the franchise, and, so far as I understand him, of an illi-'mitable reduction.' This was on April 27, 1866. To the unlearned (and these were all the world), he seemed then to be denouncing indiscriminate, and above all illimitable, that is figureless, reduction; yet we now know that he was all the while inwardly performing his heart-worship before the altar of household suffrage.

Now as this Government has been so intent upon household suffrage, let us consider how it behaved to those who loved, and to those who hated it. Mr. Bright, its early and ardent confessor, they covered with incessant contumely. Mr. Cave, who said he was for Reform in the shape of a seven-pound rating franchise, equal to about eight pounds fifteen or nine pounds value, they made Vice-President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Walpole, who said there was a principle in an eight-pound franchise of which he could approve, they made Home Secretary. Sir S. Northcote, who was opposed to all reductions, they made President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Lowe, who had denounced all and any reduction, as alike involving certain ruin to the Constitution, they anxiously endeavoured, as we know from the lips of Lord Derby, to bring into the Cabinet; and such was the importance attached to the application, that on his refusal it became a question, we are told, whether to proceed or not with the formation of the Government. During all the arduous campaign of the year 1866, zealously carried on by the present Ministers, not one member, not one supporter whom they reckoned, indicated the least desire either for the limited reduction proposed by Earl Russell, or for the unlimited extension effected by the Act of the present year. It is futile to urge that Mr. Henley once amused the rustics of Oxfordshire by acquainting them that, if there was to be

* Pp. 388, 390, 396, 397.

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a Reform, he did not see where a stand could be made except at the point of household suffrage; because that gentleman joined by speech and vote in every movement against the Bill of 1866; and undoubtedly if his hostility to that measure could have been removed by enlarging it, he would not have been so disingenuous as to suppress a fact of this public importance. It is said, and has been shown, that at one period of our history certain Romish emissaries were sent to England to overturn the National Church by preaching up Puritan opinions. So it was, we presume, that Mr. Disraeli put lateral extension against the seven-pound franchise, in order to promote the dear wish of his heart—the adoption of household suffrage. There is another member of the Government to whom Mr. Disraeli loves to refer as to a second self. We mean Lord Stanley. After the victory, when Lord Stanley came in for his share of the spoil, he presented himself as Foreign Secretary for re-election to his constituents at King's Lynn. Not, however, to teach the doctrine of household suffrage; he was lamentably wide of it. He spoke as follows:—'The measure proposed by the late Government went further as regards the franchise . . . than the majority of the House of Commons were prepared to follow. . . . If it had been understood that the late Cabinet would have accepted a twenty-pound rental in counties and an eight-pound rental in boroughs, I have no doubt that a compromise of that kind would have been accepted, I do not say by the whole, but by a very large majority of the Conservative party.'* He evidently had not yet reached even the first stage of initiation into the true belief. Nor, after the Cabinet had been formed, did this mirror of Mr. Disraeli's mind reflect any but the most distorted images. He was still as dark as ever, and, seemingly to prepare for an anti-reforming session, he invented the theory that the higher artisans would be unjustly affected by the admission of lower workmen to the franchise. Thus he wrote to the Working Men's Conservative Association of Huddersfield, on the 4th of January, 1867:—

'I see with great pleasure the growth of Conservative Associations among working men. The more we have of them the better. Everybody, as far as I know, desires that the best of the working class should be admitted to the franchise; and it is the interest of these, quite as much as it is that of capitalists or land-owners, that the right of voting should not be rendered practically valueless in their hands by being extended to others who, from (perhaps) inevitable ignorance, are unfitted for so grave and responsible a trust.'

* Daily News, July 12, 1866.

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And it is after all this, and much more than this, that the leader of the Government, destitute of the moral courage to confess his errors, tells us that household suffrage has been all along his creed, and the creed of his colleagues, as the alternative to the franchise of 1832. And why could they not confess? They had before them, in the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel, noble and lofty examples. Would not every man have spared—would not every good man have respected them? But, unhappily, experience shows us this among the many mysteries of our nature—that, in some human beings, when true shame dies, false shame survives. They can bear to turn from right to wrong; and when wrong becomes unprofitable, they can even bear to turn from wrong to right; but they cannot bear to own the change. For in owning it they would plead guilty to weakness, and to this height they cannot rise, although in the very act of acknowledging they would redeem it. It is not true, then, but the reverse of true, that household suffrage had been the idea and the policy of those who now form the Government, down to the moment when it became the condition and the price of power. And if it were true, it would not amend, but would damage, their defence; for no words could be sufficiently severe to characterise the conduct of a body of men who could allow the country to be inflamed from end to end on the subject of Reform, and yet could refrain to speak the talismanic word which would pacify and reunite the whole community, thus prolonging the uneasiness of the country, and running the risk that such uneasiness might rise even into agony, for no other reason than the miserable one that thus they might attain to place. This then is the case of men whose excuses are by far their severest condemnation.

There is another most important aspect of the conduct of the Government; that aspect which exhibits their relation as leaders to their party. It may be said that with this part of the case a Liberal organ such as this Review has no concern. This is an error. Not only do we claim the right, and own the obligation, to survey as from the hill-top the entire field opened by the political telescope, but we hold that every party has an interest in the sound constitution and healthy action of an opposing party, second only to its concern in its own. The limbs of States are in sympathy with one another. The cataract in the right eye will soon make its appearance in the left. And further; the party which cannot secure the application of the laws of honour and justice within itself, is not likely to be either scrupulous or successful in applying them to regulate its conduct towards those who are beyond its borders.

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One powerful appeal, indeed, the Administration may make to its supporters. If, they may say, we have sacrificed honour, at least we have sacrificed nothing else. Compare our conduct with that of those bunglers, those chickens if not geese of politics, Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington. They dispersed their party, we have held it together. They converted, twice over, a majority into a minority; we with a minority have done the work which a majority could not do, and have kept our party, though a minority, in possession of place and power. All this is true. To many minds it may carry contentment. Such content nothing we can say is likely to disturb. But there are others who may be more exacting; who may think that the followers of a Government ought only to be led into action for some defined object, and should not be liable to discover at the close of the engagement that their battle has been fought, and what with a strong flavour of mockery is termed their victory won, for a purpose the opposite of that for which they are enlisted and arrayed.

By slow degrees a rumour was diffused, near the outset of the Session, that the Conservative Government meant to propose that household suffrage, which had always been the aim of Mr. Bright and the more ardent reformers, the standing bugbears of Conservatism. But it was to be household suffrage balanced by plurality of votes, and restrained by three years of residence and by strict conditions as to rating. The natural disquietude created by the first idea of Reform was thus kept within bounds; and after it had subsided, another ray or two of light was allowed to fall upon the subject. When the Bill finally appeared, the three years had shrunk to two, the plural voting to dual. Still the array of securities was so goodly, that it would have been ungenerous, notwithstanding the secession of Lord Cranborne, to doubt the intentions of such trusted leaders as Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli. When once that secession had occurred, and had been found to rally no more than a handful of approvers, Danger Point was probably passed so far as the mass of the party were concerned. True, the dual vote was immediately thereafter immolated. But there could be no real infidelity in this sacrifice; for the dual vote had been denounced by Mr. Henley. Next the two years' residence disappeared. But had not Sir John Pakington shown the good intentions of the Government, when in debate he declared that the great object of the provision was to limit the constituency? Again, when the adverse majority was announced, did not Mr. Disraeli assume an air of gravity, and state that the Government must consider its

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position? Was it possible to doubt the fidelity or to misconstrue the language of Lord Stanley on March the 5th, when he complained of the 'utter misrepresentation of the intentions of 'the Government'?* His language forms too important a portion of this strange and scandalous intrigue of Ministers against their credulous adherents to be omitted here:—

'The right hon. gentlemen have spoken, as if it were the intention of those who sit upon these benches to go in a more democratic direction than even gentlemen opposite would be inclined to take, and to bring in a Bill which would *reduce the franchise to an almost unlimited extent.* I say, plainly and frankly, that I can conceive no circumstances which would render the adoption of such a course by us, in our position, and with our antecedents, either expedient or honourable: and certainly we shall not follow it.'

True—as we take leave to observe 'plainly and frankly'—this speech was in course of time illustrated by a Bill which as, after a fashion, it contained household suffrage, might be thought by narrow critics to 'reduce the franchise,' not to an almost, but to an altogether unlimited extent, since that suffrage disdains to take account

'Of nicely calculated less or more,'

and sweeps away the limit of figures altogether. But at any rate, this household suffrage, as it was first promulgated, could not be mistaken for the household suffrage of Mr. Bright. And there remained on record this one other pledge of the Foreign Secretary, freely and even ostentatiously given on the same occasion:—

'If the right hon. gentleman the member for Calne, or any 'of those who sit near him, believe seriously that it is the 'intention of the Government to bring in a Bill which shall 'be in accordance with the views which have always been so 'ably and so consistently advocated by the hon. member for 'Birmingham, they are greatly mistaken.' A few more weeks had elapsed; and the last pledge followed all the rest to the bottom of the sea. Along the pathway so thickly strewn with dead and mutilated clauses, as point after point of the ten demands of the Liberals were obtained from the Ministry, did the Conservative party wearily travel onwards to that evening when, the compound householder being slain, every man with a dwelling of his own became entitled to vote, and not household suffrage only, but the very household suffrage of Mr. Bright was carried under the responsibility of the Government

* Hansard, vol. clxxxv. p. 1364.

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of Lord Derby, and with Lord Stanley comfortably installed in the office of Foreign Affairs.

In a word the party, hoodwinked first, and blinkered afterwards, as its infirm vision was found to have strength to bear the light, was gradually initiated, along with the world at large, into the true purpose of its leaders, to take to any propositions, whatever they might be, that would combine a majority of voices; and thus it became the main instrument of carrying the Bill onwards, through its earlier and restrictive stages, until, all artificial restraints having been ejected by the motion of Mr. Hodgkinson, it became the duty of the Liberals themselves to stand forth, and to take the place of the friends of the Government, as steady and resolute supporters of the main provisions of the measure; so that, long before the third reading of the Bill was reached, Mr. Disraeli was sure of his measure by Liberal votes, even if every man of his own followers had gone against him. In truth, the Bill was carried in its earlier stages by blinded Conservatives; but when they had done their work the measure came into the hands of the Liberals. No such elaborate and wholesale fraud has marked our political history. The manner in which it may be resented or condoned will serve to test the degree, not only of political principle, but of political energy and vitality still we presume remaining in the Conservative party.

At the same time, it would be too much to imply that the Ministers have gratuitously taken anything from their party or given anything to the people. On the contrary, measuring his position with a remarkable sagacity, Mr. Disraeli is entitled to claim thus much of credit from his followers, that he has made no concession whatever, since the introduction of the Bill, except either to the majority within doors, or, as in the great case of Mr. Hodgkinson's amendment, to a popular stir, threatening to grow into a tempest, from without. Our readers, or some of them, will remember the seven P.s on the brow of Dante in the 'Purgatorio,' denoting the seven mortal sins, which were successively effaced during his upward progress. On the forehead of the Government there were not seven P.'s, but three: principle, party, and power. Under friction, principle was the first to disappear; next came the turn of party; power, or as some might call it place, still remains. If the interests of party have been postponed to place, they have had a compensation in being preferred to principle. Nor have they been sacrificed even to the dearer object, except in deference and in proportion to a clear necessity. Probably not a single point can be named in which the Government conceded anything to

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the popular demands, which they did not know they were too weak to withhold. By abandoning principle, they retained power; and in retaining it for themselves, they retained it for their party. The Ministry deceived its followers, as a child is deceived with sugared physic, only for their good. So much credit let them have, for it is deserved. What kind of good it is that is to be acquired by this nauseous traffic; what kind of security there may be for the continuance of power on such terms; how far authority can be separated from public esteem and confidence; how far constituencies will be satisfied to return as men those who are to play the part only of machines, and how far, if they were so satisfied, such an office befits the gentlemen of England; all these are ulterior questions which it would be difficult to answer, and therefore impertinent to put.

Let us turn, however, from this irksome survey of the conduct pursued by the chief agents, or at least the official instruments, of the recent legislation respecting the representation of the people, to consider more at large what history may recognise as among the real grounds of the proceeding, with a glance at the probable sequel. And this we cannot do without a sense of infinite relief;

> 'Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
> Purpureo.'

However it may have been with the Ministry a concession to popular agitation, or a consideration grudgingly doled out as the equivalent for office, in the view of the majority of the nation it is a change not in the main born before its time, but required by the public weal on the double ground of the capacity of the people for augmented privilege, and of the evident room for improvement in the actual working of Parliament. We shall here confine ourselves to the latter branch of the subject, which has received a smaller share of attention than in our opinion it deserves.

The series of nine Parliaments, which have been elected under the great Statute of 1832, began to run under auspices peculiarly favourable. They derived energy, not only from the augmentation of electoral power in the system of representation, but from the struggles of the preceding crisis, and the consequent tension of the public mind at the period of the passing of the Act. At the same time, the House of Commons was sobered and guided by the powerful and upright Cabinet of Lord Grey; by the experience, wisdom, and moderation of Sir Robert Peel; by the practical turn which Radicalism like that of Mr. Hume had acquired under the training of constant

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difficulty; and by the presence of numbers of gentlemen, many of them eminent gentlemen, who were moulded to the habits and well stored with the traditions of an ancient and solid Parliamentary system. For about twenty years, the career of these Parliaments was marked, in a degree beyond example, with every sign of honour and success. They then deserved all the glowing eulogies which Mr. Lowe, we think with a liberality too little discriminating, has showered upon the persons and performances of the entire period. In every class of legislation, in every branch of administrative activity, results were accomplished so remarkable as to be almost marvellous—results well entitled to challenge comparison with the acts which any country, at any epoch of history, has achieved within the same narrow space, and through the deliberate action of a free public opinion which eschews and suspects all hasty work as flimsy and ephemeral. The Genius of those Parliaments, could it be evoked in the body, might boldly render his account. To the economist he might point out that the whole field of public expenditure had been searchingly surveyed, and ample savings gathered; to the philanthropist, that in those savings, and not in increased taxation, the means had been found of providing for a multitude of social wants that had not before been recognised as calling for the care and bounty of the State. Even with regard to defence and our military establishments, which have since been the subject of much feverish, even if not occasionally panic-stricken anxiety, we presume to doubt whether the improvements and the progress achieved may not have been, all things considered, capable of bearing comparison with our undoubtedly large recent performances. With regard to that national influence and credit which, beyond dispute, is, in part, dependent on the condition of the armed services, not only was the foreign policy of those years, so far as it was in any way due to the action or influence of Parliament, free from failure and from scandal, but it was upon the whole at least as powerfully operative for good as it has been since the Crimean war, when it has been sustained or stimulated, as the case may be, by an additional expenditure of many millions annually. Not only were the Canadas united, but into the management of our relations with our Colonies a total change of spirit and policy was introduced; and quarrels with them were made well nigh impossible by the application of principles, which we of these later years seem to have wanted the requisite energy and courage to carry onwards to their full development. Throughout the public service, the exercise of patronage was greatly purified; and the instances are but few

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in which Parliament can be said to have forgotten, or even relaxed, the strict principles of duty for the purpose of promoting the interests of class. The Crown was strengthened, and relieved from much discredit, by the extension and completion of the change in the mode of providing for the maintenance of its dignity by the Civil List. And when we approach the topic of the great business of legislation, how vast is the catalogue of subjects that were taken in hand with energy and success! Slavery was abolished. The exclusive trade of the East India Company was thrown open to all. The Currency was placed upon a basis of unshaken solidity: and, for every purpose of credit, the sovereign and the bank-note have been now for more than twenty years identified. By a startling but most wise and profoundly matured experiment, communication by letter, that powerful instrument of civilisation and social order, as well as of industry, was entirely reorganised, and a method established which has been copied from Sir Rowland Hill by the world at large. If those early parliaments did not succeed in their attempts at a complete system of Railway legislation, the succeeding ones, with greater experience, cannot boast of greater triumphs; and even now, when large ideas begin to be agitated with regard to Irish Railways, we fall back upon a title established for the State by a law of 1844. The whole system of trade regulation at the ports and throughout the country was recast. The huge monopoly of the Corn Laws, *plus vice simplici*, was stricken down; the Tariff was contracted and reformed; the superstition of the Navigation Laws renounced, and an absolute equality of nations was adopted even for the carrying trade of the country. Both in England and in Ireland the Tithe was commuted; and the temporalities of the Church were regulated and greatly altered, to the destruction of a great mass of flagrant abuses, if not in every point with a powerful genius of organisation. Education was given to the people of England through a plan which has produced immense results, and which was the only plan the country could have been induced to accept. A beginning at least was made towards justice for Ireland in the province of the higher instruction by the Maynooth Act, and by the foundation of the Queen's University and Colleges. The Act for the reform of Oxford University was passed, of which that for Cambridge is nearly a copy. The Poor Law was radically reformed in England—a gigantic task; it was established in Scotland and in Ireland. The Act for the trial of Elections was recast. The Municipal Corporations of the three countries were completely reconstructed. The system of Factory Labour

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was placed under strict regulation. The barbarous criminal code, which had previously undergone investigation, was subjected far more effectually to a repetition of the like process. A regular and legal system was supplied for the marriage of Nonconformists, and for the registration as well of marriages as of births and deaths. The taxation of the country, which had been rank and gross in its injustice towards the poorer classes, was doubly altered in their favour; the rich assumed the burden of the Income Tax and of the Succession Duty; and the duties on necessaries of life and on most great articles of consumption were lowered or removed; while the taxes that restrained the supply of the raw materials of industry were in nearly every single case abolished.

This list, though long, is far from exhaustive. But it may serve to give some faint idea of the merits and services of the Parliaments of the United Kingdom between the Reform Act and the Crimean War. It was a golden age of useful legislation, and of administrative improvement. We have noticed the epoch of the war with Russia, not as if it were one at which the floodtide turned to ebbing, or even the stream sank into stagnation, but as one at which parliamentary action began to show a visible loss of impetus; it passed from *andante* to *adagio*; a lazier movement took the place of the former briskness; the age was no longer of gold, it perhaps might be of silver. We think that on an impartial comparison of the last twelve or fourteen years with the former twenty, the latter section of the period will be found to have accomplished much less on the whole. They may indeed be safely matched with other times, for they have turned out no small amount of good work. But we should be satisfied with nothing less than our best; and a trial by this standard is what the last twelve or fourteen years will hardly bear. Of what they have done with difficulty, much should have been done with ease. In no small part it has consisted in completing some measure or policy of which the whole outline, basis, and material had been provided; and most of the questions which perplexed and baffled the first of the Reformed Parliaments, mock and grin at us yet from within fastnesses which we have not been able either to sap or storm. The financial and commercial legislation of many of these years was doubtless both beneficial and important. But it contained nothing which ought not to have been accepted as the simple *sequitur* from the principles previously established. It was only the more sluggish spirit of the Parliament which enabled Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli to make available party questions of

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the French Treaty and the Paper Duty. The India Government Act was a new and wise measure. The Revised Code did homage to the acuteness and the energy of its author. The Jews, after a strange and clumsy fashion, have been admitted to Parliament. Clerical subscription has been prudently remodelled. And there has been much without doubt of useful legislation accomplished, for which these later Parliaments may claim credit. Yet it is just to remark that the University Acts, the Acts for the regulation of labour, and many others among the more useful measures which they have produced, have been framed on the lines that had been previously laid down. On the other hand, the chief unsolved problems of the former period are also the unsolved problems of the latter. The law of Church Rate remains unsettled. The question of Tests in the Universities is still *in statu quo.* Our legislation on Bankruptcy only records a new and conspicuous failure. The so-called Charities still defy the Legislature and tax the public. The scandals of the licensing system still display their rank exuberance. The metropolis at large still remains without a municipal government, and no reform has yet touched the superannuated body which rules over the City.

Nor let it be thought that if Parliament has done comparatively little, it has been because there was little to do: that if the energy of conquest has abated, it was because the spaces of the world fell short. The public is impressed with the belief that within these last years a real arrear of work has accumulated. The volume recently published under the title of 'Questions for a Reformed Parliament' may give some idea of the directions in which portions of it lie. As regards public education, we have become sensible of partial frustration, and of immense deficiency. Of the hands in which we have placed electoral power, a large part are unprepared, if preparation depends on training, for its right use. Our condition is not unlike that of the African traveller who takes up his quarters for the night in a dry river bed, but a thunder shower has descended on the mountains above him, and he hears the noise of the coming torrent when no more time remains than may just enable him to escape to a safer level. Parliament has not yet had the courage to face this question. The same may be said of many others. Many, indeed, are the things which of late years it has done, through want of courage, in deference to the perverse importunity of cliques and classes. If not more, yet certainly graver, are those which through want of courage it has failed to do. Several of these we have

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already named. We will mention others. The organisation of the army cries aloud for the most vigorous handling. It has become matter of urgent importance that the absolute political freedom which we have wisely given to the colonies should now draw out its obvious corollary, if not in a great contraction of our responsibility, yet at any rate in a very great increase of theirs, for their defence by land; especially in the great and critical instance of British North America. But above all, what is our arrear in Ireland? That pregnant word suggests a whole group of painful misgivings, and of work which, if much longer delayed, threatens to become impracticable. We need only refer to the too familiar names Irish Education, Irish Church, Irish Land. The heavier work for Ireland is as yet, we fear, not even begun. The very principle on which Ireland is to be governed has not been determined. Meantime a virulent disease gnaws her vitals, and threatens us alike, unless treated with a decision as to alterative remedies of which there is as yet no sign, to vex, it may be to torture us, alike with domestic and with foreign embarrassment.

Nor is it to be wondered at that difficulty should thus grow up around us. If the state of affairs implies blame, it is only the blame of having been less than equal to obligations arduous in the very highest degree. The truth is that the people of this small dominion, which we call the United Kingdom, have undertaken political responsibilities without example in the history of mankind since the period of imperial Rome. And even Rome was able generally to attain, through the facilities afforded by territorial continuity, to a pervading firmness and compactness of organisation. We have not heeded the warning of Achilles:

> μαλὰ πολλὰ μέταξυ
> οὐρεά τε σκιόεντα, θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα.

All over and about the world lie, disjointed and disjoined, the huge limbs of the British Empire. All hang upon the centre; all strain its cohesive power, and draw upon the energy which has to keep the mass in motion. Together with these vast dominions, we have a commerce that may with some truth be called illimitable, for it aims to penetrate over land and sea into every unexplored nook and corner and cranny of the earth. Long before the electric telegraph was discovered, we had put Puck's girdle round the earth. Along with these relations, so extended, we have a wide, elastic ambition, and a sense of personal ascendancy over weaker, that is over most other races, which tempts us into a continual strain to do the

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business of our neighbours in addition to our own. These things, taken together, place us in relations with every spot, with every people, with every considerable transaction, on the face of the globe; with the interests, in a word, of all mankind. And yet the hours in the day and the days in the year are no more for us than they are for others. Our brains, like theirs, are but so many ounces of pulp or paste. It is no wonder that, under these circumstances, the great British people should be scarcely more remarkable for its achievements than for its shortcomings, for its successes than for its failures, for the loftiness of its vocation than for an inability to answer, except in periods of high tension and extraordinary effort, to all the calls which that vocation makes. No wonder, then, we repeat, need be felt if, upon reviewing the period of twelve or fifteen years under our immediate notice, we are sensible that the forces of the workman have fallen short of the demands of the work. No wonder if the extraordinary performances of the first Reformed Parliaments have been followed by a partial reaction. And other causes too have been at work. The Crimean War itself, like other wars, with the habit of comparative mental excitement they engender, was unfavourable to the arts of peace, and among them to its highest art, that of legislation. The vast increase in the wealth of the country operated doubly in the same sense. It multiplied the wealthy candidates for Parliament, who looked to it with a special view to their own social advancement; and in augmenting greatly the material well-being of the most active classes of the community, it largely diminished the force which had theretofore been available for stimulating the Parliament to the discharge of duty, especially perhaps of those portions of its duty which are least obtrusive, least popular, and most useful.

Dangerous as it might be to attempt a portraiture by anticipation of the Reformed Parliament, we can hardly be wrong in giving an opinion that it must be an ambitious, and may be an impatient and exacting Parliament. The picture we have drawn seems to show that more strain is wanted for the engine of the State; and, to say nothing of the counties, the profound change that has been made in the borough franchise of itself suffices to warrant the belief that the stimulus will be supplied.

It is plain that into a Parliament cast in some novelty of form, and inspired to so great an extent by novel influences, many elements, impelling to movement and to change, will enter which are not found in the present House. The impetus imparted by such a breadth of change may be out of all proportion

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to the critical and discriminative faculty which ought to be its master. It is probable, too, that many of our legislators, whose popular armour has rusted for some years, will think it not amiss to burnish it anew. It might be too bold to say that by such a Parliament much will be done; but without doubt much will be expected to be done, and much will be attempted to be done. It will stand in need, even more than the Parliament of 1833, both of directing and of controlling power. From whence is this to come? The strain will be supplied; the engine will be started; who is to appoint the drivers?

It is almost proverbial among the boys of our public schools to say that all the 'big fellows' have left school. They perceive the departure of the individuals who go away; they do not perceive the diffused growth of the mass that remains. And in like manner it is difficult for us to compare, in point of mental and moral stature, for political purposes, those who may remain to animate and guide the Parliaments of the second Reform Act, with the distinguished men that adorned on both sides the benches of the House of Commons in 1833. Of the statesmen of that epoch, not one remains in either party. The only two survivors not in retirement, Lord Russell and Lord Derby, have migrated to the House of Lords. The number of diligent and well-informed members of Parliament is probably greater now than it was then; but the centres of power, the possessors of Parliamentary weight, are, we think, weaker and less numerous.

This, however, is not the circumstance of greatest disadvantage to the new position. It is the state of the great parties in themselves, as well as in relation to their more prominent men, which may well excite, not indeed alarm, but certainly solicitude for the future. To take first the case of the Liberal party. It is evident that the divisions which have been observed in it during the present Parliament, and especially during the last Session, are of a nature not of necessity to terminate with the occasion that gave them birth. The subject of Reform was in itself so large and complex, its shifting attitudes so many, and the discussions on it so prolonged, that differences with regard to it are apt to assume the character of differences, not upon a measure, but upon a policy. And as both party and public interests have been alike profoundly involved, the recollection of these occurrences is but a sore one probably for all whom it concerns; it involves more or less the ideas of offence taken and received, and it is suffi-

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ciently suggestive of misgiving for the future, in more forms than one.

It is no part of our intention to inquire how far any faults or infirmities which may be called personal, whether of leadership or otherwise, have contributed to aggravate during these last years the difficulties of the 'situation.' To us it appears that a great part of them are fairly explicable by reference to circumstances altogether extraneous to the action of the party, and have grown by way of natural and scarcely avoidable consequence out of the proceedings of the Tory Government, with whom it was naturally enough an object to disorganise the powerful majority which they could not in fair fight overcome. We now know from the outspoken assertion of Mr. Lowe in debate, what was the mode adopted. In 1866 the party of Lord Derby formed and cemented an alliance with the more shy and timid Liberals on the basis of resistance to any and all reductions of the franchise in boroughs. It was hoped thus to commit them by this means, as partners are committed to one another, and nothing less, in the business of Reform. But the party thus constituted *ad hoc*, was not of itself strong enough for the work of 1867, although those who dreaded enfranchisement were naturally enough reinforced by the defenders of such boroughs as lay within the certain or probable reach of disfranchisement. When to its handful of allies from the right wing of the Liberals, the Government added another handful from the left by the bait of a principle more democratic than any Liberal ministry had embraced, it was neither matter for wonder nor for blame if a difference of opinion arose between the great body of Liberals who desired a certain and early settlement, and the few who, for the sake of a broader principle acknowledged in theory, were willing to charge themselves and the country with the risks of whatever prolonged strife might be necessary in order to reduce that theory to practice.

Whether other causes of discord have been at work, lying deeper, and being of a nature more difficult to handle, the future will doubtless prove. Upon the face of the facts, however, when fairly viewed, there is nothing to show that the Liberal party within the walls of Parliament, as it is at present composed, has disabled itself from resuming, quite apart from any question as to the resumption of office, the command of public affairs and of Parliamentary legislation.

It is probable, indeed, that the mass of that legislation, so far as it bears on the higher subjects, must stand over for another

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Parliament. Yet it is material to consider how far the present House of Commons is, up to the present moment, from having 'set its house in order' in regard to Reform. The adjustment of boundaries is a matter which it is the known leaning of the Government to employ for the quiet but effectual attainment of party objects. The question of Reform for Scotland, still more that of Reform for Ireland, with both of which it is absolutely indispensable to deal, may possibly raise issues of the utmost gravity with respect both to the franchise and the redistribution of seats. We have no doubt that it will be the reasonable desire of Parliament to *minimise* its labours upon a subject which has already cost so much in time, character, and feeling. But the lion is in the path, and must be faced. In the case of Ireland, the flimsy pretext of Fenian disaffection cannot again do duty to procure even a week's postponement; and as rating, by the law of that country, ceases at the 'hard 'and fast line' of four pounds, we shall learn in what form the Government proposes to introduce its exceptional code of representation for that portion of the Queen's dominions. Above all, the House of Commons will have to choose between a natural reluctance to resume the unsolved question of redistribution of seats and the responsibility of leaving the problem to stand over for a solution so sweeping as the householders' Parliament would give it, and of forcing that Parliament to reopen the chapter of organic change at or near the very outset of its existence. There are great duties, at the least of control and of observation, which must devolve upon the Opposition. Thus much, then, is urgently requisite with a view to due settlement of these matters. The Liberal party in Parliament should answer to this one easy demand, that it should know its own mind. Fair and natural cause has existed for its recent divisions. But the temptations of the past cannot recur. The tempter has done his worst; and his stock of material is exhausted. The Liberal power is not only ample, but redundant. It is, indeed, the very excess of that power which operates unfavourably, by diminishing the cogency of the motives to husband it carefully, and to marshal it aright. But yet, by virtue of the possession of such power, the party is under a plenary responsibility to the country, and the electoral body may reasonably deny that the treasure of strength may be recklessly wasted because it has been liberally confided. And we cannot but anticipate that there will be a disposition out of doors to take rigidly to task any, be they leaders or who they may, that the public shall judge to be chargeable with mischief; just as, when an army has been well manned,

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fully equipped, and properly supplied by the liberality of a nation, that nation is well entitled to hold those in command strictly accountable for every disaster which incompetence, or passion, or poltroonery, may have caused.

But there is also an ulterior appeal. The scissors of Atropos are already opened over the head of the existing Parliament. The Parliament which will succeed must have serious work to do, and the nation will probably intimate, in a manner beyond mistake, its intention that the work should be done. The Tories, we presume, anticipate that the country, bewitched with the artifices which had at least a tolerable success in the House of Commons, will overflow with gratitude to them for the reform which it has extorted from their reluctant hands. We doubt whether they rightly read the future. However, it may be so. Unquestionably a great effort will be made. Money will be profusely spent. The small boroughs will yield, even much more easily than heretofore, to the power of the purse. But even if 1868 were to see the numerical proportions of 1841 revived, they would only prepare the way for a disruption more rapid and more signal than that of 1846. There can be no question of the fact that the opinions of the people are, by a great majority, Liberal opinions; and that, though property may temper, it cannot reverse them. If, then, the country is to be governed by Liberal opinions, this is only to say in other words that, unless exceptionally and for the moment, it will be governed by the Liberal party. On this head the facts of the period from 1831 to 1867 are conclusive. The Liberal party cannot refuse the task, though they may adjourn for a little, by the errors of their leaders, or from some other cause, the assumption of it. Could the Tory party ever have been induced by fair means to walk in the paths of Liberal principle, it would have been under the powerful and sagacious leadership of Wellington and Peel. The demonstration in the negative then given was, we fear, given once for all. In their proceedings of the present year, the outward act and the inward spirit have been in continual and violent contrast, and every day has supplied indications of the horror in which that party held the Frankenstein, whom their leaders had evoked, and whom they had only to curse and to obey. Let no one be misled by the calm of the moment, or by the glitter of success.

'Some sins do bear their privilege on earth.'*

But even on earth that privilege commonly runs but to a short

* King John.

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date. And prayers will not avail, when the day of retribution comes. For the moral of 1867, we assuredly shall find it in fresh proofs that parties, like individuals, can only enjoy a solid prosperity by building on the rock of honour, truth, and the confidence which they alone engender. For its practical result, we may anticipate the increased hold on popular favour of that party which has emphatically scorned to enter into the ignoble competition to which the Government invited it; has been content to take mere truth and unadorned fair-dealing for its watchwords; and has declined to pursue even the most popular of objects by the most crooked and miriest of ways. Its reward, we repeat, is certain. Even if it come soon it will be sufficient; but it will probably be richer if its natural consummation can be delayed until the incidents of the recent past are less freshly remembered. By its reward we mean not necessarily the possession of office, but the confirmed possession of the public confidence, and consequently of power with or without office. To realise this result depends wholly on itself. And it cannot too soon make its preparations, for the very air is full of the presage of events to come, and the exigencies, duties, and opportunities of the State, enlarged in proportion to the widening of its basis, call upon every one of England's children to contribute the best that in him lies to the happiness and greatness of the Empire.

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NOTE

to the Article on 'Codification,' p. 365.

SINCE the earlier sheets of the present Number containing our remarks on the subject of Codification were sent to the press, our attention has been called to a work of Henry Colebrooke, the illustrious father of Sanscrit philology, which entitles him to rank among the earliest and most distinguished codifiers of law. Sir William Jones had proposed to the Government of India a compilation of all the digests and commentaries held in estimation by the Hindoos on the law of contracts and succession. This great undertaking was eventually completed by Mr. Colebrooke in 1797, with the assistance of an eminent Pundit of Bengal, who collected the texts. But this work, and the subsequent translations of the Daya Bhaga and the Mitácsharâ by Mr. Colebrooke, satisfied him that a more comprehensive Digest of the great principles of law, established by the Roman Corpus Juris and applied to modern countries, ought to be the basis of the law of India. With this view he compiled and published in 1818 a 'Treatise on Obligations and Contracts,' which formed the First Part of a true Digest: unfortunately the Second Part, which was to have contained a preface with other preliminary and introductory matter, was never completed. The Treatise in question is now extremely rare. It is only very recently that we became aware of its existence; and a republication of it at the present time would be a valuable contribution to our juridical literature, and would confer fresh lustre even on the name of Henry Colebrooke, whose great analytical powers enabled him to elucidate all he touched.

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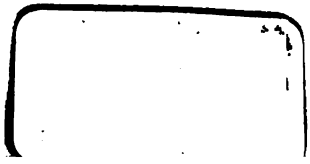

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